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THE LIFE  
OF  
GEORGE THE FOURTH

INCLUDING  
*HIS LETTERS AND OPINIONS*

WITH  
A VIEW OF THE MEN, MANNERS, AND POLITICS OF  
HIS REIGN

BY  
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## TO LORD HOUGHTON.

DEAR LORD HOUGHTON: One of the pleasures associated with the conclusion of this labor of many years, is that of inscribing the following pages to you, by whose kind suggestions they have materially benefitted. Believe me, always sincerely yours,

FANE VALLEY.

PERCY FITZGERALD.





BOOK I.

*PRINCE OF WALES.*—1762-1811.



# THE LIFE OF GEORGE IV.

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## CHAPTER I.

1762.

FROM daybreak on the morning of August 12th, 1762, crowds had been assembled round St. James's Palace, waiting the news of the birth of a royal child, which was hourly expected. Inside the palace were gathered all the great officers of state who had been in attendance all the night, with the Princess Dowager of Wales, the Dukes of Devonshire and Rutland, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other distinguished personages. Dr. Hunter, the great surgeon, was "in attendance," but only in reserve in case of emergency, for the Queen had prejudices against calling in the assistance of the accoucheur; and the office of assisting her Majesty through the crisis was delegated to a simple midwife.\* Twenty-four minutes past seven o'clock was the exact moment that ushered the future prince, prince regent, and king into this world. At thirteen minutes past three o'clock, on a Saturday morning in June, sixty-seven years later, this new-born babe was to depart from it. The contrast between the joyful acclamations and the splendid retinue which welcomed his birth, and the desertion and indifference which attended his death, was significant, and worthy of the study of princes. One companion of his pleasures, and a few doctors and servants, were all who witnessed that scene; while outside, the feeling was about that of relief and satisfaction. He, however, was now a smiling infant in Mrs. Draper's arms. No one could forecast the life that was in store for it, and there was universal joy at the

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\* Mrs. Stephens. Huish, "Memoirs of George IV.," i. 8. Mrs. Draper is mentioned in the publication, but she was the Prince of Wales's nurse.

birth of an heir to the Crown. The young king, in his satisfaction, presented the messenger that brought the good news with a "gratification" of five hundred pounds, and was presently drawn to the window of his palace to witness an omen of excellent augury. The Park guns were still firing, when loud rumbling announced the passage of a train of tumbrels known to contain the treasure captured from a Spanish galleon—a prize of enormous value, now on its way to the Tower. Twenty wagons descended St. James's Street, and passed before the King and Court. Under these circumstances, then, came into the world the future George IV., the Prince Regent, and "first gentleman of Europe."

Not until August 17th, the royal infant, who was born Electoral Prince of Brunswick-Lunenbourg, Duke of Cornwall and Rothesay, Earl of Carrick, Baron of Renfrew, Lord of the Isles, and Great Steward of Scotland, was created Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester by patent.\*

The royal pair were anxious to encourage access of all comers to the new hope of the kingdom. Before the infant was a fortnight old, public notice was given that all who desired it might visit St. James's Palace, "on drawing-room days," between one and three o'clock, an offer of which abundant advantage was taken. The crowd of ladies thus tempted to flock to the Court, to see the child and taste her Majesty's caudle and cake, soon became enormous, the daily expense for cake alone being estimated at forty pounds, while the consumption of wine was "greater than could have been expected."†

The christening took place on September 8th, in the great council-chamber of the palace, and was performed by Secker, the Archbishop of Canterbury—"that right reverend midwife," as Mr. Walpole styled him, in allusion to his presence at the Queen's accouchement. The names chosen were George Augustus Frederick, and

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\* Thus, for this most familiar of his designations, the heir-apparent is indebted to the favor of the Crown. His inherited honors give him no higher dignity than a dukedom. It was noted that George IV. held no Irish dignity, but the present Prince of Wales was created Earl of Dublin when nine years old—a dignity which is to be enjoyed by him and his heirs forever.

† Many stories were told of the free-and-easy behavior of the eager throng. Two Jewish ladies sent their footman to the palace, "to know how the Queen did?" and were told by Lady Northampton that they should have come in person. "That's good!" said the fellow, "why she lies in herself;" if she had not, I suppose she would have expected the Queen to send to her.—Walpole "Letters" (Cunningham), iii. 18.

the godfathers were the Dukes of Cumberland and Mecklenburgh-Strelitz—the latter represented by the Duke of Devonshire—the Princess of Wales being godmother. At this ceremony, which was held at night, there was shown the same eagerness to gratify the loyal aspirations of the crowd. All who came were admitted; but this, fortunately, had not got abroad, so but few used the privilege, and not more than half-a-dozen ladies of title attended. But, in spite of all these efforts, the royal pair were not popular, and when the Queen showed herself in public at an installation, there was an outcry against “the indelicacy of so early an appearance,” and the matter was warmly controverted. Her friends had to defend her on the ground of her German training and habits.\*

The usual addresses and loyal demonstrations were offered by the Parliament, universities, and the leading cities of the kingdom. Later on, fresh offence, however, was given when it was known that the royal child was to be submitted to inoculation, then a novelty, and the preachers protested that it was interfering with the order of Providence. The King and Queen, however, were firm, and had the courage to adopt the new preservative in the case of all their children. Lady Charlotte Finch was appointed governess, and Mrs. Henrietta Coulsworth deputy governess.†

From his birth set in that long series of portraits in which the figure and features of the young prince and maturer regent were being portrayed on the canvas. No one was painted so frequently. We are told that “soon after his birth the Queen had a whole-length portrait modelled in wax. He was represented naked. The figure was half a span long, lying upon a crimson cushion, and it was covered by a bell-glass. Her Majesty had it constantly on her toilet

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\* A preacher of note—Mr. Simpson— inveighed from the pulpit against this “indelicacy;” and a Dr. Vandegucht, a Dutch clergyman, who defended the Queen, was roughly handled by the mob.—Huish, i. 9.

† The two selected nurses, “wet and dry,” it was solemnly announced, were Mrs. Scott and Mrs. Chapman; the “necessary woman” was Mrs. Dodson, and the two “rockers” were Jane Simpson and Catherine Johnson. The person who had enjoyed the honor of suckling the Prince was a lady—Mrs. Scott, of Scottshall—of an old Scotch family but much reduced, and to whom the office was very welcome. “She is much liked by our King and royal family,” wrote Mrs. Montagu, who looked to the children obtaining little places in the household; “and I hope the scheme, which I have forwarded to the utmost of my power, will save an ancient, honorable family from ruin. Her royal nursling is as fine and healthy a child as can be.”—Dr. Doran, “A Lady of the Last Century,” p. 181.



at Buckingham House. At the decease of her Majesty it was exhibited; the likeness was still palpable, though the original had outlived the date of the fairy model more than half a century. Few years passed, it is believed, without her Majesty having his portrait either in miniature, enamel, silhouette, modelled in marble or wax, or in some other style of art. One of the latest, if not the very last, was a miniature head of his royal highness, enamelled by Mr. Bone, which he had the honor of placing in her Majesty's hands at Windsor the year before her death." \* Another picture of the young prince was painted about this time by Cotes. It represented him in his mother's arms; a rather large-faced child, a singular anticipation of the features of his future child, the Princess Charlotte. The hand of the Queen is raised as if to enjoin quiet and silence. This was always a favorite with the King, as representing the two persons to whom he was most attached.

Evidence of his promising condition was soon given when a deputation from a society styled the Ancient Britons presented him with an address. It seems scarcely credible that an infant, not three years old, should have to acknowledge such a compliment either vicariously or otherwise, but he was said to have done so in a set speech: "I thank you for this mark of your duty to the King, and wish prosperity to the charity." These words, we are told, were, according to the delighted courtiers, delivered with singular propriety, and a grace that even then almost warranted the adoption of his well-known *sobriquet*. †

In the following year, on August 16th, a second son was born—the Duke of York, whose christening, fourteen months after his birth, was attended by some curious ceremonies. Within seven months the King had appointed the infant to be Bishop of Osnaburg, a promotion that caused some scandal as well as much angry contention with the chapter of Cologne, who contended that the appointment lay with them. The dispute went on for some years, until it was compromised through the mediation of the great Frederick, and the young prince was allowed to bear the title and revenues of his office. ‡ The first formal introduction of the young children to the public was on the occasion of a drawing-room, held

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\* Huish.

† He was "tutored" in the speech for days before. But the Ancient Britons were told that they would not be received again.

‡ One loyal writer, Burgh, actually dedicated a work "To the Right Reverend Father in God," of three years old.

by them in their own name in October, 1769. The Prince of Wales, we are told, was assisted by his sister, the Princess Royal, then two years old.\* The order of their daily life and the arrangements for their education were creditable to the good sense and care of the royal parents. The old house at Kew, which had belonged to Secretary Molyneux, had now been settled on the Queen, and was called the Queen's House, later to be the scene of many painful trials. The Bower Lodge and the houses on the old Green were given up to the children,† who did not reside under the same roof with their parents. Their day was after this pattern. If they had become a little indisposed, the King was afoot at five in the morning, and, going down to their house, would tap at their doors and inquire how they had rested. At eight the Prince of Wales, Prince Frederick, the Princess Royal, and the princes William and Edward, were brought from their several apartments on the Green at Kew to the Queen's house to breakfast with their parents. "At nine the youngest children attended, and whilst the eldest were closely plying their tasks, the little ones with their nurses passed the morning in Richmond Gardens. The King and Queen frequently amused themselves with sitting in the room while the children dined; and once a week, accompanied by the whole group in pairs, they made a tour round these extensive plantations. In the evening it was the custom for all the children again to pay their respects at the Queen's house before they retired to rest; and

\* Some ridicule attended this proceeding, which was borrowed from German etiquette, and caricatures were published representing the children going through the ceremonies with their tops, kites, etc. They at last rebelled; and a story went that the boys had refused to leave their cricket, saying the company might wait.

† When making arrangements, the careful monarch thus wrote to his minister: "I take this opportunity of enclosing you a list of the servants that I find absolutely necessary to place about my third and fourth sons." He adds, he has brought the expense as low as the nature of the thing would admit.

Preceptors	{ Mr. De Budd.....	£350
	{ Rev. Mr. Hooke.....	300
Pages of the	{ Mannerlay { Each: Salary, £30 }	200
Backstairs	{ Miller { Morning, 20 }	
Housekeeper.....		50
For keeping three hounds, each £20.....		60
Porter.....		30
Watchman.....		25
Writing Master.....		100

—£1115

the same order was observed through each succeeding day, without any deviation, while at that place of residence. On Sunday every member of the family of a proper age was required to attend public worship; and in the evening his Majesty himself made it a rule to read a discourse from the writings of some of our best divines." \*

This is an agreeable family picture, though the impression abroad was that the discipline was far too severe. The Duke of Sussex, nearly seventy years later, complained to Dr. Holland of the too great strictness of his royal father, and described himself as being then afflicted with an asthmatic breathing, which his tutor "required him to stop;" and which, after various rebukes and threats, ended in sound flogging. This, he added, was by no means a rare occurrence. A tutor would scarcely have ventured to have thus indulged his temper unless he felt that he would be supported.†

The Duke of York also retailed painful impressions of this period, describing how the tutor would hit them with his pencil on the head if they were inattentive.‡

\* Watkins, "Mem. Duke of York," p. 28.

† Ticknor's "Life," ii. 152.

‡ In what kind of family circle the children were reared may be conceived from the training their mother had to pass through. "Except the Ladies of the Bedchamber," says Mrs. Harcourt, in her Diary (pp. 45, 46), printed by Mr. Locker, "for ½ an hour in a week in a funeral circle, or a ceremonious drawing R<sup>m</sup> she never had a soul to speak to but the King. That this continued till her first child the P. of Wales was born, that then the nurse & his Governess Lady C. Finch coming into the Room was a little treat, but that they had still for years no other society till by degrees the Ladies of the Bed Chamber came more frequently, and latterly the Society for various reasons, the Children growing up, the journies &c. was much encreased. . . . Expecting to be Queen of a gay Court, finding herself confined as in a Convent, & hardly allowed to think without the leave of her husband checked her spirits, made her fearful & cautious to an extreme, & when the time came that amusements were allowed her her mind was formed to a diff<sup>t</sup> manner of life."

## CHAPTER II.

1771—1776.

THIS early stage, however, was soon passed. In the year 1771, when the royal child was nine years old, it was considered time that a scheme for his education should be formally arranged. The second brother was to receive a thoroughly German education. A system of complete and careful English instruction was determined upon. Accordingly, in February, Dr. Markham, lately Master of Westminster School, and now Bishop of Chester, was appointed preceptor, Dr. Cyril Jackson, sub-preceptor, while Lord Holderness became governor. The latter was the real director of the children, and was to look after their conduct generally. For the post of sub-governor—a highly important office—there were many candidates.

Among the candidates for this office were two clergymen of a doubtful notoriety. One was Kidgell, who had done dirty work for Lord Sandwich, and had been a sort of bludgeon-man on the press. He had contrived to get permission to dedicate some fables to the young princes; but when the King read the book he was so disgusted at the mixture of levity and gross flattery that he was at the expense of buying up the whole impression. The other clergyman, who had greatly attracted the Queen, was the unfortunate Dr. Dodd. She was in his favor, but the King positively declined, not relishing the style and manner of the candidate.

But the person chosen was Mr. Smelt, a well-known figure in Madame D'Arblay's memoirs; a man of signal uprightness and virtue, but "a violent revolution whig." As assistant tutors, Lord Holderness selected two foreign refugee Protestants, Budé and Salzes, the latter a Swiss of much worth, while Dr. Majendie, the Queen's reader, attended them for Latin and English. The King and Queen added their exertions; the former being considered to read with propriety and grace, while the Queen imparted instruction in French, German, and even English, which she could scarcely as yet have been very familiar with.



The sub-preceptor gave lessons, while the bishop supervised and controlled the whole. Markham was a highly-successful school-master, who had been promoted to the deanery of Christ Church, and afterwards, as was becoming a prince's instructor, received the rich prize of the archbishopric of York. He was a pert, arrogant man, by Mr. Walpole's account, and owed his recommendation to Lord Mansfield. Dr. Jackson was a person of a rather unique type, having refused bishoprics three times.\* He seems to have been a worthy and conscientious man, spoken of with much respect by his contemporaries. Lord Holderness, Mr. Walpole tells us, "owed his office to his insignificance and his wife," who, it was supposed, prompted her husband to use the opportunities afforded by his residence at the Cinque Ports for smuggling.† A board composed of such heterogeneous elements was not likely to work harmoniously, and almost at once the Court was agitated by what might be considered a scandal.

It became known that the governor and sub-preceptor were at open war. Late in 1775, the former, from "a violent humor" in his face, which struck in upon his breast and affected his hearing, had been obliged to go to the South of France. On his return he found that advantage had been taken of his absence to prejudice the minds of his pupils against him. "They had treated his authority with contempt, and often ridiculed him to his face."‡ The juvenile Bishop of Osnaburg "set on" his elder brother; what he was to do very often later, even when both were old men. The latter, however, was always showing himself self-willed and headstrong to his father as well as to his mother, who could not control him. Lord Holderness accused Jackson of setting his pupils against him. There were suspicions that the bishop was at the bottom of the confusion, while Jackson declared the governor to be "most trifling and unfit for his charge." In this general wrangle the only course was to provide a new set of instructors. The King, indeed, wished to retain Lord Holderness; but the latter declined to stay, on the ground, it would seem, that he had

\* Hurd, his successor in the tutorship, declined the primacy of Ireland, as Jackson was said to have done that of England.

† It was stated that in a single "venture" she introduced one hundred and fourteen dresses.

‡ "Last Journals" of Walpole, ii. 51, which see also for an account of the whole incident.

lost all control over his charge. Smelt, whose character Mrs. Delany declared, with some exaggeration, "to be of the most noble and delicate kind, and deserving the pen of a Clarendon to do justice to it," followed his patron, refusing a pension from the King. De Salzes, the refugee, also insisted on retiring, significantly giving as a reason the "ungovernable temper of his charge, the Prince of Wales." \*

This was told by Lord Holderness himself to Lord Hertford, who reported it to Walpole. It speaks badly for the system that the humors of a headstrong child should have had a share in such changes.

But the most painful part of this transaction was this early anticipation of future discord between the King and Prince; for it seems certain that between the boy of fourteen and his father there was already implanted a reciprocal dislike; and Lord Hertford declared that the boy stood in no awe of either his father or his mother. The King was seriously affected by this discovery; and it was noticed that he was wasted with the anxiety. In a letter to Lord North, he says it had made him forget important business. It will be seen from the following how harassed he was, and what steps he took. The passage that his sons "would secretly feel a kind of victory, if the bishop remained," is significant.

"MY DEAR LORD" (he wrote from Kew, on May 27th, 1776),—  
". . . . I mentioned the Lord[s] Dartmouth, Ashburnham, and Bruce as the only persons that occurred to me in the least from their characters, as fit to succeed Lord Holderness. . . . I also mentioned that from principles of honor I could not press Mr. Smelt to continue Sub-Governor with any other Governor than Lord Holderness; that Mr. Jackson, knowing he was to be removed prior to my receiving any intimation of Lord Holderness's intentions to retire, the Bishop of Chester was the only one of the establishment concerning whom it was necessary for me to take any decision; that on principle I think the Governor is my representative, and as such no one about them must have more hold on them than him, therefore that on the new appointment of a Governor I must produce a new preceptor: when to this is added the want of regard of my sons to Lord Holderness has made him resign, though he will put it on his health, they would secretly feel a kind of vic-

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\* "Last Journals" of Walpole, ii. 53.

tory if the Bishop remained: I therefore yesterday took the painful task of sending for the Bishop of Chester, and with kindness and frankness told him that, as Lord Holderness meant to retire, I should at the same time appoint a new preceptor. . . . On Thursday I saw Lord Bruce, and used every argument to compell him to step forth to my assistance. . . . On Saturday he wished to decline, but after a very full conversation, seeing my distress of mind, he very handsomely consented to accept, provided the Bishop of Litchfield came to his assistance. He has by my direction spoke this morning to that Bishop, and on Wednesday I hope to be able to say to you that I have secured those two, which will restore my mind to a state of ease, which you cannot think a tender father can possess unless satisfied of the moral principles of men to whose care he intrusts his children."

In another letter he writes:

"**LORD NORTH**,—The letter I received this day from you, in answer to mine of yesterday, is the most ample proof of your affectionate feeling for me. The Bishop of Litchfield has with great modesty and propriety agreed to come as preceptor to my children. I shall therefore direct Lord Bruce and him to come and kiss hands at the levée on Friday."

For sub-governor the King found "a highly proper person" in Colonel Hotham. The new preceptor owed his post directly to Lord Mansfield, who brought under the King's notice some "Dialogues on the British Constitution." He brought with him his own chaplain, Dr. Arnald, as sub-preceptor; a man of much reputation at the university, and "whose mildness, morals, and cheerfulness," according to the King, were as conspicuous as his talents.\*

Hurd recommended himself much at Court, and the King always displayed a particular affection to him, writing to him in the warmest terms, and when invasion was apprehended selected his palace as the place he was to retire to. He was, no doubt, an excellent man, and the fact that he was disliked by his royal pupils, by whom Markham was preferred, is scarcely to his discredit. Years after, at a great dinner given by the Duke of Norfolk in St.

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\* Letter to Lord North, ii. 33. But about 1782 his wits became unsettled, and his delusions seem to have been oddly connected with preferment, for he used to wear a mitre about the house.



James's Square, where were the Prince, Fox, Sheridan, Erskine, Dr. Parr, and other persons of note, a discussion took place on the comparative merits of the two preceptors, and which is even dramatic in its illustration of the character of the Prince and of the resolute Parr.

"The Archbishop of York," writes one who took down a description of the scene from Parr's own lips, then in a declining state of health, "being alluded to, the Prince observed: 'I esteem Markham a much greater, wiser, and more learned man than Hurd, and a better teacher. You will allow me to be a judge, as they were both my preceptors.' Said Dr. Parr: 'Is it your Royal Highness's pleasure that I should enter upon the topic of their comparative merits as a subject of discussion?' 'Yes," said the Prince. 'Then, sir,' said Parr, 'I totally differ from your Royal Highness in opinion.' 'As I knew them both so intimately,' replied the Prince, 'you will not deny that I had the power of more accurately appreciating their respective merits than you can have had.' The Prince then spoke of Markham's natural dignity and authority as compared with Hurd's smoothness and softness, 'and, with proper submission to your authority on such a subject, his experience as a schoolmaster and his better scholarship.' 'Sir,' said Parr, 'your Royal Highness began the conversation, and if you permit it to go on must tolerate a very different inference.' 'Go on,' said the Prince. 'I declare that Markham understands Greek better than Hurd, for when I hesitated Markham immediately explained it, and then he went on, but when I hesitated with Hurd he always referred me to the dictionary; I conclude he therefore wanted to be informed himself.' 'Sir,' replied Parr, 'I venture to differ from your Royal Highness's conclusion. I am myself a schoolmaster, and I think that Dr. Hurd pursued the right method, and that Dr. Markham failed in his duty. Hurd desired your Royal Highness to find the word, not because he did not know it, but because he wished you to find by search and learn it thoroughly.' 'Have you not changed your opinion of Hurd?' exclaimed the Prince. 'I have read a work in which you attacked him fiercely.' 'Yes, sir, I attacked him on one point which I thought important to letters, and I summoned the whole force of my mind and took every possible pains to do it well, for I consider Hurd to be a great man. . . . There is no comparison between Markham and Hurd as men of talent. Markham was a pompous schoolmaster; Hurd was a stiff, cold, but correct gentleman. Markham was at the head of a good school, tutor of a



good college, and finally became an archbishop; in all these stations he had trumpeters of his fame who called him great, though he published one "Concio" only, which has already sunk in oblivion. From a farmhouse and village school Hurd emerged, the friend of Gray and a circle of distinguished men, and sent from the obscurity of a country village a book, sir, which your royal father, sir, is said to have declared made him a bishop. And perhaps, sir, a portion of the adroitness and power you have manifested in this debate might have been owing to him.' Fox, when the Prince was gone, exclaimed in his high tone of voice: 'He thought he had caught you, but he caught a Tartar.' The argument was maintained with some heat."\*

The shallowness of the Prince's reasoning—which had yet a specious air—may be contrasted with the doctor's intrepid vindication of Hurd, to whom he bore no good-will; as indeed his adversary, with some malice, took care to remind him.†

Though the new preceptor started hopefully on his course, writing to his friends that his pupils were "extremely promising," he was not long in forming a judgment of the character of the eldest. Indeed, it seems that the Prince exhibited, at this early age, many of those ungracious qualities which were to distinguish him when he was grown up; and his new master augured but badly of his future career. To his cousin, Mrs. Parsons, the bishop said one day in reply to a question as to the progress of his pupil: "My dear," he replied, laying his peculiarly small white hand upon her arm, "I can hardly tell; he will be either the most polished gentleman or the most accomplished blackguard in Europe; possibly an admixture of both."‡

Perhaps the most interesting event of his childhood was the meeting with Dr. Johnson, who met with him one day when he was reading in the royal library. The doctor, who spoke to him some grave words of encouragement, had thus been in some sort of communication with five sovereigns. He had been touched for the evil by Queen Anne; he must have often seen the first and second

\* Parr, "Life," i. 322.

† In testimony of his regard for Markham, he included his portrait in the collection he had made of his friends' portraits, and on that prelate's death went to the expense of having it engraved.—"Memoirs of the Prince of Wales," 1808.

‡ Kilvert, "Life of Hurd," p. 378.

Georges in the streets of London; with the third and fourth he had spoken.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that with these appointments the king's troubles were only to recommence. Lord Bruce was barely established in his place, and had dined once with his pupil, when he abruptly retired to the country. It was said, indeed, that he left it to the Bishop of Litchfield to tell the King that he would not return. The cause was said to be his wife, who thought she would be deprived of his society. The poor worried King thus unfolds his distress to his counsellor:

“**LORD NORTH**” (he wrote on June 2nd, 1776),—“I thought by the step I had taken yesterday that my distress was at an end; but after you left me this day I saw the Bishop of Litchfield, who brought me the melancholy news that some difficulties from Lady Bruce had so agitated her husband that he was come to acquaint me from him that he could not think of being Governor to my children. The Bishop broke it with the greatest gentleness. I instantly sent Lord Ashburnham, whose secrecy I could depend upon, to acquaint the D. of Montague of this event, and to desire the Duke to come to me. I have so powerfully shewn that my fresh distress arose from his family, that I have persuaded him to supply the place of his brother, which he does on the following conditions—not to be appointed until Wednesday, by which he avoids appearing on the birthday, for which he has no cloaths, and that Lord Bruce may still have the Earldom of Ailesbury.”

The Duke of Montague agreed to take the place on these valuable considerations.

In connection with this matter, a curious scene occurred between the King and the Bishop, which is reported by the Duke of Leeds in his MS. memoranda: “The King sent for him, and told him that ‘he had determined on making an entirely new establishment.’ The other seemed surprised, and not very respectfully said, ‘Has your Majesty consulted Lord Mansfield?’ The King, astonished at so strange a question, replied he surely was master to appoint whom he pleased to overlook the education of his children, and repeated his determination. The Bishop, from the imperious tone with which he had just addressed his sovereign, now changed to the most abject humility, and with tears begged the King to consider his numerous family. His Majesty assured him it should

make no alteration in his future preferment. The Bishop retired confused."

Walpole, however, did not at this moment know of the story that was circulated at Lord Bruce's expense—viz. that his lively pupil, the Prince of Wales, had maliciously led him to expose his ignorance in Homer and Greek generally. The Prince, it was added, was able to set him right in a quotation, as well as to point out a false quantity. This was questioned by the tutor, on which the pupil appealed to better authority, and it was decided against Lord Bruce, who was much laughed at. Such was the story.

The new governor was probably indulgent enough, though it is difficult to arrive at a true estimate of his disposition; for Mr. Walpole tells us he was one of the "weakest and most ignorant men living," while Hurd's obsequious biographer extols him as a nobleman of singular worth and virtue, of an exemplary life, and of the best principles in Church and State. He was very attentive to his charges, and executed that trust with great propriety and dignity. The preceptor (*i.e.*, Bishop Hurd) was honored with his confidence, and there never was the least misunderstanding between them;\* this last reason may account for this cordial estimate.

Under this new direction the education of these princes was started afresh. They were now removed to Kew Palace, and were directly under the eye of the King and Queen. A course of study was marked out for them. Eight hours a day were given to classics and languages. Cicero's Offices was a favorite work of study, and there was an attempt at carrying out a sort of German ideal by instructing the youths in husbandry and such matters.†

We are told that a spot of ground, in the garden at Kew, was dug by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and by his brother the

\* Kilvert, p. 365.

† In the British Museum is to be seen a translation made by the Prince about this time, of which the following is a specimen:

"As soon as I heard your daughter Tullia was dead, I confess I was extremely concerned, as it became me to be at a loss which I regarded as common to us both; and if I had been with you I should not have been wanting to you, but should have openly testified the bitterness of my grief. 'Tis true this is but a poor and miserable consolation, because those who ought to administer it, I mean our nearest friends and relations, are almost equally affected with ourselves, nor can they attempt it without shedding many a tear, so that they appear more to be in want of comfort themselves, than perform that duty to others."



Duke of York, who sowed it with wheat, attended the growth of their little crop, weeded, reaped, and harvested it solely by themselves. "They threshed out the corn and separated it from the chaff, and at this period of their work were brought to reflect, from their own experience, on the various labors and attentions of the husbandman and the farmer. The Princes not only raised their own crop, but they also ground it, and having parted the bran from the meal, attended to the whole process of making it into bread, which, it may well be imagined, was eaten with no slight relish. The King and Queen partook of the philosophical repast, and beheld with pleasure the very amusements of their children rendered the source of useful knowledge."

The Prince's instructor in the graces of elocution was Mr. Bartley, one of the last of the good old school of actors, who had deserved Charles Lamb's praise. His drawing-master was a Russian named Cozens, while Angelo taught him fencing. Nothing, indeed, was more remarkable than the elegant tastes of this royal family, pursued with thorough conscientiousness; and it was no doubt owing to his being brought up in such an atmosphere that the Prince owed his tone of connoisseurship. The number of masters and professors engaged at the palace was considerable. The Queen herself took lessons from Gainsborough; the King himself was taught architectural drawing by Sir William Chambers, perspective by Kirby, and grammar by Mrs. Trimmer. Quin had instructed him in elocution, and Denoyer was the drawing-master for the princes. The Princess Elizabeth published a folio of etchings; while the walls of Frogmore were hung with her pen-and-ink drawings, and decorated in the "Asiatic style," whatever that was then considered to be. She even tried her skill at mezzotint engraving.

Little wine was allowed, and great regularity of hours was insisted on. This, however well-intentioned, seemed hardly judicious, and it was only natural to suppose that the Prince should look eagerly to the time when he should be emancipated. The preceptor was, of course, entirely on the side of the patron who had favored him, and is described as "a little plausible man, affecting a singular decorum that endeared him highly to devout old ladies." So that here were severe and arbitrary parents, a weak preceptor, and "the most foolish man in England" as governor—influences not likely to operate favorably on a self-willed, self-indulgent, and hot-tempered youth. The tutor being thus engrossed with "currying favor" with the King, the pupil was left to the company of servants and grooms.

The story went that the King did all he could to protract his son's nonage, and keep him a schoolboy. He was made to wear a child's frilled collar, to which he one day called a servant's attention, saying: "See how they treat me!"\* It was not wonderful that he took every means to elude the vigilance of his guardians. The worthy Mrs. Chapone, however, gives a highly favorable picture of the interior of the royal family circle. This occurred in the year 1778: "Mr. Buller," she says, "went to Windsor on Saturday; saw the King, who inquired much about the Bishop [of Winchester], and hearing that he would be eighty-two next Monday, 'Then,' said the King, 'I will go and wish him joy.' 'And I,' said the Queen, 'will go too.' Mr. B. then dropt a hint of the additional pleasure it would give the Bishop if he could see the Princes. 'That,' said the King, 'requires contrivance; but if I can manage it, we will all go.' On the Monday following, the royal party, consisting of their Majesties, the Prince of Wales, Duke of York, Duke of Clarence, the Princess Royal, and Princess Augusta, visited the Bishop. The King," continues Mrs. Chapone, "sent the Princes to pay their compliments to Mrs. Chapone; himself, he said, was an old acquaintance. Whilst the Princes were speaking to me, Mr. Arnald, sub-preceptor, said, 'These gentlemen are well acquainted with a certain ode prefixed to Mrs. Carter's Epictetus, if you know anything of it.' Afterwards the King came and spoke to us, and the Queen led the Princess Royal to me, saying: 'This is a young lady who, I hope, has much profited by your instructions. She has read them ["Letters on the Improvement of the Mind"] more than once, and will read them often;' and the Princess assented to the praise which followed with a very modest air. I was pleased with all the Princes, but particularly with Prince William, who is little of his age, but so sensible and engaging, that he won the Bishop's heart, to whom he particularly attached himself, and would stay with him while all the rest ran about the house. His conversation was surprisingly manly and clever for his age, yet, with the young Bullers, he was quite the boy, and said to John Buller, by way of encouraging him to talk, 'Come, we are both boys, you know.' All of them showed affectionate respect to the Bishop; the Prince of Wales pressed his hand so hard that he hurt it."

A yet more pleasing picture of the simple tastes of this excellent King and his Queen was the mode of commemorating the birthday of the young Prince of Wales. In these happy times Windsor and

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\* Walpole, "Last Journals," i. 108.

Weymouth were favorite places of *villeggiatura* for the royal family. At the former place the morning was ushered in so early as six o'clock by the ringing of bells, and a *feu de joie* was fired. Before nine the young princes arrived from Kew to wait on their father, and at ten a procession was formed of all the royal family and the attendants, who walked in state to the church. The Prince and his six brothers walked two and two, sumptuously arrayed in blue and gold; the three young princesses followed. In the church, all marched up to the table and made their offerings of gold and silver. On their return a procession was formed again, which was swelled by the canons and clergy, who attended them to the door of the palace. Later in the day the royal children appeared on the terrace, where they were greeted with a salute of three volleys from the soldiers; this was with the good-natured purpose of showing themselves to the loyal Windsor folks, who thronged in crowds to look at them. They retired to dine, and at half-past six the Prince and his brothers took leave of their father and returned to Kew. So simple and innocent a mode of celebrating a birthday might seem strange and old-fashioned in our time. And it may be said that this custom of royal personages exhibiting themselves to the public in the "walks at Windsor," and which was persevered in all through that long reign, would seem to have been a very wise and laudable one. For in this fashion was loyalty fostered. But this patriarchal system was not to last much longer.





## CHAPTER III.

1779.

THE PRINCE OF WALES was now approaching his nineteenth year, when he was to become legally of age, as heir to the throne. Complaints of the rigorous system of discipline began to be heard. It was stated that he was not allowed to appear at balls until the summer of the year 1779, and then only because the Spanish minister asked it as a favor. He himself began to protest loudly. "The Prince of Wales," so ran a paragraph in one of the papers, "with a spirit which does him honor, has three times requested a change in that system. Time will show whether the *junta* have laid their foundations upon a rock or upon sand." He had already begged to have a commission in the army, and to be allowed to go about as he pleased, like other young men of the day. It happened at this time that the King was busily engaged in visiting the forts and dockyards, and in further kindling the public enthusiasm by tours of inspection and reviews. The two young men earnestly begged to be allowed to attend him on these occasions. Their request was refused, but, instead, they were taken out to Kew Gardens to receive lessons in fortification and gunnery. They were also allowed to shift their residence occasionally from Windsor to Kew. This pedantic restraint overshot the mark, and the young princes seized eagerly the opportunity of their father's absence to cultivate an intimacy with the gay nobles of the day, who quickly instructed them as to how they were to break loose from this disagreeable bondage. These lessons they almost at once bettered, as the King was presently to learn, and within a few months the forebodings of the worthy bishop, their tutor, were to be realized.

It is probable that if sounder instruction had been given he would not have followed; but still it must be owned that the stupid, odious, German, sergeant-system of discipline that had been so rigorously applied was, in fact, responsible for the blemishes in the young prince's character. It will be seen, as we pursue the course of his life, that an indifference to truth was one of these blemishes;

and this, as may be conceived, was owing to childish terror of those above him. There are two simple anecdotes connected with this matter which are almost convincing. Lord Essex, riding out with the King, met the young prince arrayed in a wig, and asked him sharply the reason of his wearing it. No doubt in some alarm, the Prince answered hastily: "That he was ordered to do so by the doctor as he was subject to cold." On which the King turned to his companion, and said: "A lie is ever ready when it is wanted." This shows what the feeling of the father was, and how little he cared to show his respect for his son.\* Many years after, the son, become Prince Regent, consulted Lady Spencer as to the choice of a governess for his daughter. "Above all," he said, "I must teach her to tell the truth." Then he added this remarkable declaration: "You know that I don't speak the truth and my brothers don't, and I find it a great defect, from which I would have my daughter free. We have been brought up badly, the queen having taught us to equivocate."† No one corroborated this candid confession and defect so heartily as the Duke of Wellington, who again and again seems to declare that he could not believe a word the Prince said. Let the blame, however, or an important share of it, be placed where it is properly due. Yet the young prince was good-natured; and had he been properly directed might have turned out more creditably than he did. He was after heard to say: "I wish every one would tell me what I ought to do; nobody gives me any instructions."

It is melancholy, too, to trace another result of this system. Being jealously shut up in the palace, and deprived of rational amusements, he had contracted a habit of private drinking, which told upon the scrofulous humors which, it was said, the Princess of Wales had introduced into the family, and which now broke out all over his face. To these excesses he was incited by his wild, ever-favorite brother, the youthful bishop, who had the most spirit, and put him on to acting with spirit. Unfortunately, too, at this time, the King was harassed by the insubordination of his brothers; and, in the dissensions that followed, the young princes found themselves encouraged to take part with them. The Duke of Cumberland, a man of depraved character, was not slow to profit by this spirit, and became the guide and prompter of his nephews. We

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\* McCullagh Torrens's "Life of Lord Melbourne," i. 156.

† Ibid. p. 157.

find the young prince taking sides against his father in some of the exciting questions of the hour, such as the Keppel-Palliser episode—congratulating Miss Keppel on the result, and “declaring it the happiest event he had ever known”—and then “cutting” various persons who were on the side of the Court. In the question of the Duke of Gloucester’s marriage, he vehemently espoused his uncle’s side, assuring him “though he could not come to see him now without the King’s leave, that in a short time he would be of age, and his own master. That now he would give out that he intended to visit him.”\*

All this was as unpromising as it was unbecoming. But the unlucky, if injudicious father, worried by brothers and sons, was now to feel shame at the discovery that this precocious youth had been secretly engaged in a scandalous intrigue with a notorious personage, Mrs. Robinson. This lady has left memoirs and poems, in which the whole transaction is set out at length in a romantic high-flown strain; but in which the prosaic and businesslike issues to which she conducted it, viz. the extorting of a bond for twenty thousand pounds, is lightly touched upon. The King had to undergo the humiliation of having to enter into a transaction with this person to save public exposure.

“I am sorry,” he wrote on August 28th, 1781, “to be obliged to open a subject that has long given me much pain, but I can rather do it on paper than in conversation: it is a subject of which I know he is not ignorant. My eldest son got last year into a very improper connection with an actress and woman of indifferent character through the *friendly* assistance of Ld. Malden; a multitude of letters past, which she has threatened to publish unless he, in short, bought them of her. He had made her very foolish promises [*sic*], which, undoubtedly, by her conduct to him she entirely cancelled. I have thought it right to authorize the getting them from her, and have employed Lieut.-Col. Hotham, on whose discession [*sic*] I could depend, to manage this business. He has now brought it to a conclusion, and has her consent to get these letters on her receiving £5000, undoubtedly an enormous sum; but I wish to get my son out of this shameful scrape. I desire you will therefore see Lieut.-Col. Hotham and settle this with him. I am happy at being able to say that I never was personally engaged in such a transaction, which perhaps makes me feel this the stronger.”

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\* Walpole, “Last Journals,” p. 417.

Of the bond engagement the King does not seem to have been aware, fancying all was arranged when the letters were secured at such an enormous price. Mr. Fox, at this time one of the most reckless of the London *roués* and a chosen companion of the Prince, undertook the arrangement of this delicate matter, and succeeded in recovering it in return for an annuity of four hundred pounds. This is more disastrous record than the career of this hapless creature, who, forsaken and paralyzed, sank into misery and beggary, from which she appealed to her former admirer.

## THE PRINCE OF WALES TO MRS. ROBINSON.

"DEAR MRS. ROBINSON,

"I have receiv'd your letter, and it really quite overcomes me, the scene of distress you so pathetically paint. I will certainly wait upon you, but I am afraid it will be late before I can come to the Ship, as I have company with me. Should it be within the *compass of my means* to rescue you from the abyss you apprehend that is before you, and for which you mention Mr. Brent, I need say that the temptation of gratifying others, and at the same time and by the same means making one's self happy, is too alluring to be neglected a single moment; however, you must allow me to be thus explicit and candid, that it must in great measure depend upon the extent of what will be necessary to be done for your service, and how far my funds may be adequate, as well as my power equal to attain that object. In the meantime only rest assured of my good wishes and good intentions.

"I am, dear Mrs. Robinson, very sincerely yours,

"GEORGE.\*

"To Mrs. Robinson, Ship Inn, Brighton."

There is some feeling and good-nature in this reply, which is at the same time significant. For all through his life he was found ready to answer an immediate and instant appeal to his sympathy and affection. But after a delay, when these had time to grow cold, nothing would be done. Benevolence on such principles is simply gratifying an appetite, and is worthless.

As the secluded prince was presently to be enlarged, it was natural that some of the nobility should have expressed a wish that

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\* MS. in the possession of Sholto Hare, Esq.



he should visit their houses in different parts of the country, and thus become acquainted with his future associates. The young man eagerly hailed the notion of what was, in truth, a respectable and sensible mode of introduction; but the King refused to sanction the proposal. The best opinions seem to point to the Queen as the person most accountable for the whole course of treatment adopted towards the Prince.\*

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\* During the Gordon Riots, he set his guardians at defiance, and hurried up to London to join his father, attended by a friend and a servant.

## CHAPTER IV

1780.

It was now the year 1780, and the King felt that he could no longer refuse his eldest son his freedom. In the summer it was noted as significant that their Majesties had drunk tea at Carlton House, and it was assumed that this mansion was to be got ready for the Prince. As a first step, however, it was determined to send away the Prince Frederick (the Bishop of Osnaburg) to the Continent, as it was imagined that his aid and advice would not be of advantage to the Prince of Wales. This was the view taken by the public at the time. The Prince was really distressed at losing his companion, and begged to be allowed to go with him. The scene of the parting is described as very affecting, "the Prince being so moved that he stood in a state of entire sensibility, unable to speak, or to express the concern by which he was agitated." \*

The establishment now set on foot was but a "bit of one," as Walpole called it, for the Prince was to be kept at Buckingham House still under the royal eye. The King's letters will show how anxiously and equitably he proceeded to arrange this important matter. After declaring that he had been turning to his own old accounts, he says that he "considered that in addition to my eldest son's establishment I must furnish the incidental expenses to my second son's travelling and education, and the taking the three eldest boys now in the nursery and placing them with me: this I felt would require much deliberation, the result of which I will now fully state. . . .

"I have, therefore, in this view formed an honorable establishment, and given my son for Robes and Privy Purse the exact sum I had. His stables will be more expensive in point of saddle-horses, I keeping at that time but four, he will have sixteen; but by appointing a Groom of the Stole instead of a Master of the Horse, a

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\* Lloyd, "Life of George IV.," p. 33.



set of horses and two footmen are diminished, which alone attended that officer in the first establishment of my late father. As my son will live in my house, he cannot have any occasion for those servants, necessary only if he kept house. . . . The difficulty I find of having persons whose private conduct I think may with safety be placed about a young person is not surprising, as, I thank Heaven, my morals and course of life have but little resembled those too prevalent in the present age; and certainly, of all objects in this life, the one I have most at heart is to form my children that they may be useful examples and worthy of imitation [*sic*]. I shall therefore be scrupulous as to the private lives of those I place about my son, though in other cases I never wish to be informed, unless of those great enormities that must make every man of principle shun the company of such persons; but in the case of my children, my happiness, as well as the good of the public, is materially concerned in this investigation.

"Lord North seemed to insinuate that, if the whole additional expense of my children did not exceed £30,000, he thought the money could be found. I have tried to keep it to £20,000, because from the very numerous family [*sic*] I have, it is impossible to lodge them, and I must make some alterations for that purpose in the wings of the Queen's House."\*

It is amusing to see the fixed purpose of the father to keep his son still in leading-strings by "serving him out" supplies as they were wanted, and making him live in his own house. The young Prince, of course, cordially accepted the arrangement, but as an instalment.†

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\*The reader will bear this in mind later when the question of the Prince's "arrears" come to be considered. Here we find the King declaring that the cost for *all* his children would not exceed the sum named.

†The prudent king made the following calculation of the expenses of Prince Edward's table for twelve months:

	£	s.	d.
Kitchen.....	1519	3	0
Spicery.....	93	11	0
Beer and ale.....	92	8	0
Bread.....	107	4	1½
Dessert.....	357	0	0
Wines.....	115	18	0
Butter and cheese.....	37	6	0
	2322	10	1½

But it is curious to note the misgiving the King entertained, and the rather tortuous mode which he adopted to obtain public approval. "Some one," he wrote to his ministers in February, 1781, "of the P. of Wales's family may be authorized, if it should in the debate be thought right, just to drop that he is satisfied with the arrangements I have made for him; for it would be highly indelicate for me to speak to my son on the subject; indeed, I have done for him all that could in reason be expected from me, and I have already grounds to judge the extraordinaries, from his love of expence, will be great, besides some other calls for money that will come from that quarter, which convinces me the more that if the allowance had been greater that would not have prevented this other article."

Colonel Hotham was to be Treasurer, and a second son of Lord Dartmouth, who was to be Groom of the Chamber, had, indeed, the drawback of being a young man, but the King waived the objection in consequence of "the known piety of the father." There was a dulness and a lack of knowledge in these provisions which might make us augur the worst.

Thus appointed and thus emancipated, the young prince was launched upon his new career. We shall now see what qualifications he was fitted with on entering on the world of fashion, and what figure he presented to admiring society, eager to welcome him, and indulgently condone as well as encourage his follies.

On New Year's Day, 1781, the Prince appeared at Court, enfranchised, in his new capacity, attended by his retinue. He received the congratulations of all the nobility and foreign ministers. From the pictures of him at this time by Cosway and others, he appears as a good-looking youth of a highly florid tone, made more con-

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	£	s.	d.
Carried forward from page 32.....	2322	10	1½
Supposing H. R. H. to dine at home every day:			
In these twelve months H. R. H. dined at Windsor 42			
days, which makes a deduction of.....	267	3	0
Total expense of the last twelve months.....	£2055	7	1½
£5000 per annum for my dearly-beloved son P. Frederick.			
2500 per annum for my dearly-beloved sons P. William and P. Edward.			
3500 per annum for my dearly-beloved sons P. Ernest, P. Augustus, and			
P. Adolphus.			G. R.

The Duke of Sussex told Mr. Adolphus that till he was twenty-one his pocket-money never exceeded a guinea a week. When he was thirty he was allowed £2000 a year.

spicuous by the powder he wore and his high neckerchief. His coat was of pink silk, with white cuffs; his waistcoat of white silk, embroidered with various-colored foil, but adorned with a profusion of French paste; and his hat was ornamented with two rows of steel beads, five thousand in number, with a button and loop of the same metal, and cocked in the new military style. "The King at the same time commanded all the domestics of his kitchen to submit their heads to be shaved, and wear wigs, on pain of being discharged; forty complied with the royal mandate, how many proved refractory does not appear."

"The graces of his person," says one of his admirers—Mrs. Robinson—"the irresistible sweetness of his smile, the tenderness of his melodious yet manly voice, will be remembered by me till every vision of this changing scene are forgotten. The polished and fascinating ingenuousness of his manners contributed not a little to enliven our promenade. He sang with exquisite taste, and the tones of his voice, breaking on the silence of the night, have often appeared to my entranced senses like more than mortal melody." He was free and "offhand" in his manners, but already had acquired the coarse language which was in vogue among the bloods and bucks of the day.\* He was considered to be a young man of great accomplishments and education, and when he chose could assume that pleasant graciousness and interest in the person he was addressing for which the present heir to the crown is remarkable. He could speak French, Italian, and German with ease, and particularly affected a knowledge of all points relating to art and the *belles-lettres*. He took pleasure in coming forward as arbiter on a question of a disputed quotation or classical allusion. For music he seems to have had a genuine relish, and he could sing and play respectably. The following description of his gifts is amusing, as a specimen of the "valet" style of panegyric, which admiration for the Prince invariably inspired.

"He could perform on the violoncello, having been instructed by a well-known professor named Crossdill; Parsons, of the King's band, taught him singing, and it must be said that he was considered to have a good voice, and could take his part in a glee or catch.† He was an assiduous patron of the various musical socie-

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\* Walpole, "Last Journals," ii. 458, for a specimen.

† He is the reputed author of the second verse of the glee of "The Happy Fellow," "I'll ne'er," etc., and also of a verse in the song, "By the gayly circling glass," which he was accustomed to sing in his convivial moments with great



ties, the Concerts of Ancient Music, for which he selected pieces, the Philharmonic, the opera; though from the Ancient Concerts he withdrew, owing to a slight shown to a lady in whom he was interested."

Unfortunately, in company with these elegant and praiseworthy tastes were found others of a low and vulgar description. He took delight in "rowdy" escapades and riotous jests, later to be in high fashion, and described in works like "Tom and Jerry" and "The Finish." He was fond of Ranelagh and Vauxhall, where he was often engaged in scuffles and broils, being prudent enough, however, to retain a number of "bruisers" to attend him, and rescue him if overpowered; for among other accomplishments he had been instructed by Angelo in pugilism. In the pleasures of the turf, owing to the strict injunctions of the King, he could not yet indulge himself.

Thus equipped, this gay young prince "came upon town," and, it may be conceived, stimulated the current of gayety and extravagance. Balls and masquerades of the most brilliant kind attended his course. His wardrobe alone for a single year was said to have cost ten thousand pounds. Under his direction, one of the most brilliant masquerades was given at a club in St. James's Street, opened by the Prince and the Duchess of Devonshire. At these entertainments the fairest and most aristocratic dames were not ashamed to mix with courtesans who enjoyed the royal patronage; indeed, there was a general obsequious acceptance of public scandal which now seems incredible.

This new and riotous mode, as may be conceived, was to be a source of fresh trial to the King, and widened the breach between him and his son. The hopeful prince showed his disrespect and contempt by ignoring the officers who had been so recently placed about his person, studiously affecting never to address them; he looked on them as spies set to watch and report him. To Lord

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effect.—Huish, i. 46. As a critic he could not rank so high, to take as a specimen his comparison of Crossdill and Cervetto. Speaking of the performances of these eminent men, his royal highness was heard to say, that the execution of Crossdill had all the fire and brilliancy of the sun, whilst that of Cervetto had all the sweetness and mildness of the moonbeam. It was the delight of his royal highness to attend the Italian Opera, merely to hear Cervetto's accompaniments of the recitatives, which were acknowledged to be unrivalled. "It was a banquet for the ear," he said, "at which the appetite increased in proportion as it was administered to."

Chesterfield he made the objection "that he had hanged his tutor, the unfortunate Dr. Dodd," that he had for patron so depraved a person as Lord Sandwich. Yet, not long after, with characteristic uncertainty, he soon took as violent a *penchant* to this very nobleman, and drove him publicly in the park in his own chaise.\*

The town, indeed, was full of stories of his wild doings. No sooner had the King gone to bed, than he and his brother broke out of the palace in search of riotous adventures. One of these outrageous scenes may be taken as a specimen of the rest. One night, with his chief favorite and the worthy Duke of Cumberland, he set off for Blackheath, to sup with Lord Chesterfield, where the whole company presently got so drunk that the Prince was obliged to lie down. One of the party actually proposed a toast, "A short reign to the King," which the inebriated prince felt was in bad taste, or perhaps an affront to himself. He rose and gave his father's health. The next exploit was to let loose a large and ferocious dog, with whom Mr. George Pitt, a man of uncommon strength, engaged in a fight, attempting, we are told, "to tear out his tongue." The enraged animal broke from him, flew at Mr. Windham, tore his arm, then mangled a footman, on which the whole party assailed him *en masse*. He had just seized the coat of the Prince when he was felled to the ground. At six in the morning the Prince was setting off for home, when his host, attempting to light him to his coach, fell down the steps, and all but fractured his skull. The story of this orgie soon got abroad.† The poor king was so shocked at the prospect that all this opened that he fell ill, and told the Duke of Gloucester that he had not slept for ten nights. But there were other family discussions raging which helped to trouble the unhappy monarch's slumbers. His brother, the Duke of Cumberland, a vicious and ill-conditioned prince, was now at war with the King, whom he insulted in public and private. He and his wife acquired a sort of influence over the heir-apparent, and fostered and encouraged his excesses. The duke would insolently ignore the King and go to the Queen's House every day to see his son. The King would complain that if he met the

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\* See Walpole, "Last Journals," ii. 451.

† Walpole would appear to have written these lines in the papers:

Then stupid rise, and with the rising sun  
Drive the high car, a second Phaeton.  
Let these exploits your fertile wit evince;  
Drunk as a lord and happy as a prince.

"Last Journals," ii. 450.

duke, the latter would take off his hat and turn on his heel. "I am ashamed," he would say piteously, "to see my brother paying court to my son." With the same object the duke would go to the Court balls, though not invited. He himself gave a ball to the Prince, which the King forbade his son's retainers to attend. The duke then invited his household to a dinner-party to indemnify them, at which the King again forbade their attendance.

We can scarcely credit the story told by Mr. Walpole, that within earshot of the King the duke and his nephew talked of him in the grossest terms. People wondered why his Majesty did not forbid the graceless pair to see each other; but he frankly owned that he feared his son would not obey him. The duke as frankly owned that, by means of his influence over the Prince, he meant to intimidate his sovereign into recognizing the duchess.\*

At the Queen's drawing-room the Prince drank too much, and in consequence was seized with a fever, which seems to have brought him to a penitent spirit, for he told Lord Graham that he never thought of the night at Lord Chesterfield's without sorrow, and that he was determined never to be drunk again.

Indeed, the treatment with which the King had to put up with amounted to outrage. Out hunting, neither would speak to him. So once, at an out-of-the-way village, they both seized on the only postchaise, and left the King to get back to London as he could. If he asked the Prince to dine, he, with studious contempt, always arrived one hour late, so that all the servants saw the father waiting for the son. Such were the King's complaints to the Duke of Gloucester, and reported by him to Walpole.

To pander to their nephew's tastes, the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland kept a faro-bank, and when he did not go out brought *confrères* to the Queen's House, where he lived: They even pursued worse excesses. But soon the fickle youth grew tired of this violent friendship, even though the duke had carried him to common places of debauchery, where they got dead drunk and were often carried home in that condition. The uncle had grown familiar, and was so free as to call him "Taffy," in allusion to his Principality. The Prince haughtily begged that he might not be addressed in such fashion, but without the least effect.

A friendship which he had contracted with a foreign visitor who came to England—the Duke of Chartres, the notorious "Egalité"—

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\* Walpole, "Last Journals," ii. 457.



was not without its effect. With this companion—the most depraved man in Europe—he appeared at every place of amusement and public resort. The Frenchman flattered him by copying his dress, and pressed him to visit him in Paris, a plan which the Prince pressed with passionate eagerness on his father. The latter refused his consent, but discreetly proposed a visit to Hanover instead.

The Duke of Chartres's grooms, costumes, and equipages were all English, and heralded that Anglomania which set in on the eve of the Revolution. Other friends of a more respectable type—and it must be said that from the first he always cultivated the society of men of parts and position—were Lords Rawdon, Hastings, Cornwallis, Hugh Seymour, the Dukes of Norfolk, Bedford, Devonshire, with Messrs. Erskine, Coke, Crewe, Fitzpatrick, Francis, Grey, Plumer, Pigot, Taylor, Windham, and others. The most familiar and intimate of all was Fox, who, combining wit, talents, and influence to an extraordinary degree, was for more than twenty years to exercise much influence, and at the present time held him by a sort of fascination.

In the following year, 1782, the King had been compelled to dismiss the North ministry, and in a sort of agony of reluctance to accept Lord Rockingham and the Whigs. A year later the death of this nobleman had brought Fox into power as foreign secretary. Fox, as is well known, was particularly odious to the King, who looked on him as the counsellor and instigator of his son's excesses. It may be conceived what torture it was to the father's heart to find the son whom he could not control thus fortified by the assistance of a man whose power was based on his subjection. The humiliation before the nation, to whom this unfortunate relation was notorious, made the matter worse. It will be seen how envenomed was the hostility to the Crown and the Government of the Crown, from the significant fact that Fox and his friends wore a dress copied exactly from Washington's uniform,\* and by the "parricide joy" of a patriot duke—no doubt the Duke of Portland, who actually gloated over the loss of an English ship of war sent to America.† At this time Mr. Fox was about thirty-three years old—a brilliant debauched creature, the idol of his friends, already too a ruined gambler, and his health impaired by excess. "His features, in themselves harsh, dark, and saturnine, like those

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\* Wraxall, "Hist. Mem." ii. 229. Third edition.

† Life and Letters of Sir G. Elliot," i. 74.

of Charles II., from whom he descended in the maternal line, derived nevertheless a sort of majesty from the additions of two black and shaggy eyebrows. Even these features, however seemingly repulsive, yet did not readily assume the expression of anger or of enmity, whereas they frequently, and as it were naturally, relaxed into a smile the effect of which became irresistible. His figure—broad, heavy, and inclined to corpulency, appeared destitute of all elegance or grace, except the portion conferred on it by the emanations of intellect, which at times diffused over his whole person when he was speaking with the most impassioned animation. In his dress he had become negligent to a degree.” \* Such was the friend of the young prince, for whom he was now affectionately “my dear Charles,” and over whom he exercised the most unbounded influence. At this time he was lodging in St. James’s Street, so as to be near the great gaming club, Brookes’s; and here of a morning, when he had just left his bed and was making his toilette, was he obsequiously attended by the young heir to the crown, together with a crowd of followers and admirers, “all his disciples.” Walpole describes the scene. “His bristly black person and shagged breast, quite open, and rarely purified by any ablutions, was wrapped in a foul linen night-gown, and his bushy hair dishevelled. In these cynic weeds and with epicurean good humor did he dictate his politics, and in this school did the heir of the crown attend his lessons and imbibe them.” †

Fox’s followers were quite unrestrained in their conversation about the sovereign. At Brookes’s they laid wagers on his life, and it is not unlikely that the irreverent talk at the club was reported to the King as having been uttered at that morning levée in the presence of his son. The graceless youth, when the King was resisting the Whig ministry then forced upon him, was heard to exclaim in the public rooms of the palace, “that his father had not yet agreed to take them, but he should be made to agree to it.” Indecent as this was, some excuse might be found in the rebelliousness of youth, and the inconsiderate folly which made him the tool of counsellors old enough to have known what was becoming. But party passions were intensified by the attitude of the King, who was contending with his own subjects. If the King joined their enemies, they held it to be quixotic not to use the son against the father.

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\* Wraxall, *sup.*

† Walpole, “Last Journals,” ii. 599

It was, therefore, at this time that the unhappy monarch conceived that bitter hatred to Fox which, as was well said, in time became "a rankling ulcer." In his anguish he implored the rough and surly Thurlow to tell him what to do. The reply was that "he would never have peace till he put both in the Tower." Such at least was the story. On the other hand, at a supper given by the Duchess of Cumberland, the Prince called out loud that he hoped "that d——d fellow, the chancellor, would be turned out."\* This influence of Fox, disastrous because that of a clever, much-admired man, was to endure for many years, though it became enfeebled as the Prince's character was revealed. Not unexpectedly do we find that within a few years "the d——d fellow" was to become the Prince's trusted counsellor and choice companion.

His friends were now installed in office. To what a degree Fox had become his *âme damnée* will be seen from a few letters written by the young prince to his friend. In the first there is almost a nervous and passionate eagerness to show his affection and devotion.

THE PRINCE OF WALES TO MR. FOX.

"Wednesday evening, 10 October.

"DEAR FOX,

"Nothing could give me more satisfaction than the message you were so good as to send me this morning. You know how sincerely you have my good wishes, and therefore will be convinced that I shall rejoice not a little if I again see you in administration, as I look upon it as the most fortunate event that can happen to us all. I mean not only to myself in particular, but to the nation in general. With respect to your friendly kindness to me I shall ever be happy to acknowledge it with the gratitude it so justly deserves. I will not take up any more of your time at present than merely to ask you whether it will be convenient to you or not, my calling upon you between court (if it is over in proper time) and dinner to-morrow. You may depend upon my coming the moment I am released. I can assure you no one can be more anxious than I am to see you at the present moment, as no one has your interest more sincerely at heart, and I hope you will ever look upon me as

"Your most affectionate Friend,

"GEORGE P."

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\* Walpole, "Last Journals," ii. 600

In others will be noted a boyish anxiety to be of use, and to receive direction from his friend.

## THE PRINCE OF WALES TO MR. FOX.

“Queen’s House, 4 o’clock.

“DEAR CHARLES,

“I am now returned home, and if you have anything particular you wish to say to me, I am ready either to come to you or to receive you at the Queen’s House, whichever is most convenient to you. But if you should have nothing to say to me, I intend going out of town early this evening.

“I am most sincerely yours,

“GEORGE P.”

## THE SAME.

“¾ past 2 o’clock.

“DEAR CHARLES,

“I am waiting for you at your own house; pray come directly if you can, as I wish very much to speak to you. I will not detain you three minutes.

Yours most truly,

“GEORGE P.”

“If you have not got your own carriage you had better take somebody else’s.”

It is creditable to him that he did not forget his old tutor, and at the first opportunity used his interest for him.

## THE SAME.

“Queen’s House, 12 o’clock, Ap. 30, 1783.

“DEAR CHARLES,

“I did not return home till it was too late to answer your kind letter last night. I cannot express to you how happy you made me by the contents of it, as I have always entertained the highest opinion of Dr. Cyril Jackson, and have always had the greatest friendship for him. You may easily conceive how much pleased I shall be at seeing him in so eligible a situation, and in a situation he must so wish for himself. Before I conclude, allow me to thank you, my dear Charles, for your kind attention to me on this and every other occasion, and believe me,

“Ever sincerely yours,

“GEORGE P.”



## CHAPTER V.

1783.

BUT now the formal emancipation of the Prince was at hand; in June, 1783, he wanted but a couple of months of being of age. He was to have a suitable establishment and an allowance voted by the nation, and, what his harassed father brought himself reluctantly to entertain, a recognized portion of authority and independence. It will be seen how painful this question must have been for the King, since an unfortunate turn in the political cards had placed its settlement in the power of the Prince's devoted friends, and of those whom the King disliked. As a matter of course these had made lavish promises to their young patron, and he might look for bountiful treatment at their hands. Already he was largely in debt, and it was natural that from his boon companions he should expect relief; but this was not to be done without a serious difficulty, and the question well-nigh overturned the new ministry.

The Shelburne party during their brief tenure of office had promised him the magnificent allowance of one hundred thousand pounds a year! When Fox came into power he felt himself bound to do as much, though he and the Duke of Portland and Lord Keppel were the only members of the Cabinet that favored so extravagant a sum, Lord North and the rest being strongly opposed to it. When the matter came to be laid before the King, on June 2nd, he appeared to accept this plan, allowed it to be discussed by the ministers, and suffered the arrangement to be made for its being submitted to the House on the 16th. Suddenly on the 15th, when the duke came to make the final settlement for the following day, he announced that the ministry had thought it better to make the allowance an addition to the Civil List, as being more palatable to the House of Commons. But he was thunderstruck to hear the King angrily declare that this was a departure from the first proposition, and that he therefore declined to sanction the business. The duke, alarmed, said that they would then go back to the first arrangement; when the King declared warmly that he had not changed his bad opinion of the

ministry, that he disapproved of the whole. He proceeded to make a violent attack on them; with all their professions of economy, here they were, he said, ready "to sacrifice the public interests to the wishes of an ill-advised young man." Finally, he would never forgive or forget their conduct, and would therefore himself give out of his own slender allowance half the sum.

This burst produced no less astonishment than consternation. It really manifested not a movement of petulance, but the long pent-up agony of his subservience and hatred of his masters. It was obvious, too, that the stroke was politic enough, for he appeared to the nation as the patron of economy, and ready to sacrifice himself, while he held up the ministry as favoring extravagance and profligacy. A letter of Fitzpatrick's to Lord Ossory sets out the view of the party as to the treatment they had received: \*

"June 17th, 1783.

"This letter will inform you of the fate of the present administration, and the short account of it is this: The King originally agreed that the whole business of the Prince of Wales's establishment should be settled by the Duke of Portland; and his first plan was that Parliament should be applied to for the whole £100,000. This was consented to. But upon further conversation it was thought that a part from Parliament, and a part from the Civil List, would be more palatable in the House of Commons. The Duke of Portland apprised the King of this in a letter the day before yesterday, in answer to which he wrote a very angry letter, complaining of the departure from the first proposal. In answer to this the Duke of Portland wrote, that he did not mean the latter should supersede the first plan, which he was ready to propose to Parliament. The King answered this by saying, that he had not changed his opinion of their (his ministers') conduct by this letter; that he totally disapproved of the whole of their proposal; that he could not think of burthening the public, but was ready to give £50,000 a year from the Civil List, which he thought sufficient; and that he found, notwithstanding all the professions of the present ministers for economy, they were ready to sacrifice the public inter-

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\* Here are exactly the tactics pursued by the King when, in 1806, he dismissed another ministry equally odious to him. The parallel is curious. The same devices were adopted by his son when the Catholic question was submitted in 1829.

ests to the wishes of an ill-advised young man; that he would never forget or forgive the conduct of the present ministers towards him. This, we suppose, has been settled with the enemy, and no measures are yet determined upon; but as we have a good attendance of friends in town, the wish is to do something to-morrow, and at least to die handsomely. Everybody thinks they cannot form any government that can have the appearance of lasting. This is coming to you by express, to hope you will come at any rate for to-morrow, though it is quite uncertain what may be done.

“Yours,

R. F.”

The secret of this sudden change in the King's tactics is thus explained: A day or two after he had seen the Duke of Portland, Lord Temple, the Lord Lieutenant, arrived suddenly from Ireland, and to whom, as a chosen confidant, the King revealed his trouble, imploring his aid. But Lord Temple shall himself relate what took place. “He spoke,” says Lord Temple, “with strong expressions of resentment and disgust of his ministers, and of personal abhorrence of Lord North, whom he charged with treachery and ingratitude of the blackest nature. He then stated the proposition made to him by the Duke of Portland for the annual allowance of £100,000 to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. I gave to him, very much at length, my opinion of such a measure, and of the certain consequences of it: in all which, as may reasonably be supposed, his Majesty ran before me, and stated with strong disgust the manner in which it was opened to him—as a thing decided, and even drawn up in the shape of a message, to which his signature was desired as a matter of course, to be brought before Parliament the next day. To all this he assented; but declared his intention to resist, at all events and hazards, the proposition for this enormous allowance to his Royal Highness, of whose conduct he spoke with much dissatisfaction. He asked, what he might look to if upon this refusal the ministry should resign: and I observed, that, not having had the opportunity of consulting my friends, I could only answer that their resignation was a proposition widely differing from their dismissal, and that I did not see the impossibility of accepting his administration in such a contingency, provided the supplies and public bills were passed, so as to enable us to prorogue the Parliament. To all this he assented, and declared his intention of endeavoring to gain time, that the business of Parliament might go on; and agreed with me that such a resignation

was improbable, and that it would be advisable not to dismiss them unless some very particular opportunity presented itself." \*

Such was the rather disingenuous game played by the King. But he was not prepared for what followed, though he fancied he might indulge his feelings in thwarting the ministers. The latter, indignant at such treatment—for they declared that the King had actually agreed to their whole scheme—insisted on resigning, being pressed by the Prince to do so, who had nearly got a fever from disappointment and annoyance. It was soon shown to the King that such a step would leave him in the helplessness and contemptible position of having to sue to them to come back. The cautious Scotchman saw it would not do, and Lord Bute shrank from making himself odious to the Prince, as he felt that the whole change would be set down to him. Lord Thurlow was too sagacious not to see the danger. "This shiftiness in high places engendered an equal shiftiness in those who depended on the King's favor, and the double-dealing of Lord Weymouth, the son's officer, was specially noted. The most shallow of men, he was the one in whom the King had most confidence. Into his bosom he poured all his complaints of his son's behavior, and from him he heard welcome abuse of that son." It was remarked, Walpole adds, that not a day passed without a secret interview between this nobleman and the King, though the former was actually holding office under Fox and his friends. This subserviency had attracted the suspicions of the Prince, who gave due notice to his friend. Certainly here was an edifying situation.

#### THE PRINCE OF WALES TO MR. FOX.

"Monday night,  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 12 o'clock,

"DEAR CHARLES,

"When I left the Queen's House this evening, Weymouth was with the King. I wish you would tell me in a short note how you interpret his frequent visits, and let me know whether you have heard anything fresh this evening.

"I am most sincerely yours,

"G. P."

The King's device therefore was not to succeed. He became almost terror-stricken at the sudden embarrassment that was open-

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\* "Court and Cabinets of George III.," p. 305.



ing before him. When, on the 16th, the ministers had met to arrange their resignation, the Duke of Portland was sent for to the King. In an agony of tears, he fell on the duke's neck and owned that he had gone too far. He implored him to rescue him, which the duke was well disposed to do, for his own sake.\*

The difficulty was now small; a retreat was to be managed, as the ministry was pledged to the Prince, and he, as we have seen, had set his heart on the arrangement. It will be found how completely he was in the hands of his friend Fox, and how ductile he was. The skilful Loughborough was the first to suggest this mode of operation. He wrote to Fox :

"Bedford Square, Tuesday, 6 P.M.

"DEAR SIR,

" . . . . I really do not see that there are two lines to take, whether successful or not. Submission for the present is the only reasonable course. But it would be much better, and much handsomer, if it were possible to dispose his Royal Highness to give way respectfully, and with a dutiful remonstrance profess himself ready to show his obedience, and to wait until his Majesty entertains another view of the matter. If my idea appears just to you, would it not be of great consequence that you should, as soon as possible, try to persuade the Prince of Wales to make a virtue of necessity, and gain the public favor by declining cheerfully any appearance of contest, which makes better ground for him hereafter and can do him no prejudice at present? Excuse me throwing out thus hastily what has occurred to me, and believe me

"Most sincerely yours, &c.,

"L."

With what good grace the Prince yielded will be seen from his letters to Fox :

"Queen's House, 1 o'clock.

"DEAR CHARLES,

"I have a thousand excuses to make to you for not having answered your letter immediately, but I am only this instant awake, and therefore have only just had time to read your letter. I saw the Duchess of Portland yesterday, and took the liberty

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\* Mr. Jesse, in his admirable "Memoirs of George III.," speaks of the King's "independent and resolute conduct" (ii: 437); but the reader can judge whether it deserves such a compliment.

or desiring her Grace to deliver a message from me to the Duke of Portland, desiring him, if it was not inconvenient to him, to allow me to come to him to-morrow at eleven instead of to-day. I ought to have explained this to you at Carlisle's when I desired you to meet me in Downing Street, on Sunday, at eleven o'clock, but it really quite slipped out of my memory. I must therefore entreat you to clear up the matter to the Duke of Portland, and make all proper apologies for me. I cannot, however, conclude without seizing the opportunity of thanking you for the part you have taken in bringing this essential business to me so near a conclusion, which, I can assure you, I shall never forget as long as I live.

I remain, my dear Charles,

"Ever most sincerely yours,

"GEORGE P.

"P. S.—You may depend upon seeing me to-morrow at eleven."

"Queen's House, June 18th, 1783.

"DEAR CHARLES,

"After what has already passed, I did not require this additional proof of your friendship and attachment; and you will see by a letter I have this instant written to the Duke of Portland, how ready I am to take your advice, and that I leave it entirely to the Cabinet.

Yours most sincerely,

"GEORGE P."

"Cumberland House,  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 9 o'clock.

"DEAR CHARLES,

"I have this instant received your kind letter. I am most exceedingly sensible of the kind and friendly attention you have shown me throughout the whole of this business, which is of so much importance to my happiness. Should anything arrive that you wish me to be immediately apprised of, pray send it to the Queen's House. I shall leave a servant there to bring me any letter that may come from you, wherever I am. James Luttrell I sent an express for immediately, but have not as yet sent to Lord Herbert, and according to your advice, the step not being as yet taken, I shall not send for him at all.

I remain, dear Charles,

"Ever most sincerely yours,

"GEORGE P."

By the 17th all was happily arranged, as the following extracts from Fox's letters will show:\*

MR. FOX TO LORD NORTHINGTON.

"St. James's, June 19th, 1783.

"DEAR NORTHINGTON,

"There is reason to think that the storm is for the present dissipated, and therefore I hope you have not mentioned to any one, except Windham, my last letter. The Prince has behaved in the handsomest manner, and his reasonableness under the hardest usage is likely to keep everything quiet; for how long is a question which cannot for some days at least be decided. I hope in a few days to be able to write to you a detailed account of the whole business, but really have not now time.

Yours ever,

"C. J. Fox."

"As to the opinion of our having gained strength by it," wrote Fox to the same friend on July 17th, "the only rational foundation for such an opinion is, that this event has proved that there subsists no such understanding between the King and Lord Temple as to enable them to form an administration, because if there did, it is impossible but they must have seized an occasion in many respects so fortunate for them. They would have had on their side the various cries of paternal authority, economy, moderate establishment, mischief-making between father and son, and many other plausible topics. The King has certainly carried one point against us. The truth is that, excepting the Duke of Portland and Lord Keppel, there was not one minister who would have fought with any heart in this cause. I could see clearly from the beginning, long before the difficulties appeared, that Lord North and Lord John, though they did not say so, thought the large establishment extravagant, and you will, I am sure, agree with me that to fight a cause, where the latter especially was not hearty, would have been a most desperate measure. Under all these circumstances there appeared to me no alternative in common sense but to yield with the best grace possible, if the Prince of Wales could be brought to be of that mind. I believe he was naturally very averse to it, but Colonel Lake and others whom he most trusts persuaded him to it, and the intention of doing so came from him to us spontaneously. If it had not, I own I should

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\* "Memorials of Fox," ii. 109.

have felt myself bound to follow his Royal Highness's line upon the subject, though I know that by so doing I should destroy the ministry in the worst possible way, and subject myself to the imputation of the most extreme wrongheadedness. I shall always therefore consider the Prince's having yielded a most fortunate event, and shall always feel myself proportionally obliged to him and to those who advised him. In short, the only thing that ought to be said is, that it was not a point upon which ministers ought to dispute his Majesty's pleasure, and that they were the better enabled to yield by the generosity of the Prince, who was most ready to give up his own interest rather than be the cause of any confusion, or appear to be wanting in duty to the King."

But it will be noted that there was an almost too great exuberance of goodwill on the side of the Prince, which, perhaps, was owing to a weakness of character.

The King, it would thus appear, had done both Fox and the Duke of Portland—"my son's ministry," he called it—some injustice in supposing that they had "set his son against him." Fox at his very first interview vindicated himself, and protested he had never said a word which he would not have been glad that the King should have heard, while the Duke of Portland, during the course of his trouble, had written a letter to the Prince, conjuring him to submit to his father; on which the King was charmed, and said "he did not know the duke was so honest a man."\*

Accordingly, on June 23rd, Lord John Cavendish, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, brought down the following royal message to the House: "His Majesty, reflecting on the propriety of a separate establishment for his dearly-beloved son, the Prince of Wales, recommends the consideration thereof to this House, relying on the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful Commons for such aid towards making that establishment as shall appear consistent with a due attention to the circumstances of his people, every addition to whose burthens his Majesty feels with the most sensible concern.—G. R." And on the 25th he introduced the matter in a speech, showing that the King's Civil List was about nine hundred thousands pounds a year, of which fifty thousand were set apart for the King, the remainder being scarcely sufficient for all the claims that were on it. His Majesty, however, was willing to sup-

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\* Walpole, "Last Journals," ii. 631.



ply the whole of the allowance for his son, viz. fifty thousand pounds a year, provided the House voted a sum of thirty thousand pounds for debts, and as much more for an outfit. His son would, besides, have the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall, the whole giving him an income of about sixty-two or sixty-three thousand a year. This, at the present value of money, was equal to about eighty thousand a year.

This moderate addition was opposed by Pitt, who reminded Lord North of his promises, given some years before, that there should be no addition to the Civil List. However, the whole was voted unanimously. The legislators little dreamed what painful discoveries were in store for them, and how, for years to come, the "Prince's allowance" and "the Prince's debts" would be a thorn in their sides.

In this fashion, the King, who had a certain cleverness, or cunning as some described it, contrived to secure popularity. But there were no lack of warnings that the insufficiency of the allowance would lead to future difficulties. The implied suggestion here was significant; viz., that the income should be proportioned to the extravagant temper of the recipient, and not to the general standard of what was becoming in the case of a person of his rank. Considering what the value of money was a hundred years ago, it was certainly a suitable provision.

## CHAPTER VI.

1783—1784.

THE PRINCE OF WALES came of age in August, 1783, an event celebrated by festive rejoicings. By this time he was established at Carlton House, the old residence of the Princess Dowager, and which had been tenantless since her death. It was discovered to be out of repair, and, unfortunately for himself and for the nation, offered itself to the Prince as a fitting object for the display of his elegant tastes and reckless expenditure.

For nearly forty years it was destined to swallow up enormous sums in reconstruction and alterations, and when these were completed after nearly thirty years' labor, was capriciously razed to the ground. The Duchess of Devonshire and Lady Melbourne were consulted by the young prince on the furniture and decorations, while Holland, later to be the architect of one of the Drury Lane Theatres, with one Nuovosielchi, furnished plans for the alterations. This was but the beginning of that building mania—the most ruinous of passions—in which he indulged to the last hour of his life, and of which Buckingham Palace, the Brighton Pavilion, and the Ivy Cottages at Virginia Water are the rather indifferent results. On the 11th of the same month he took his seat in the House of Peers, subscribed the declaration of supremacy, the oath of allegiance, etc., and, on the occasion of a motion relating to a proclamation for preventing seditious meetings and writings, made a speech. He said, “that on a question of such magnitude, he should be deficient in his duty as a member of Parliament, unmindful of the respect he owed to the constitution, and inattentive to the welfare, the peace, and the happiness of the people, if he did not state to the world what was his opinion on the present question. He was educated in the principles, and he should ever preserve them, of a reverence for the constitutional liberties of the people; and, as on those constitutional principles the happiness of that people depended, he was determined, as far as his interest could have any force, to support them. The matter in issue was, in fact, whether the constitu-

tion was or was not to be maintained; whether the wild ideas of theory were to conquer the wholesome maxims of established practice; and whether those laws under which we had flourished for such a series of years were to be subverted by a reform unsanctioned by the people. As a person nearly and dearly interested in the welfare and, he should emphatically add, the happiness and comfort of the people, it would be treason to the principles of his mind if he did not come forward and declare his disapprobation of those seditious publications which had occasioned the motion now before their Lordships; his interest was connected with that of the people; they were so inseparable, that unless both parties concurred, happiness could not exist. On this great, this solid basis he grounded the vote which he meant to give, and that vote should unequivocally be for a concurrence with the Commons in the address they had resolved upon. His royal highness spoke, we are assured, in a manner that called not only for the attention, but the admiration of the House, and the following words were remarkably energetic: "I exist by the love, the friendship, and the benevolence of the people, and their cause I will never forsake as long as I live." The Prince then concluded by distinctly saying: "I give my most hearty assent to the motion for concurring in this wise and salutary address."\*

During the progress of the India Bill he made himself conspicuous by appearing at the debates in the House of Commons, and showed his sympathies and partisanship so strongly that it was urged during this perilous discussion, that "if the great personage in question, not content with merely listening to the debates, should, on any occasion, testify by his behavior or gesticulation, while in the House, a predilection or partiality for any set of men, such marks of his preference would be unbecoming, and might operate as a means of influence." Lord North, however, uttered a panegyric on the Prince's "eminent abilities," expressing his personal gratification in seeing "a prince, to whom the country must look up as its hope, thus practically becoming acquainted with the nature of this limited government, rather than taking up the hearsay of the hour, or looking for his knowledge to flatterers." Mr. Fox characterized the charges as "pernicious and ridiculous alike, adopted by men no less the enemies of free discussion in that House than the calumniators of the motives of a distinguished personage, whose whole spirit was honor." "Was," he asked, "the mind which might, at any hour, by

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\* Huish, i. 86.

the common chances of mortality, be summoned to the highest duties allotted to man, to be left to learn them by accident? For his part he rejoiced to see that distinguished personage disdaining to use the privileges of his rank and keep aloof from the debates of that House. He rejoiced to see him manfully coming among them, to imbibe a knowledge of the constitution within the walls of the Commons of England. He, for his part, saw nothing in the circumstances which had called down so much volunteer eloquence." At the first division he had even cast his vote for his friends, but finding that this inflamed the King, he acted on the judicious advice of Mr. Fox and abstained from further part in the contest.\* As the sovereign had become himself a partisan, and was secretly plotting with some of his subjects to overthrow his own ministers, the praise of moderation seems to be due to the heir-apparent.† General Fitzpatrick, however, writing excitedly on the night of their defeat, says that "the Prince voted in the minority."

It has been often told and retold how, within a few hours, the ministry were ignominiously required to deliver up their seals, and what popular execration followed them into retirement. This extended to the Prince of Wales, who, when he appeared at the theatre, was hissed. After this rout of his friends he fell ill, it was thought from mortification, and Mrs. Montagu learned that he had an abscess in his side and was suffering much. He soon rallied, and, when the general election took place, joined eagerly in the struggle that followed, and which ended so disastrously for his friends. Fox, "the man of the people," had now to pass through the critical Westminster election, in which the fascinating Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, took so conspicuous a share. Carlton House became the candidate's committee rooms. The fair canvasser—to whom a stolen picture has given a popularity that she might otherwise never have enjoyed—was then in all her beauty, and much admired by the Prince. One who knew her, Sir N. Wraxall, draws this pleasing portrait of her :

"Her personal charms constituted her smallest pretension to universal admiration; nor did her beauty consist, like that of the Gunnings, in regularity of features and faultless formation of limbs and shape—it lay in the amenity and graces of her deportment, in her irresistible manners, and the seduction of her society. Her

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\* Moore, "Life of Sheridan," i. 403.

† It has been stated that he attended Cabinet Councils, but this is doubtful.



hair was not without a tinge of red; and her face, though pleasing, yet had it not been illuminated by her mind, might have been considered as an ordinary countenance. Descended in the fourth degree lineally from Sarah Jennings, the wife of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, she resembled the portraits of that celebrated woman. In addition to the external advantages which she had received from nature and fortune, she possessed an ardent temper, susceptible of deep as well as strong impressions; a cultivated understanding, illuminated by a taste for poetry and the fine arts; much sensibility, not exempt, perhaps, from vanity and coquetry. To her mother, the Dowager Countess Spencer, she was attached with more than common filial affection, of which she exhibited pecuniary proofs rarely given by a daughter to her parent. Nor did she display less attachment to her sister Lady Duncannon.

“Lady Duncannon, however inferior to the duchess in elegance of mind and in personal beauty, equalled her in sisterly love. During the month of July, 1811, a very short time before the decease of the late Duke of Devonshire, I visited the vault in the principal church of Derby, where repose the remains of the Cavendish family. As I stood contemplating the coffin which contained the ashes of that admired female, the woman who accompanied me pointed out the relics of a bouquet which lay upon the lid, nearly collapsed into dust. ‘That nosegay,’ said she, ‘was brought here by the Countess of Besborough, who had designed to place it with her own hands on her sister’s coffin. But, overcome by her emotions on approaching the spot, she found herself unable to descend the steps conducting to the vault. In an agony of grief she knelt down on the stones, as nearly over the place occupied by the corpse as I could direct, and there deposited the flowers, enjoining me the performance of an office to which she was unequal. I fulfilled her wishes.’”

The Prince’s thoughts were even thus early turning towards domestic repose, and it would almost seem that so early as 1783 he was thinking of the serious step he was presently to take. At a dinner-party at Lord Lewisham’s the Prince drank very hard—a not unusual incident with him—and then fell into a sort of dejected mood, in which he bewailed his condition, said he envied the Dukes of Devonshire and Rutland, who were at liberty to wed two clever women whom they liked. For his part, he supposed that “he should be forced to marry some ugly German.” Turning then to Rigby, then Master of the Rolls and a humorist, he put the sig-

nificant question to him: "What would he advise him to do?" "Faith, sir," was the reply, "I am not yet drunk enough to give advice to a Prince of Wales about marrying;" an answer commended as one of the best, even to a question of this kind. For, as Walpole says, there were lots of fools who thought themselves sober enough to advise him on whatever subject he consulted them on. It showed, however, what was in his mind at this time.

When the election was over, Fox was carried in a chair adorned with laurels through the chief streets of the West End, and the gates of Carlton House being thrown wide open, the whole cavalcade defiled through in compliment to the new member's august patron. It was an odd procession. A banner was carried in honor of the duchess, with the inscription: "Sacred to Female Patriotism;" Mr. North, Mr. Adam, and others, being observed to be mounted on the braces of Fox's carriage. The Prince, attended by a crowd of friends, appeared on the steps, while Fox made a brief harangue. On the following day, May 18th, he determined to celebrate the victory by a noonday fête in the gardens of his house, to which all the rank, beauty, and talent of the Opposition were invited. The grounds were separated only by a wall from the road that led from St. James's Palace to the Houses of Parliament, and it was noted that the King passed by in procession to open the session, and could see the festival going on. On the same night the triumphant party repaired to Lower Grosvenor Street, to an entertainment, or rather revel, given by the fair and captivating Mrs. Crewe, where the ladies all appeared, arrayed like the gentlemen, in buff and blue. The Prince of course attended, wearing the same colors, and after supper rose to give the well-known toast—"True blue, and Mrs. Crewe!" It was received with rapture, the lady, with the same spirit but less point, acknowledging the compliment in the phrase: "True blue, and all of you!"

Speeches were made on this happy occasion, Fox proposing the Prince's health in glowing terms, professing his "gratitude for the manner in which his Royal Highness has been pleased to give his countenance to me and to my cause. It is a circumstance of pride and honor, particularly dear to me, that in pursuing the interests of the people I have at the same time gained the approbation of the Prince. I assure his Royal Highness that his favor and kindness have made the deepest impression on my mind; and my return to him shall be, to make it the study of my life, never to counsel his Royal Highness without having equally in view the interests of

the Crown and the people—interests which cannot be severed without injury to both.” The Prince replied: “I will not at present speak of my private regard for Mr. Fox; I have entered into his interests from a conviction, not only that his talents are the brightest in the empire, but that his principles are the best, and his motives the purest; and I assure him that the prejudices of those who do not know him shall never alter my personal or political attachment.”\*

Nor was this all, the Prince himself celebrated the victory at Carlton House by one of the most magnificent fêtes within recollection. Nothing that luxury or taste could devise was absent, and, with an affectation of refined politeness almost inconsistent with the coarse manners of the time, the gentlemen, including the host himself, waited on the ladies at table. It was said by those who had often seen him in society, “that not even Louis XIV. himself could have eclipsed him in a ball-room,” or while doing the honors of his own house; and certainly, even if sagacity were wanting, there was in all his conduct a certain gay readiness, a spirit and *savoir faire*, that was remarkable in one so young, the portraits at this time representing him as an interesting young man with a distinguished air, and a face almost juvenile for its glow and brilliancy.

These proceedings made the breach with his father complete. No notice was taken of his birthday at Windsor. He was considered to be leagued with the enemies of the Court. When Mr. Pitt was being drawn home in triumph from the City dinner, the shouting mob passed by Carlton House and stopped the carriage to hoot and groan, the minister having to look on. But when they passed by Brookes’s Club they were met by an opposing crowd, and a serious conflict took place, in which the minister had a narrow escape. The Prince complained to his father and required an apology, which he does not appear to have obtained.†

From these mortifications he turned to find relief in renewed gayeties and entertainments. The alterations at Carlton House—first of the series—were now completed, and the event was celebrated on March 10th by a ball. The dining-room, lit up by three magnificently-gilt chandeliers, the state-room, the ball-room and its

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\* Reported in a private letter from a gentleman who was present.—Lloyd, “Life and Reign,” i. 122.

† Ibid., i. 126.



orchestra, all excited admiration, abundant compliments being paid to the Prince's taste. This was followed on April 18th by a public breakfast at Carlton House. "About six hundred of the most distinguished persons in the kingdom assembled in his beautiful gardens about two o'clock. The preparations on the occasion were full of magnificence. Covers were laid under nine extensive marquees for two hundred and fifty persons, and the entertainment consisted of the finest fruits of the season, confectioneries, ices, creams, and emblematical designs. Four bands of instruments were placed at different parts of the garden, and the company were entertained with various novelties of a comic kind, some of the performers at the theatres having attended for that purpose. After they had taken refreshments they rose to dance. A beautiful level, in the umbrage of a group of trees, was the spot which his royal highness selected for their ball, and he led down the country dances, first with the Duchess of Devonshire, and afterwards with one of the Lady Waldegraves. The company frequently changed their partners, and at times grouped off into cotillons. Among the ladies who danced was Mrs. Sheridan.\* The breakfast concluded about six in the evening, when the company retired to dress."

"The Prince of Wales," says Mr. Raikes, "was a constant frequenter of the coteries and parties at Devonshire House, which was then the resort not only of the Opposition, but of all the wits and *beaux esprits* of the day. Sheridan, Grey, Whitbread, Lord Robert Spencer, Fox, Hare, Fitzpatrick, G. Selwyn, Prince Boothby, Sir H. Featherstonhaugh, and a host of names which I just remember in all the celebrity of *haut ton*, but now swept away by the hand of time, and, with only some few exceptions, leaving hardly a trace of recollection behind them. The Prince of Wales gave the young Count de Gramont a commission in his own regiment, the 10th Light Dragoons, of which the officers were generally his favorites and friends, among whom at that time were Poyntz, W. C. Churchill, Braddyll, Jack Lee, poor little Galway (who was burnt in his bed), Lords R. and C. Manners, and, though last not least, our friend G. Brummell, who was beginning to establish an intimacy with his royal colonel."

Indeed, it would be impossible to give an idea of the whirl of folly and extravagance in which the pleasure-loving young prince

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\* The lady just alluded to was then in all her bloom, and so "fast," as it is called now, that we hear of her being brought to hear a debate in the House of Commons dressed in man's clothes!



now lived. A strange restlessness—never absent from what are called the “voluntaries of pleasure”—had taken possession of him; he was flying from house to house, dashing down to Brighton and up again, as fast as four horses could take him; now at Tunbridge Wells, or at the country mansion of some boon companion. Attended by a band of roysterers and his “three colonels,” as they were called—Lake, Hulse, and St. Leger—he gamed and drank, frequented races and boxing-matches and the Gardens. Indeed, from this time to the end of his life, it might seem that clothes, carriages, and building houses were to form his favorite minor pleasures. Were a history of dress during the present and last century written, the changes he inspired should be noted. Carriages he also influenced with infinite variety. Mr. Thackeray indeed professed to see nothing but clothes when he looked through his life, and his judgment may be worth quoting here, as one of the most mistaken and superficial of estimates. “I try and take him to pieces,” he says, “and find silk stockings, padding, stays, a coat with frogs and a fur collar, a star and blue ribbon, a pocket-handkerchief prodigiously scented, one of Truefitt’s best nutty-brown wigs reeking with oil, a set of teeth and a huge black stock, under-waistcoats, more under-waistcoats, and then nothing. I know of no sentiment that he ever distinctly uttered. Documents are published under his name, but people wrote them; private letters, but people spelt them. He put a great George P. or George R. at the bottom of the page and fancied he had written the paper. Some bookseller’s clerk, some poor author, some man did the work—saw to the spelling, cleaned up the slovenly sentences, and gave the lax maudlin slipslop a sort of consistency. He must have had an individuality: the dancing-master whom he emulated, nay, surpassed, the wig-maker who curled his toupee for him, the tailor who cut his coats, had that. But, about George, one can get at nothing actual. That outside, I am certain, is pad and tailor’s work.” This view of character, founded on clothes, will be found to be a complete mistake. If he could devise these trifling things, he could turn his mind with effect to what was serious and important.

The phaeton, a favorite vehicle of his, is familiar to us from the caricatures. It was an unsightly thing, high, single-bodied, “all upon the fore wheels,” says the agreeable author of “The Road,” “and looking as if the hinder ones had nothing to do but to follow. This was commonly driven, by such as could afford it, with four horses in hand. Indeed, it may almost be said to have given birth

to our gentleman-coachmanship, as well as to the well-known epigram:

“What can Tommy Onslow do?  
He can drive a phaeton and two.  
Can Tommy Onslow do no more?  
Yes—he can drive a phaeton and four.

“The phaeton was succeeded by the no less classically yclept curricule—a carriage, when properly appointed, and followed by two well-dressed and well-mounted grooms, of singular elegance certainly. It had a long run in the fashionable world, but being, like the phaeton, only calculated to carry two persons, and requiring never less than three horses, taxation and economy put an end to it. Then came the reign of the gig, and the stanhope, so named after the Honorable Fitzroy Stanhope, who planned it, succeeded the tilbury, so called from the well-known coachmaker; and the cost, without harness, of either may be about seventy pounds. Now, ‘every dog has his day,’ and so have our prevailing fashions. The buggy, stanhope, dennet, and tilbury have all, during some seasons past, been supplanted by the cabriolet. Fifty years ago the idea of putting a thoroughbred horse into harness would have been considered preposterous. In the carriages of our noblemen and gentlemen the long-tailed black or Cleveland bay—each one remove from the cart-horse—was the prevailing sort, and six miles an hour the extent of his pace.”

Mr. Cyrus Redding recollected some strange varieties of vehicle—“Tim-whiskeys”—some that went on three wheels. The ladies went to Court in Chairs. “There was a vis-à-vis for two, generally used by gentlemen going to court, superbly ornamented, and the horse richly caparisoned, with two or three footmen behind in gay liveries. There was the lofty phaeton generally used with four horses, high enough to look into a first-floor window. Some of these carriages had silver panellings. The Prince of Wales launched the most extravagant equipages, crowned with coronets and plumes, the panels fitted with paintings of squabby cupids and rustic nymphs.”

He once saw the Prince arrayed in deep brown velvet, silver embroidered, cut-steel buttons, and a gold net thrown over all. In our own day fashion takes many freaks, but does not amuse itself by costly and whimsical changes in the patterns of clothes. Nor was it in these departments alone that he was the leader of the town. Indeed, at this period London was one of the gayest cities of

Europe, and all the ranks of nobles and gentry, and in these ranks the old as well as the young, seemed to be frantically devoted to the pursuit of pleasure under its most showy and even theatrical forms; while the presence and encouragement of an ardent young prince, handsome, brilliant, and full of gayety, set the ball rolling, as the phrase runs, with increased avidity. An interesting subject of inquiry would be to discover what taste has regulated the different forms of social amusement at particular eras. In our own day, *al fresco* amusements, dancing and supping at gardens, masquerades and balls at public rooms, would seem not to be in keeping with the manners or tastes of the day, but one hundred years ago we find the whole of London society rushing heedlessly after such pastimes. Private theatres were highly fashionable, one wing of many a noble mansion being built specially for this purpose; as well as the Almack's balls, the gardens at Ranelagh and Vauxhall, the splendid rooms at the first-named of these places, as well as at the Pantheon and Mrs. Cornelys', which were used for concerts, suppers, and masquerades—all of which offers the most curious contrast to the habits and tastes of our own day. It will not be out of place to give a review here of the pastimes with which the *beau monde* used to recreate itself.

The masquerade was then in the highest favor, and might be fairly considered "the note" of a popular taste; that is, the sort of reckless longing for adventure which such scenes offered. We find that there was such faith in this peculiar fashion that no less than three magnificent places of amusement were constructed to gratify it. The foremost was, of course, Ranelagh, the rotunda of which, with the magnificent suit of rooms attached and its handsome gardens, was one of the sights of London. Dr. Johnson's visit and his praise are well known. The superb circular room, its cupola supported in the centre by an arcade, while some fifty or sixty boxes for supping in ran round under galleries, offered on gala-nights a superb spectacle. People of the highest rank attended promenades, supped, listened to the music, sought and found adventures. The decorations of these places were of the best architecture. At old-fashioned watering-places abroad, such as Spa, we see some of these noble buildings, whose faded glories, tarnished gilding, and painted ceilings recall these old festive times.\*

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\* There is a whole series of prints of Ranelagh and the Pantheon, finely engraved, and much esteemed by connoisseurs.



Mrs. Cornelys, a German, came to London about the year 1763, and opened a splendid building in Soho Square, for concerts and masquerades. Her entertainments became the rage, and we find Mr. Sterne, not long before his death, using his fashionable interest to secure tickets for friends. After many vicissitudes, the fine rooms passed into the possession of the eminent pickle-makers, Messrs. Crosse and Blackwell, but the beautiful stucco ceilings still remain to show what its other glories were. At one of her entertainments the pavilion was ceiled with looking-glasses, while the supper-room was laid out as a garden, the guests advancing in a walk between hedges, behind which were ranged the tables. The Soho fêtes continued in fashion for some twenty years or so. The directress at last became bankrupt, and made ineffectual struggles to revive the public taste. But the Pantheon had been opened, and swept away all the fine company; and the unlucky directress was at last reduced to selling asses' milk at Hampstead. One of her last attempts was a sort of rural fête, for which she sought the Prince of Wales's patronage; but there is no evidence that it was accorded, and she died in the Fleet Prison in 1795. Such is too often the disastrous finale of those who are known as caterers for public amusements. One of her daughters, however, became a sort of reader to one of the princesses, changing her name.

Here is the description of an entertainment given at Lord Berwick's house in Portman Square, thrown open for the reception of masks. "The company were selected by tickets limited to the number of five hundred, and about eleven o'clock the rooms were completely filled with the fashionable world, in a great variety of excellent masquerade figures; the dominoes (contrary to the generality of masquerades) not being very prevalent. About half-past eleven his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales's party arrived from Carlton House, and consisted of a convent of gray friars, under the direction of a superior; they were thirteen in number, and most completely clad. The superior of these friars sung an extremely witty new character-song, with a chorus by the whole fraternity in a circle; which, at the request of the company, was sung a second time in the same manner. About one o'clock the whole body of monks unmasked, and were discovered to consist of the following group:



Superior of the Convent, Captain Morris, by whom the song was written.  
Monks.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.	Hon. — St. John. J. Payne, Esq.
Hon. H. Conway.	P. O'Byrne, Esq.
Hon. G. Conway.	M. Braddyll, Esq.
Hon. C. Dillon.	Col. Gardener.
Hon. S. Finch.	Capt. Boyle."
Lord Strathaven.	

The Prince gave another grand *fête* at Carlton House on the 10th of June. "The ball-room was fitted up in a light and pleasing style. Twelve superb lustres were suspended from the ceiling, and the same number of girandoles on brackets placed round the room. Two orchestras were constructed, hung with crimson silk. Upwards of two hundred ladies were present, some of whom were of the first accomplishments and fashion. The ball was suspended at half-past one, and the company repaired to supper. Five rooms were laid out for the purpose. The Prince and a party, consisting of one hundred ladies and gentlemen, supped in the grand escaglio saloon. The Duchess of Devonshire was seated on the right hand of his royal highness, and Lady Beauchamp on the left. All the first families in the kingdom supped in this apartment. The company amounted together to four hundred and fifty. The supper consisted of eight removes of the choicest dishes, and a grand display of confectionery, with the most curious fruits.

"After supper the dances were resumed with great hilarity. The Prince danced with the Duchess of Gordon, Lady Duncannon, and several other ladies."

A ball at St. James's Palace a hundred years ago offers a contrast, in many respects, to such entertainments in our time, and, since those of lower degree offered nearly the same elements, the description of a royal birth-night ball may be accepted as a fair specimen of this mode of entertainment. The ball began before nine o'clock, when the King and Queen had taken their seats on chairs singly placed on the floor. Round them rose lines of seats in "pens," while nothing could be richer or more magnificent than the dresses; and, on great occasions, there was a sort of competition that made the display quite dazzling.

It was the *ton* even to have equipages mounted for the occasion; and the Court newsman would take care to describe "Lady ——'s chair, adorned in magnificent scarlet morocco with very rich silver

ornaments, her 'running footmen' in silver lace;" or he would dwell on Mr. St. Leger—one of the prince's companions—and his truly elegant equipage, "his carriage, servants, and horses being all as a young man of fashion should be." At present this part of the display is quite lost, and persons of condition have neither opportunity nor inclination, on arriving or departure, to criticise their neighbors' vehicles. "Gala-suits" were often worn by the princes and young nobles, the distinctive mark of which was embroidery along the seams; and, in 1782, a dress of the Prince, of this description, excited much admiration. It was of the color called dauphin, a sort of blush tint, embroidered with pearls and "foil stones." The Marquis of Graham appeared in carmelite-colored velvet, decorated with "stone clusters." The other dresses were nearly all of velvet with fur linings. On state occasions the King wore velvet embroidered with gold, and the Queen a straw-colored gown and petticoat trimmed with blond and silver lace, drawn up in festoons with strings of large pearls and clusters of diamonds. Tassels of diamonds also hung in front relieved by azure-blue ribbons. She wore, besides, flowers of diamonds. There were green gowns richly embroidered with silver, as in the case of Lady Spencer; or a puce-colored bodice, as worn by Lady Salisbury; "the coat of crape-gauze ornamented in stripes with colored foil flowers, between which were a number of the eyes of peacocks, fancifully disposed. The headdress fancied was in the style of an emperor's crown." The whole was, however, considered to have "an uncommonly novel and whimsical effect." The effect may be conceived of such a mass of rich materials and colors.

The King and Queen having given the signal, the dancing commenced. The minutes were the favorite measure. Persons who proposed to dance had previously sent for dancing-tickets to the Lord Chamberlain, and received numbers in regular order. These seated themselves on benches on the floor, at each side of his Majesty, and danced according to their rank. "God Save the King" was played, to the music of which the royal family walked round and greeted the company. The ball would be opened by the Prince of Wales with the person of highest rank present, who was usually the Princess Royal. This rule was carried out rigidly in all degrees of society, so that it often happened that a gentleman and his sister became partners. The Lord Chamberlain stands by with a list. The gentleman walks out to dance, putting on his hat and handing his sword to the Chamberlain to hold during the performance; at the conclu-

sion of which the lady returns to her seat, while the gentleman remains and dances with the next lady. About twelve dances were generally thus given. Then the more lively country dance succeeded, to the favorite tunes of "Good Morrow to your Nightcap," "La Belle Catarina," or the "German Spa." The list of couples was sometimes after this fashion: The Prince of Wales standing up with the Princess Royal; the Duke of Cumberland with Lady A. Campbell; the Duke of Dorset with Lady Salisbury; Lord Rochford with Lady Stormont; Lord Graham with Lady Francis Smith; Mr. Greville with Lady Aylesford; Mr. North with Miss Bradwith; Colonel St. Leger with Miss Nottis; Mr. West with Lady Talbot; and Mr. Lumley with Miss Woodley.

This arrangement, it will be noticed, was highly select, and only allowed of but a few dancing out of a large crowd. Before twelve o'clock the ball broke up and the company departed.

On the 14th of May we find that the Prince was introduced to a new source of enjoyment in the shape of the "Beefsteak Club," which represented the original type of club—which, of late, has become a sort of house of call—but was then the club proper. A general dinner, which occurred at short intervals, with a carouse to follow, was the club ideal of the day. The rules were suspended to admit him, as the number was complete. "The Finish," "The Owls," and a host of such convivial societies, met at taverns, as did the more respectable. "The Club" of Johnson preceded "Watier's," "Crockford's," and other more refined establishments. "White's" and "Brookes's" answered to the "Carlton" and "Reform" Clubs of later times.



## CHAPTER VII.

1784.

DURING this headlong race of pleasure, he had found time to surround himself with a class of friends not so respectable as the coterie with which he had set out, and these were of a peculiar, if not very respectable, kind. As we have been considering the forms of entertainment which the town affected, it may be interesting to see what was the type of "man about town," or "blood," which then obtained. These beings combined eccentricity and vice to a singular degree. Indeed, the best mode of giving an idea of the "fast life" of the day would be to present a sketch of some of the more conspicuous of the Prince's companions about this season. It should be remembered, however, that at this time the Prince's jovial friends belonged to a preceding era, and were now old-fashioned. They may be said, therefore, to have been his masters; but, by-and-by, he formed a school of his own. But from his own contemporaries no better specimens could be selected than the Barrys, Hangers, "Old Q——," Sir John Lade, and many more. The roystering nobleman or gentleman was fairly exemplified in the careers of the Barrymores, the Duke of Queensberry, the Duke of Norfolk, and Sir John Lade.

Lord Barrymore, eldest of the family of Barry, ran a short career, and bore the nickname of "Hellgate." His brother the Honorable Henry Barry was lame, or club-footed, and dubbed Cripplegate; while the Hon. and Rev. Augustus Barry, even less reputable than the other two, went by the name of "Newgate," for the rather illogical reason that he had been a tenant of every jail in the kingdom save that. There was a sister, of whom little is known save that she became Lady Melfort, and that from her ready and copious use of oaths she received from the refined lips of the Prince the *sobriquet* of "Billingsgate." Lord Barrymore distinguished himself by bringing a thousand pounds for pocket-money to school. He came into a fortune of ten thousand a year, which in an incredibly short space of time he had contrived to charge with debts amount-



ing to a couple of hundred thousand pounds, leaving but a couple of thousand a year to live upon. His extravagance took the most fantastic shapes. His hunting retinue was like the French king's, and he went out with four Africans, dressed magnificently, who played on the French horn during the chase. All the lowest scum of boxers and cockfighters were in his train. He delighted in cricketing, then in its infancy, and even held a commission in a militia regiment. He could turn verses and had a decided literary taste; and was so far musical, that on returning home from a new opera he could give an idea of the overture. "His lordship," says a pleasant actor who knew him well, "was alternate between the gentleman and the blackguard, the refined wit and the most vulgar bully was equally well known in St. Giles's and St. James's. He could fence, dance, drive or drink, box or bet, with any man in the kingdom. He could discourse slang as trippingly as French, relish porter after port, and compliment her ladyship at a ball with as much ease and brilliance as he could bespatter in blood in a cider cellar." He was highly popular, the friend and companion of the Prince of Wales, who, later, treated him with the contemptuous freedom with which he favored many of his boon companions. He would take some "spirited companions," and, going by night to a village or country town, shift all the various signs of the public-houses, transposing, say, The King's Head and The Red Lion, to the confusion of the owners and their customers. Often as he and his brothers were driving in a hackney-coach they would imitate the screams of a woman struggling—"Murder, murder! Let me go!" etc.—when the passers-by would be attracted, rush after them in pursuit, and stop the coach to rescue the sufferer. Then the fast lord and his friends would descend, fall on the interposers, who were quite bewildered to find there was no female in the coach, and administer a sound thrashing on the public highway. Or he would be driving with a guest and his brother "Newgate" in his chaise-and-four, returning to his country place, when, after some halt, the guest would find himself whirled along at a terrific pace, and discover that the postilions were in the rumble behind, and that the two brothers had taken their place. If he met an ill-conditioned wagoner on the road, who would not give way, his lordship would descend to fight it out: if the winner, he would present the man with a guinea; if the loser, he would shake hands good-humoredly.

At Brighton, he fitted a coffin to the back of his servant, taking

the bottom off so as to leave room for the man's feet. This was carried with great solemnity to a gentleman's house in the Steyne, and left against the hall door. When the maid opened the door and saw this apparition, she shrieked and fainted away, and the family rushing down, a pistol was discharged which penetrated the coffin barely an inch above the servant's head. Did a particular kind of mild beer run short, three chaises were sent off in different directions, charged to look for beer, each returning after some hours with a cask inside.

But it was at his own house at Wargrave that he had full scope for his humor. This was a sort of cottage or villa, not far from Maidenhead, small and inconvenient; but for which, from early associations, he had a liking. There he would collect the band of roysterers and "flappers" and butts who furnished him with diversion, and here he was able to indulge his passion for the stage, having built a handsome theatre. He brought down an eminent Covent Garden mechanist, who exhausted his skill in scenes, traps, and other contrivances, so that such embarrassing works as pantomimes could be brought out successfully. Here a series of sterling comedies, such as "The Merry Wives of Windsor" and "Every Man in his Humor," was brought out, supported by amateurs of reputation like Captain Wathen and Mr. Wade, and professionals such as Palmer, Bannister, Johnstone, Incedon, Munden, and others. Captain Wathen and the host excelled in Archer and Scrub, and they were painted in character. Delpini, a well-known pantomimist, directed behind the scenes, and took the leading part in the pantomime; the "favorite Pas Russe, as performed at the Italian Opera, being danced by Lord Barrymore and Mr. Delpini." Nothing could exceed the reckless extravagance with which this hobby was carried out. The professionals were asked *en masse*, and allowed to gratify every whim.

In the year 1788, the Prince of Wales was induced to come down and occupy a splendid mansion close by; Lord Barrymore, whose house was too small, providing the rest of the entertainment. The performance did not begin till nine o'clock; all the rank and fashion of the county were present. The prologue was written at a short notice by a son of Judge Blackstone, who roused his "fuddled" intellects for the purpose by tying a wet towel round his head.

There was generally in his train a set of bruisers, and one noted individual known as "Hooper, the tinman," was permanently retained as a sort of body-guard. This man was the hero of one of

his lordship's vagaries at Vauxhall, which at the time was much resented.

"Lord Barrymore," says one of his companions, "had, unknown to us, contrived to dress Tom Hooper, the tinmap (one of the first pugilists at that time), as a clergyman, to be in waiting at Vauxhall, in case we should get into any dispute. His black clothes, formal hat, hair powdered and curled round so far disguised him, that he was unknown to us all at first, though Hooper's queer dialect must soon have discovered him to the waiters. This was a *ruse de guerre* of Lord Barrymore's. About three o'clock, whilst at supper, Lord Falkland, Henry Barry, Sir Francis Molineux, etc., were of our party; there was at this time a continual noise and rioting, and the arrack punch was beginning to operate. On a sudden all were seen running towards the orchestra, the whole garden seemed to be in confusion, and our party, all impatience, sallied out, those at the further end of the box walking over the table, kicking down the dishes. It seems that Hooper was now for fighting with everybody. A large ring was made, and, advancing in a boxing attitude, he threatened to fight any one, but all retired before him."

The death of this noble roysterer was sudden, and of a very tragic kind. He was at Rye with his regiment—and, curious to say, he was considered a very painstaking and efficient officer—whence some French prisoners were to be sent to Deal under escort. He applied specially for the duty of commanding the party, no doubt hoping for some fun or excitement. When they got outside Folkestone, the commander, always good-natured, halted at a convenient public-house, where he treated the whole party. Being tired of marching, he got into his carriage, which was following, wishing to smoke. He had his gun with him, which he had characteristically used as he marched along, to shoot any stray rabbits and gulls he might see on the roadside. Lighting his pipe, he handed his gun to his man, who held it awkwardly between his knees, when, as the good-natured master with his pipe was pointing out to him the coast of France, bidding him note how clear it was, the piece suddenly exploded, lodging the contents in his head. The right eye was blown out upon his cheeks, and some of the brain dropped upon the wheels. He lived but half an hour, groaning terribly all the while, and expired amid lamentations even of the French prisoners. A cynic might find an appropriateness in the scene of his last moments—that public-house where he had been so cheerful but a few minutes before. He was no more than



twenty-three. Such was the fate of "Hellgate," the eldest of the brethren.

He was succeeded by his brother the Hon. Henry, known as the lame lord, or "Cripplegate." This gentleman, with the worthy parson, were said to be accountable for all the excesses of the elder brother, encouraging him in every conceivable way. The new lord had not the same bonhomie or the same love of fun. His excesses and oddities also became the public talk. He was considered very amusing, but, as Mr. Raikes says, from his want of principle as well as his want of good taste, was avoided by persons of his own station. This sort of character, too, finds itself more appreciated by persons of lower degree, whose society is therefore preferred.

Strange to say, this lord generally escaped chastisement, on account of the buffoonery that was mixed up with these insults. He had indeed a duel with a fat Mr. Howarth, at Brighton. A large crowd attended to see the sport, and was convulsed with laughter when he proceeded to strip himself to the waist, having an idea that portions of cloth, etc., were often driven in by the bullet. This comic spectacle took away the serious element, and after a random shot the affair terminated. He married a girl in Ireland of no family, but whose sister had made a conquest of an old French *émigré*—the Duke of Castries. He gradually sank into distress and difficulties; his house was assailed by bailiffs, whom, it is said, when he gave a dinner, he used to dress up in the family livery. He had finally to retire to France, where he died in great poverty, his brother-in-law, the Duke of Castries, now restored to his estates and honors, giving him shelter. "He was, with all his follies, a man," says one who knew him, "of a generous nature. He had nothing mean in his nature, and preserved his independence of spirit amid great temptations to subserviency." One of his claims to fashionable reputation was his having invented the "Tiger," the smart juvenile servant who, in those days, was seated beside the owner of the cab, and not standing behind.

Of the Hon. and Rev. Augustus Barry, "I believe," says one of his friends cautiously, "neither the nobility nor the Church derived much advantage from his being a member of both classes. He had the curious faculty of exhibiting himself as a perfect gentleman or a perfect blackguard. It would be invidious to say in which of the two characters he most commonly appeared." He, too, died in poverty and obscurity. Of "Billingsgate," the sister of the three



brothers, little is known, save the faculty of uttering oaths before described. Altogether a very remarkable family.

The well-known Duke of Queensberry was another of those *roués* of the old school. Facing the Green Park, and only a few doors from Park Lane, is still to be seen a remarkable porch, consisting of two tall pillars, without the usual steps, perched upon what looks like a small coach-house. This arrangement was made about seventy years ago to suit the infirmities of a disreputable old nobleman, who, seated in his chair, was let down by machinery from the high level of his parlor to the street. It was, in fact, "Old Q." himself, whom some London old gentlemen may still recollect.

"Old Q." was the last Duke of Queensberry, and, it may be added, the last of the frightful old *roués* whose aim seemed to be to scandalize both heaven and earth by their excesses; the coterie that enjoyed "Hellfire Clubs" and Medmenham Abbeys, that "had to go to Paris" to get a waistcoat fit to put on, and who brought back a couple of dozen copies of Crébillon's newest romance for sale among friends. He was of the set that included Wilkes, Sandwich, Hall Stevenson, Gilly Williams, Hanger, Barrymore, and a host of others.

It is recorded that even when a schoolboy (he was born in 1725) he was "distinguished by his escapades in the capital;" such was the pleasant newspaper phrase. Lord March, the title "Old Q." then bore, soon became conspicuous in the town. He was a spirited, clever young man, with an extraordinary store of vivacity; and certainly it must be said that in writing a letter the *roués* of his time excelled. The letters of the fast young men of our day contrast unfavorably with the good English, straightforwardness, liveliness, and even wit of the epistles of Lord March, Williams, Storer, and Lord Carlisle. One wager made him quite a reputation on account of the energy and anxiety he brought to bear on the result. He made a bet with an Irish gentleman that he would drive a carriage nineteen miles in an hour. Mr. Wright, "an ingenious coach-maker" of Long Acre, was employed to construct a vehicle of extraordinary lightness of wood and whalebone. The harness was formed of silk, instead of leather. The noble better practised for long before, four blood horses being driven at this terrific speed; and during the process no fewer than seven horses fell victims to the severity of the training. On the 29th of August, 1750, this curious match against time was run and won. The car-

riage was a sort of "spider" arrangement, consisting of little more than a pole and the wheels.

His lordship was conspicuous for the number and success of his attachments, or, as the newspaper of his day stated it, "was not insensible, if we are to credit report, to female charms." The objects of his devotion were usually selected from the opera, and the "Zamperini" and the "Rena" contended for his patronage. As he grew old and older he grew more and more selfish, economized his pleasures warily, and became self-denying, so as to have more enjoyment, and not draw too extensively on his store of health and satisfaction; and thus succeeded in reaching a fine span of life. When near seventy, "Old Q." "ratted" on the first regency question, deserting his old master, as though he wished to secure the favor of the young prince. An old Lord Essex used to tell of his coming home betimes from a ball with the duke—both arrayed in their stars and decorations—and of some rustics bursting into a sort of horse-laugh at the sight. The duke said, simply, to his friend, at the same time tapping his stars, "What! have they found out this humbug at last?" He had magnificent seats in the country, which he never cared to visit, and a pretty villa at Richmond, to which the pious Mr. Wilberforce was once invited, and where he heard his host exclaim with an admirable candor: "I can't see what they admire in this river. There it goes, flow, flow, all day long." The predominant feature of his character was "to do what he liked, without caring who was pleased or displeased with it;" a simple and agreeable rule of life. As years passed on, and he grew more and more decayed, there was left to him the pastime of sitting in a cane chair, in his balcony, a parasol held over his head, in his bow-window at Piccadilly—"an emaciated libel on manhood," says one who had seen him ogling the ladies of all degrees who passed by—and a groom ready mounted, Jack Radford by name, waiting below to ride after such friend or acquaintance as the duke recognized. In the afternoon, he was to be seen tottering down the little iron staircase to his vis-à-vis—a dark green vehicle, with long-tailed black horses. During winter he carried a muff, two servants sat in the rumble, while the indispensable Jack Radford rode behind. A buck of fifty years ago recalled him as "a little sharp-looking man, very irritable, who swore like ten thousand troopers." There was indeed a suggestion of Voltaire's face. Still, we are told that, "viewed from behind," he appeared surprisingly youthful; a rather ambiguous compliment. A physician enjoyed an annuity

of five hundred a year for the duke's life, with the understanding that nothing was to be expected after death. But he did not rest on the arts of legitimate pharmacy. A French quack, named Père Elisée, was in his grace's service, whose duty it was to compound strange drugs, supposed to have an elixir-like virtue, and to supply the vital power that was departing. At one time a rumor was rife in London that the aged duke was in the habit of taking milk baths! Thus the old man struggled on, now becoming deaf of one ear, now blind of an eye, now supplying its place with a glass one; a perfect ruin, but still preserving what were called his "elegant manners." At last, when eighty-five years old, and in the year 1810, this selfish and uninteresting specimen of an old epicurean was to be called away from his three superb "places," his hoarded wealth, and his pleasures.

His testament was found to be a curious document, consisting of a will formally executed, and no fewer than twenty-five codicils, more irregularly drawn. His ready money was found to amount to nearly a million sterling, and the disposition of it caused a universal flutter. Lord Yarmouth (later one of the Regent's choicest and most favored companions), with his wife, inherited all the vast estates; a disposition revoked in the codicils, and reduced to two hundred and fifty thousand pounds in cash. This jovial boon companion was familiarly styled by his friends, from the peculiar tint of his whiskers, "Red Herrings;" while his wife was the well-known heroine of George Selwyn's insane devotion.

A vast number of his friends were left either ten thousand or five hundred a year. Three French ladies received a thousand pounds apiece, with which they were, no doubt, but ill-contented. Some of the other legacies were marked by a strange oddity: a Mrs. Brown was allotted an annuity of only five guineas a year; while Jack Radford, his well-known groom, received an annuity of two hundred pounds, together with all his horses and carriages. His steward, confectioner, and other important attendants had each the same; the female servants were nearly all passed over. The French compounder of mysterious drugs had five thousand pounds. The legacy duty on the whole was calculated at about one hundred and twenty thousand pounds. But the old epicurean passed over the apothecary who attended him until he was himself brought to the verge of the grave. He had attended him for seven weary years, had paid nine thousand three hundred and forty visits, besides sitting up some seventeen hundred nights! He claimed ten thou-



sand pounds. The heirs were just enough to admit his claim, and at the trial came forward to support him; and though the judge declared that an apothecary had no right to recover fees, the jury found for him to the amount of nearly eight thousand pounds. Unfortunately, all these splendid legacies belonged to the twenty-five codicils, written on sheets of note-paper and improperly prepared. This was to the advantage of the Yarmouths, who, indeed, would lose a legacy in specie, but in its place receive a vast estate. The only resource was Chancery, and for six years the Jack Radfords and other humble annuitants were tortured by suspense, until, at last, the Yarmouths consented, on some certain shape of indemnity, that the legacies should be paid.

He was interred, rather inappropriately, under the communion-table of St. James's Church. He was attended to the grave by his male servants only; the unremembered female servants, probably, not caring to attend. The heiress, who had been George Selwyn's pet and had sat on his knee, now more than a hundred years ago, lived until the year 1856, dying when nearly ninety years old.

The Duke of Norfolk, then Lord Surrey, and the friend of Fox, was another of this odious school of rakes. He was not devoid of political talent, and took a leading and spirited part in the contests that preceded and followed Fox's India Bill. Gross in his tastes, addicted to low pleasures, heartless—a characteristic of convivial intercourse—in his old age he became a sort of bloated voluptuary, delighting in the company low places offered. It is difficult indeed to realize the state of society, when noblemen of the highest rank were found sitting night after night at taverns about Covent Garden, meeting their frequenters on terms of equality. He was described as “a vulgar, heavy, dirty mass of matter, that could swill wine like a Silenus and gorge beefsteaks like a buckhorse.” “In his youth,” says one who knew him (Sir N. Wraxall), “he led a most licentious life, having frequently passed the whole night in excesses of every kind, and even lain down when intoxicated, occasionally, to sleep in the streets or on a block of wood. At the Beefsteak Club, where I have dined with him, he seemed to be in his proper element. But few individuals of that society could sustain a contest with such an antagonist when the cloth was removed. In cleanliness he was negligent to so great a degree that he rarely made use of water for purposes of bodily refreshment and comfort. He even carried the neglect of his person so far, that his servants were accustomed to avail themselves of his fits of intoxication for the



purpose of washing him. On those occasions, being wholly insensible of all that passed about him, they stripped him as they would have done a corpse, and performed on his body the necessary ablutions. Nor did he change his linen more frequently than he washed himself. Complaining one day to Dudley North that he was a martyr to the rheumatism, and had ineffectually tried every remedy for its relief, 'Pray, my lord,' said he, 'did you ever try a clean shirt?'

"Drunkenness was in him an hereditary vice, transmitted down, probably, by his ancestors from the Plantagenet times, and inherent in his formation. His father indulged equally in it, but he did not manifest the same capacities as his son in resisting the effects of wine. It is a fact, that after laying his father and all the guests under the table at the Thatched House Tavern in St. James's Street, he has repaired to another festive party in the vicinity, and there recommenced the unfinished convivial rites." At these taverns and houses of call were met an abundance of low revellers, such as Felix Macarthy, who did political service for his friends, Billy Hewardine and Jemmy Bibb, the original of "Jeremy Diddler"—types now likely to be found at the music-halls.\*

His companion and *protégé*, Captain Morris, who used to delight him and the Beefsteak Club with his convivial and amatory songs, sank into old age, and would have died in want and destitution unless the pressure of friends had shamed the duke into making him a small allowance.

Sir John Lade was, we are told, the Prince's tutor in the art of driving, and, on his coming of age in 1780, was honored by Johnson with some prophetic verses. The sage repeated them on his death-bed. The are indeed admirable:

Long-expected one-and-twenty,  
Ling'ring year, at length is flown;  
Pride and pleasure, pomp and plenty,  
Great Sir John, are now your own.

Loosen'd from the minor's tether,  
Free to mortgage or to sell,  
Wild as wind and light as feather,  
Bid the sons of thrift farewell.

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\* For an account of these worthies and others of their class, the reader may consult Bernard's "Retrospections," Adolphus's "Memoirs," and that curious miscellany, "Records of My Life," by John Taylor, editor of *The Sun*. Another strange and mixed picture of manners at the commencement of the century is given in Richardson's "Recollections."

Call the Betseys, Kates, and Jennies,  
 All the names that banish care;  
 Lavish of your grandsire's guineas,  
 Show the spirit of an heir.

All that prey on vice and folly  
 Joy to see their quarry fly;  
 There the gamester, light and jolly,  
 There the lender grave and sly.

Wealth, my lad, was made to wander,  
 Let it wander as it will;  
 Call the jockey, call the pander,  
 Bid them come and take their fill.

When the bonny blade carouses,  
 Pockets full, and spirits high—  
 What are acres? what are houses?  
 Only dirt, or wet or dry.

Should the guardian friend or mother  
 Tell the woes of wilful waste:  
 Scorn their counsels, scorn their pother,  
 You can hang or drown at last.

He married a lady said to have been drawn from St. Giles's, under the favoring patronage of Rann, or Sixteen-string Jack, a notorious criminal, at whose execution at Tyburn she secured the notice of persons of high degree. At the Windsor hunt, her skill in riding attracted the Prince's notice. She excelled her husband in the art of driving, and her curriele and four excited the admiration of all.\*

These persons—and there were many more like these—will give a sufficient idea of what “the bloods” of the day were like. They were to be succeeded by the Yarmouths, Brummells, Jack Paynes, and many more. The wonder is that the young prince did not become a thorough-paced reprobate.

Another of these friends was the Hon. George Hanger, afterwards Lord Coleraine, who was a noble author. This eccentric being entered the Guards, which he left to join the Hessians abroad,

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\* Her skill was celebrated in the well-known lines:

More than one steed Letitia's empire feels,  
 Who sits triumphant o'er the flying wheels;  
 And as she guides them through th' admiring throng,  
 With what an air she smacks the silken thong!  
 Graceful as John, she moderates the reins,  
 And whistles sweet her diuretic strains.

and after some service in America, returned to town, where he made the acquaintance of the Prince of Wales, then in all the riotous flush of his early career. Mr. Hanger became his boon companion, and for sixteen years "enjoyed his protection, having viewed him in every stage—health, on a sick-bed, etc." It was in this connection that he acquired celebrity by his geese-and-turkey wager with the Prince. This singular transaction is thus described:

"During one of the convivial parties at Carlton House, Mr. Hanger designedly introduced the subject of the travelling powers of the turkey and the goose, and declared that the turkey would outstrip the goose. The Prince, who placed great reliance on his judgment in subjects of this nature, backed his opinion. A match was made with Mr. Berkeley of twenty turkeys against twenty geese, for a distance of ten miles; the race to be for five hundred pounds. And as Mr. Hanger and the turkey party hesitated not to lay two to one in favor of their bird, the Prince did the same to a considerable amount, not in the least suspecting that the whole was a deep-laid plan to extract a sum of money from his pockets. The Prince deputed Mr. Hanger to select twenty of the most wholesome and high-feathered birds which could be procured; and, on the day appointed, he and his party of turkeys, and Mr. Berkeley and his party of geese, set off to decide the match. For the first three hours, everything seemed to indicate that the turkeys would be the winners, as they were then two miles in advance of the geese; but, as night came on, the turkeys began to stretch out their necks towards the branches of the trees which lined the sides of the road. In vain the Prince attempted to urge them on with his pole, to which a bit of red cloth was attached; in vain Mr. Hanger dislodged one from its roosting-place, only to see three or four others comfortably perching amongst the branches; in vain was the barley strewn upon the road. In the meantime, the geese came waddling on, and in a short time passed the turkeys, whose party were all busy among the trees attempting to dislodge the birds; but further progress was found impossible, and the geese were declared the winners."

This nobleman, a few years afterwards becoming more eccentric, declined to sign himself by his title, and made it a matter of offence to be addressed by it. He later wrote some strange confessions, and indeed must be pronounced to have been altogether mad.

Such was the curious assemblage of friends that attended the

young prince on his entering life, and in such hopeful company the only surprise is that he was not more hopelessly corrupted than he proved to be.

Yet it would be as unreasonable to judge of his taste from this type of associate, as it was in Mr. Thackeray to write him down a tailor's block and nothing more. Men of low tastes, as they are called, may show lack of refinement, but not of intellectual power, and the Prince would as often be found presiding over a gathering of men like Fox, Sheridan, Erskine, Francis, and others. Among his friends, too, was the wonderful and brilliant Hugh Elliott, a name little known now, yet during his career enjoying a European reputation. The story of his marriage with Mdle. De Krauth and his duel with Kniphausen were the talk of diplomatists; but more remarkable was his bold interference in Sweden in 1788—his unauthorized assurances to the king of English support at a most critical juncture. Nothing indeed is more remarkable than the mixed character of the Prince's circle.



## CHAPTER VIII.

1785.

ONE result of such monitors and their wild courses may be conceived. He was found to be prematurely steeped in debt, and, before he was five-and-twenty, was as fairly crippled and "ruined" as the most abandoned spendthrift. It was curious to find to what a sum his debts had reached in so short a time; and the result of the first attempts of those periodical "liquidations," which were to recur so frequently, now comes before us.

"This morning," his Majesty wrote to Mr. Pitt on March 24th, "I received the enclosed note from Lord Southampton, on which I appointed him to be at St. James's, when I returned from the House of Peers. He then delivered to me the letter from the Prince of Wales. All I could collect from him was, that there are many sums, but it cannot be honorable to explain; that Lord Southampton has reason to believe they have not been incurred for political purposes; that he thinks the going abroad is now finally resolved on; and that perhaps the champion of the Opposition has been consulted on the letter now sent. I therefore once more send all that has passed to Mr. Pitt, and hope to hear in the course of to-morrow from him what answer ought to be sent to this extraordinary epistle, which, though respectful in terms, is in direct defiance of my whole correspondence. I suppose Mr. Pitt will choose to consult the Chancellor." \*

The phrases, "incurred for political purposes," "the champion of the Opposition," showed what was in the King's mind. It has been said indeed, that "it would almost seem that, instead of his having turned a deaf ear to his son's solicitations, he was ready to place the settlement of the business in the hands of Pitt and the Chancellor." But the later proceedings show that the minister was equally disinclined to consent to arrangement. Taking this letter, with Sir J. Harris's account of his interviews, the inference is

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\* Earl Stanhope, "Life of Pitt," i. 30, Appendix.

that the Prince was right in his view that the other side was not really anxious to come to his assistance, save on the terms of a complete political surrender and submission, and of breaking with the Opposition; and that the objections made as to not disclosing the nature of the debts were a convenient pretext for refusal. The Prince had given up his idea of going abroad, and was willing to retrench, to set aside a portion of his income for payment of his debts; so that his outburst to Sir J. Harris—"I cannot abandon Charles and my friends"—showed the sacrifice that was required of him. But he himself shall now tell what his desperate condition was and what his grievances. In a curious conversation with his friend Harris, in April, 1785, he unfolded the steps that had been taken to set him free.

"The Prince began by saying that as he was convinced of my sincere regard for him, he wished to make me acquainted with his situation; to communicate it to me fully, and to consult me upon it. The original ideas of the then ministry were, to give him £50,000 to pay his debts, £50,000 to fit him out, and £100,000 a year, exclusive of the Duchy of Cornwall. The King, after having apparently approved of this arrangement, refused ultimately to agree to it. The ministers were on the point of going out (Lord Carlisle, Mr. Fox, and Lord Keppel), but the Prince of Wales being told that Lord John Cavendish was against it, and that the King had referred to Lords North and Stormont (as his old friends) to decide on the propriety of his conduct, he (the Prince of Wales—this affair was negotiated between the Prince and Charles Fox by Colonel Leake) insisted that they should stay in, and that he would not be the cause of a revolution in ministry, or have it said he ran counter to the King's pleasure in his first outset. In consequence of this he received £30,000 to pay his debts, and £30,000 to equip him, with £50,000 a year out of the Civil List. He found his house unfurnished; that, and many other expenses—some necessary to his rank, some, as he confessed, incurred by the natural imprudences of a young man—soon involved him in debts to a very considerable amount.

"In the autumn of 1784 \* he wrote to the King, stating his embarrassed situation, and signifying his wish to travel in order to retrench. The idea of his travelling was reprobated, and, after several letters had passed, the King desired the Prince of Wales to send in an exact statement of his debts, giving him to understand he would liquidate

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\* "Diaries of Lord Malmesbury," vii. 121.

them. This the Prince did *en gros*. It was kept four months, and then returned on the King's saying it was not exact. The articles were not specified. The Prince sent it back again with every article minuted by his treasurer, except one of £25,000, which was lumped, and which he could not account for. (He told me it was borrowed money, and that he was obliged, in honor, not to tell from whom he got it.) The King objected to this reserve, insisted on its being explained. The Prince persisted in his refusal, alleging the motive of secrecy to be one of honor. The King replied that if it was a debt he was ashamed to explain, it was one he ought not to pay. Here the matter ended. The Prince's debts increased, and with them his embarrassment and distress. He now owes £160,000. He ended his discourse by telling me that, circumstanced as he was, he saw no means of relief left but by going abroad, that he only wanted to ask me whether he should distress me or not if he was to come to the Hague in a private character, and whether I could present him as such. He added, he would rather not come at all (though it was his resolution to travel) than distress me, or oblige me to act improperly."

Sir James Harris remonstrated against this step, urging that "you may rest assured in that case I shall receive orders how to act towards you before your arrival; and those orders, let them be ever so much in contradiction to my feelings, I must obey.

"P.—Certainly. I should be the last person to wish you to do otherwise. But what am I to do? Am I to be refused the right of every individual? Cannot I travel legally, as a private man, without the King's consent?

"H.—I think it very immaterial for your Royal Highness to know whether you can, or cannot, legally travel without his Majesty's consent; since it is evident that you cannot with any propriety to the public, or satisfaction to yourself, cross the seas without it.

"P.—Why not? I wish to travel on a plan of economy; to be unknown; to live in retirement.

"H.—Without entering into the almost impossibility of your Royal Highness making so rapid a transition in your ways of life, I confess I see no event would give me so much pain, as an Englishman, as to see a Prince of Wales abroad under such a description.

"P.—I feel what you say; but what can I do? The King proposed to me to lay by £10,000 a year to pay my debts, at a time when, with the strictest economy, my expenses are twice my income. I am ruined if I stay in England. I disgrace myself as a man.



“H.—Your Royal Highness, give me leave to say, will find no relief in travelling the way you propose. You will be either slighted, or, what is worse, become the object of political intrigue at every Court you pass through.

“P.—But if I avoid all great Courts? If I keep to the smaller ones of Germany, can this happen? I may there live unnoticed and unknown.

“H.—Impossible, sir. The title of the Earl of Chester will be only a mask which covers the Prince of Wales, and, as such, your actions will ever be judged.

“P.—You think I mean to go to France. I shall keep to the Empire, and perhaps to Italy.

“H.—What I say applies to all countries, sir. As for France, I hope never to see a Prince of Wales there on any other purpose than that which carried the Black Prince; or ever to hear of his being at Calais, but to fix the British standard on its walls.

“P.—But what can I do, my dear Harris? The King hates me. He wants to set me at variance with my brother. I have no hopes from him. He won’t let even Parliament assist me till I marry.

“H.—But there exists so cordial an affection between your Royal Highness and the Duke of York, that I should think he might be employed most usefully to reconcile the King to your Royal Highness. It cannot be a difficult task when undertaken by a brother.

“P.—If he thought it possible, he would come over immediately. He has often expressed his concern at our disunion, and declares he never will leave the Continent till he can see a prospect of bringing the King to enter into my situation.

“H.—Surely, sir, the King could not object to any increase of income Parliament thought proper to allow your Royal Highness?

“P.—I believe he would. He hates me; he always did, from seven years old.

“H.—His Majesty may be displeased and dissatisfied with your Royal Highness, but surely he cannot hate you?

“P.—It may be so, but it cannot be. We are too wide asunder ever to meet. The King has deceived me, he has made me deceive others; I cannot trust him, and he will never believe me.

“H.—I am sorry your Royal Highness thinks so. The confidence and kindness with which you hear me perhaps makes me speak more freely than I ought, but I think your Royal Highness should



try every possible means before you carry into execution your plan of travelling.

"P.—I will think it over, but I see no option. We will meet again soon. I have great reliance on your opinion, and am disposed to attend to you, because I am convinced you have no interested motives in advising me.

"On Saturday, May the 21st, the Prince took an opportunity of saying many obliging things to me at an assembly at Mrs. Sturt's, in St. James's Square. I was induced, in consequence of this civility, to ask permission to reclaim his promise of allowing me to wait upon him again at Carlton House. He appointed the Monday following at 2 P.M. My motive for requesting this interview was, that I had received vague assurances from Lord Carmarthen (Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, and who spoke after Mr. Pitt, First Lord of the Treasury) that the ministry would not be adverse to increase his Royal Highness's income, providing he would consent to appropriate a share of it to liquidate his debts, renounce going abroad, and be reconciled to the King.

"Before I opened this subject to him I consulted both the Duke of Portland and Mr. Fox; and both of them expressed their approbation of the measure, and their wishes for me to mention it to the Prince.

"After waiting some time after the hour appointed on Monday, he sent for me up into his dressing-room. Our conversation was nearly what follows:

"P.—If you are come, my dear Harris, to dissuade me again from travelling, let me anticipate your kind intentions by telling you I have dismissed that idea from my mind. I see all my other friends, as well as yourself, are against it, and I subscribe to their opinion.

"H.—After what you have told me, sir, allow me to express my infinite satisfaction on hearing you have given up your plan.

"P.—I am glad to have pleased you, at least, if I have not pleased myself. Yet I am sure you will be concerned to see the distressed and unbecoming sight in which I must appear by remaining in England.

"H.—This had better appear here (admitting it to be the case) than to strangers. But, sir, the purport of my troubling your Royal Highness was to obviate this unpleasant circumstance.

"P.—How so?

"H.—I have thought, sir, with great anxiety on all you said to

me when I was last admitted to your presence, and, if you will allow me, I will lay before you the result of my reflections.

“P.—Most willingly.

“H.—If your Royal Highness will give me leave, I will propose to Mr. Pitt to increase your revenue to £100,000 a year on two conditions. The one, that you will set aside £50,000 of it to pay your debts; the other, that you will cease to be a man of party, and reconcile yourself to the King.

“P.—Your good-will towards me deceives you. The attempt would be useless. Pitt would not carry such a proposal to Parliament: the King would not hear of it.

“H.—This, sir, is exactly what I mean to try. You certainly shall not be committed; and the refusal shall be given to me alone.

“P.—I thank you; but it will not do. I tell you the King hates me. He would turn out Pitt for entertaining such an idea; besides, I cannot abandon Charles and my friends.

“H.—Mr. Fox and the Duke of Portland have told me often, sir, that they by no means wish your Royal Highness to condescend, on their account, to take any share in party concerns. They have repeatedly declared that a Prince of Wales ought to be of no party.

“P.—Well, but admitting this, and supposing that I can get rid of a partiality in politics you seem to condemn, I tell you, Harris, the King will never listen to it. Pitt dares not mention it to him; or, if he did, is he strong enough in the House of Lords to carry it through?

“H.—But, sir, I presuppose a reconciliation between you and his Majesty. Surely this would be grateful to the King himself, and most particularly so to the Queen.

“P.—Why, my dear Harris, will you force me to repeat to you that the King hates me? He will never be reconciled to me.

“H.—It cannot be, sir. If you order me, I will ask an audience of him, and fling myself at his feet.

“P.—I love you too well to encourage you to undertake so useless a commission. If you will not credit me, you will, perhaps, credit the King himself. Take and read all our correspondence for these last six months.

“The Prince here opened an escritoire, and took out a large bundle of papers, which he read to me. It consisted of various letters which had passed between him and the King, beginning with that in which he asked his leave to go abroad in autumn, 1784, as mentioned in my first conversation.

“It is needless to attempt to relate precisely the contents of this correspondence; it is sufficient to observe that the Prince’s letters were full of respect and deference, written with great plainness of style and simplicity. Those of the King were also well written, but harsh and severe; constantly refusing every request the Prince made, and reprobating in each of them his extravagance and dissipated manner of living. They were void of every expression of parental kindness or affection; and, after both hearing them read, and perusing them myself, I was compelled to subscribe to the Prince’s opinion, and to confess there was very little appearance of making any impression on his Majesty in favor of his Royal Highness. I resumed, however, the conversation as follows:

“H.—I am hurt to a degree, sir, at what I have read. But still, sir, the Queen must have a reconciliation so much at heart, that through her and your sisters it surely might be effected.

“P.—Look ye, Harris; I cannot bring myself to say I am in the wrong when I am in the right. The King has used me ill; and I wish the public knew what you now know, and was to pronounce between us.

“H.—I should be very sorry, indeed, sir, if this was known beyond these walls; for I am much mistaken if the public would not pronounce a judgment widely different from that you think. It is not sufficient, sir, for the King to be wrong in one point: sir, unless you are in the right in all, and as long as any part of your conduct is open to censure, the voice of the public (considering your relative situations) will always go with the King.

“P.—That is a cruel truth, if it be true what you say; but it is of no use to investigate it; my case never will go to that tribunal. You are, however, convinced of the impracticability of your scheme, as much, I hope, as I am of your kind regard in proposing it to me.

“H.—I would not willingly renounce an idea, which, by its accomplishment, is to relieve your Royal Highness from a state of distress, and, I may say, discredit, and place you in one of affluence and comfort. May I suggest, sir, the idea of your marrying? It would, I should think, be most agreeable to the King, and, I am certain, most grateful to the nation.

“P. (with vehemence).—I never will marry! My resolution is taken on that subject. I have settled it with Frederick. No, I never will marry!

“H.—Give me leave to say, sir, most respectfully, that you can-



not have really come to such a resolution; and you must marry, sir: you owe it to the country, to the King, to yourself.

“P.—I owe nothing to the King. Frederick will marry, and the crown will descend to his children; and as for myself, I do not see how it affects me.

“H.—Till you are married, sir, and have children, you have no solid hold on the affections of the people, even while you are Prince of Wales; but if you come to the throne a bachelor, and his Royal Highness the Duke of York is married and has sons to succeed you, your situation, when King, will be more painful than it is at this moment. Our own history furnishes strong examples of the truth of what I say.

“The Prince was greatly struck with this observation. He walked about the room, apparently angry. I moved towards the door, saying: I perceive, sir, I have said too much: you will allow me to withdraw. I am sure I shall be forgiven an hour hence.

“P.—You are forgiven now, my dear Harris. I am angry with myself, not with you. Don't question me any more. I will think of what you have said. Adieu. God bless you!”

Such was this singular dialogue, which shows that not only the King and his minister, but the Prince's own friends, were eager that he should withdraw from political agitation, and cease from presenting to the nation the scandalous spectacle of a son at war with his father. The most remarkable passage in this conversation was his vehement declaration that he would never marry: most significant when we shall learn the strange romantic adventure that he was then engaged in, which, by an awkward coincidence, was contemporaneous with a general earnest desire that he should contract a marriage. This he was presently to do; but after a fashion that was to bring discredit on himself and cruel wrong to a highly-principled and virtuous woman.



## CHAPTER IX.

1785.

A BEAUTIFUL woman, attracted and gifted in many ways, had excited a violent passion in the Prince. This was the well-known Mrs. Fitzherbert, then living on Richmond Hill.\* She was then twenty-eight years old, the youngest daughter of Mr. Smythe, a country squire, in Hampshire. She had been first married, in 1775, to Mr. Edward Weld, uncle to the cardinal of that name, a family held in high esteem by the King, who paid many visits to his castle at Lulworth. Mr. Weld died in the very year of their marriage, and she espoused later Mr. Fitzherbert, of Swinnerton, in Staffordshire, who died in May, 1781, leaving her—then a most attractive person—with a fortune of two thousand pounds a year. Looking at her portrait by Conway, we can see of what kind were the blooming charms that so fascinated “an august personage:” the exquisitely-cut lips, the round features (full yet not plump), the store of refined good humor and good nature without vulgarity. All contemporaneous accounts agree as to her amiability and strict principle. It was at Richmond Hill, as she told Lord Stourton, that she in the first instance became acquainted with the Prince, and “the object of his most ardent attentions,” and thus the well-known song was said by a number of writers, usually well-informed, to have been composed in her honor.

The late Lord Stourton, to whom she confided her story, and Mr. Charles Langdale, who prepared a moderate and interesting account from the materials, explains the difficulties and embarrassments to

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\* An attempt has been made to associate her name with the well-known ballad, “The Lass of Richmond Hill;” but there can be little doubt the song has no connection with Mrs. Fitzherbert. She could scarcely be termed a “lass” at the time, having been twice a widow: and the allusion in “I’d crowns resign to call thee mine” is merely a conventional phrase in amatory chanting. A Miss Cropp and a Miss Janson, of Richmond, in Yorkshire, are the other claimants. It was sung at Vauxhall in 1789.

which she was exposed from the extravagance of her admirer's passion. The lady was a woman of the first fashion, and not what is called a devotee.

"For some time," says Lord Stourton, relating her story, "her resistance had been availing; but she was about to meet with a species of attack so unprecedented and alarming, as to shake her resolution, and to force her to take that first step which afterwards led by slow (but on the part of the Prince successful) advances to that union which he so ardently desired, and to obtain which he was ready to risk such personal sacrifices. Keit (the surgeon) Lord Onslow, Lord Southampton, and Mr. Edward Bouverie arrived at her house in the utmost consternation, informing her that the life of the Prince was in imminent danger, that he had stabbed himself, and that only her immediate presence would save him. She resisted, in the most peremptory manner, all their importunities, saying that nothing should induce her to enter Carlton House. She was afterwards brought to share in the alarm; but still fearful of some stratagem derogatory to her reputation, insisted upon some lady of high character accompanying her, as an indispensable condition: the Duchess of Devonshire was selected. They four drove from Park Street to Devonshire House, and took her along with them. She found the Prince pale and covered with blood. The sight so overpowered her faculties, that she was deprived almost of all consciousness. The Prince told her that nothing would induce him to live unless she promised to become his wife, and permitted him to put a ring round her finger. I believe a ring from the hand of the Duchess of Devonshire was used upon the occasion, and not one of his own. Mrs. Fitzherbert being asked by me," adds Lord Stourton, "whether she did not believe that some trick had been practised, and that it was not really the blood of his Royal Highness, answered in the negative; and said she had frequently seen the scar, and that some brandy-and-water was near his bedside when she was called to him on the day he wounded himself. They returned to Devonshire House. A deposition was drawn up of what had occurred, and signed and sealed by each one of the party; and, for all she knew to the contrary, might still be there. On the next day she sent a letter to Lord Southampton, protesting against what had taken place, as not being then a free agent."

It might be supposed that this strange scene was an artifice to impose on an excitable woman. Jesse says "it was probably a trick." There can be little doubt that the whole performance, to a

certain degree, was genuine; for through his life we find traces of this extravagant sensibility, which became yet more exaggerated from habits of drinking, with even traces of that excitement under which his father labored. He was given to tears and violent emotion. Mr. Moore set the story down in his diary with the addition: "that the Prince had fired at the head of the bed, and had then tried the other weapon." In his agitation he had no doubt some confused idea of doing himself injury with a view to make himself interesting in the eyes of her he loved.

As soon, however, as she reflected on the consequence of what had taken place, she saw its inconveniences. On the next day she left England and withdrew to Holland, while the baffled Prince retired to the country. From that moment she was persecuted, and his couriers passed and repassed with letters imploring her to return. He displayed the utmost infatuation and despair. He used to repair—Mrs. Fox assured her friends—for comfort to her house, and behaved in the most extravagant style. Lord Holland says that "Mrs. Fox, then Mrs. Armistead, had repeatedly assured him, that the Prince came down more than once to converse with her and Mr. Fox on the subject; that he cried by the hour; he testified the sincerity and violence of his passion and despair by extravagant expressions and actions—rolling on the floor, striking his forehead, tearing his hair, falling into hysterics, and swearing that he would abandon the country, forego the crown, etc."

Wearied out with his importunities, she at last agreed to return under a solemn engagement on his part of a formal marriage, such as would satisfy her conscience. This may have been an indiscreet proceeding; but it was hard to expect that she was to expatriate herself for the most precious years of her life. Lord Stourton was shown a letter of the Prince's, thirty-seven pages long, in which was the statement that "the King would connive at the union." This it would be going too far to call a falsehood, and may have been meant as inference merely.

It was in the first week of December that she arrived. And the sagacious Fox, who had not seen his patron for some weeks, began to suspect what was on foot. The Prince had no doubt avoided the society of his friend, from an awkward consciousness of his secret and of the step he now intended. But when the arrival of the lady became known, the Prince must have been disagreeably surprised to receive a remonstrance and warning from his friend Mr. Fox, enjoining him to take care, and pointing out the serious dangers of such a step.



After declaring that he knew he was running the risk of displeasing him, Mr. Fox thus appeals to him:

“I was told just before I left town yesterday that Mrs. Fitzherbert was arrived, and if I had heard only this I should have felt most unfeigned joy at an event which I knew would contribute so much to your Royal Highness’s satisfaction; but I was told at the same time that from a variety of circumstances, which had been observed and put together, there was reason to suppose that you were going to take the very desperate step (pardon the expression) of marrying her at this moment. If such an idea be really in your mind, and it is not too late, for God’s sake let me call your attention to some considerations, which my attachment to your Royal Highness, and the real concern that I take in whatever relates to your interest, have suggested to me, and which may possibly have the more weight with you when you perceive that Mrs. Fitzherbert is equally interested in most of them with yourself. In the first place, you are aware that a marriage with a Catholic throws the prince contracting such marriage out of the succession of the crown. If there be a doubt about her previous conversion, consider the circumstances in which *you* stand: the King not feeling for you as a father ought; the Duke of York professedly his favorite, and likely to be married to the King’s wishes; the nation full of its old prejudices against Catholics, and justly dreading all disputes about succession. In all these circumstances your enemies might take such advantages of any doubt of this nature as I shudder to think of, and though your generosity might think no sacrifice too great to be made to a person whom you love so entirely, consider what her reflections must be in such an event, and how impossible it would be for her ever to forgive herself. I have stated this danger upon the supposition that the marriage could be a real one, but your Royal Highness knows as well as I that according to the present laws of the country it cannot, and I need not point out to your good sense what a source of uneasiness it must be to you, to her, and above all to the nation, to have it a matter of dispute and discussion whether the Prince of Wales is or is not married. If there should be children from the marriage, I need not say how much the uneasiness as well of yourselves as of the nation must be aggravated. If anything could add to the weight of these considerations, it is the impossibility of remedying the mischiefs I have alluded to. For, if your Royal Highness should think proper, when you are twenty-five years old, to notify to Parliament your intention to marry (by which means alone a *legal*



marriage can be contracted), in what manner can it be notified? If the previous marriage is mentioned or owned, will it not be said that you have set at defiance the laws of your country, and that you now come to Parliament for a sanction to what you have already done in contempt of it? If there are children, will it not be said that we must look for future applications to legitimate them, and consequently be liable to disputes for the succession between the eldest son—and the eldest son after the legal marriage? And will not the entire annulling of the whole marriage be suggested as the most secure way of preventing all such disputes? It will be said that a woman who has lived with you as your wife without being so is not fit to be Queen of England; and thus the very thing that is done for the sake of her reputation will be used against it; and what would make this worse would be that the marriage being known (though not officially communicated to Parliament), it would be impossible to deny the assertion. In the meantime a mock-marriage (for it can be no other) is neither honorable for any of the parties, nor, with respect to your Royal Highness, even safe. This appears so clear to me that, if I were Mrs. Fitzherbert's father or brother, I would advise her not by any means to agree to it, *and to prefer any other species of connection with you to one leading to so much misery and mischief.*

"It is high time I should finish this very long and, perhaps your Highness will think, ill-timed letter; but, such as it is, it is dictated by pure zeal and attachment to your Royal Highness. With respect to Mrs. Fitzherbert, she is a person with whom I have scarcely the honor of being acquainted, but I hear from everybody that her character is irreproachable, and her manners most amiable. Your Royal Highness knows, too, that I have not in my mind the same objection to intermarriages with princes and subjects which many have. But, under the present circumstances, a marriage at present appears to me to be the most desperate measure for all parties concerned that their worst enemies could have suggested."

Such was this well-reasoned appeal. The singular suggestions, given in italics—and which the late Earl Russell, with some want of candor, suppressed—were not meant in a cynical or offensive sense, but as the sincere advice of "a man of pleasure," who had himself married a courtesan.\* It literally recalls the suggestions of Sir

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\* Mrs. Fox lived till recently. She has been described to the author, by one who visited her, as a rather vulgar old lady, with a cockney pronunciation.

Pertinax Macsycophant to the clergyman in the play. To this the Prince did not reply for more than a day, and then at two o'clock in the morning.

## THE PRINCE OF WALES TO MR. FOX.

"Carlton House, December 11, 1785.

"Sunday Morning, 2 o'clock.

"DEAR CHARLES,

"Your letter of last night afforded me more true satisfaction than I can find words to express, as it is an additional proof to me, w<sup>h</sup> I assure you I did not want, of y<sup>r</sup> having y<sup>t</sup> true regard and affection for me, w<sup>h</sup> it is not only y<sup>e</sup> wish but y<sup>e</sup> ambition of my life to merit. Make yourself easy, my dear friend; believe me the world will now soon be convinced y<sup>t</sup> there not only is, but never was, any ground for these reports, w<sup>h</sup> of late have been so malevolently circulated. I have not seen you since the apostacy of Eden. I think it ought to have y<sup>e</sup> same effect upon all our friends y<sup>t</sup> it has upon me; I mean the linking us closer to each other; and I believe you will easily believe these to be my sentiments, for you are perfectly well acquainted with my ways of thinking upon these sort of subjects. When I say my ways of thinking, I think I had better say my old maxim, w<sup>h</sup> I ever intend to adhere to; I mean y<sup>t</sup> of swimming or sinking with my friends. I have not time to add much more, except just to say y<sup>t</sup> I believe I shall meet you at dinner at Bushey on Tuesday, and to desire you to believe me at all times, my dear Charles,

Most affectionately yours,

"GEORGE P."

A weak nature might be inclined to justify itself to itself by the quibble that what Fox had deprecated had not yet taken place. Even had it been arranged for, he might think that, having the power of changing his mind, he could still fairly deny it. What might be the truth of the case is that, like many such fickle and impulsive characters, he was for the moment convinced by Fox, and gave in his adhesion in an exaggerated fashion, though that evening he may have veered round again. No doubt, too, he believed in his statement that "there not only is, but never was, any ground for these reports." It is amusing to read his affirmation of his old

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Nothing shows Fox's power, and the fascination he exercised over his friends, more than the hearty receptions extended to this lady.

maxim, "which I ever intend to adhere to; I mean that of swimming or sinking with my friends."

Almost on that day week, December 21st, the marriage was solemnized! Nor was this, unhappily, to be the last of these equivocations. There was to come the denial to Grey, and, worse still, the instruction to Fox to utter a more public denial, based on his own solemn assurance.

"A certificate of this marriage," says Lord Stourton, "is extant in the handwriting of the Prince, and with his signature and that of Mary Fitzherbert. The witnesses' names were added; but at the earnest request of the parties, in a time of danger, they were afterwards cut out by Mrs. Fitzherbert herself, with her own scissors, to save them from the peril of the law. This she afterwards regretted; but a letter of the Prince, on her return to him, has been preserved to supply any deficiency, in which he thanks God that the witnesses to their union were still living; and moreover, the letter of the officiating clergyman is still preserved, together with another document with the signature and seal, but not in the handwriting, of the Prince, in which he repeatedly terms her his wife."

These, however, could not have been the sole witnesses of the ceremony; for it has been stated that Mr. Orlando Bridgman—later Lord Bradford—was present.\* Also General Keppel, according to Mr. Raikes.† This was to be expected, the general being a constant favorite of the Prince, and long attached to his household. There were also present her brother and cousin.

It was often speculated who the clergyman was that had taken on himself so perilous a duty, and it may be conceived that here was a most serious difficulty. Application was made to one Rosenhagen, a disreputable military chaplain, a singular roystering sort of clergyman. Among his papers was found the correspondence on this subject.

"Colonel Gardner, the Prince's private secretary, writes, asking R. to perform the ceremony. R. replies that it would be contrary to law for him to do so, and, if done, would be productive of important, probably of disastrous, consequences to the whole nation. The colonel answers that the Prince is aware of all that, but pledges himself to keep the matter a profound secret, and that the Prince will feel bound to reward R. for such a proof of his attachment, as

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\* Lady C. Bury, "Diary of the Times of George IV."

† "Raikes's Diary," i. 189, ed. 1858.



soon as the means are in his power. Rosenhagen, in reply, says he can trust implicitly the Prince's promise of secrecy, but he dare not betray the duty he owes to the Prince by assisting in an affair that might bring such serious consequences to him. Lady Francis says she 'believes Rosenhagen declined the business because no *specific* offer was made to him, and not from the motives stated in the letters, as he was daring and unscrupulous.'

Another clergyman consented to undertake the dangerous office, but, at the last moment, drew back, alarmed by warnings made by one who suspected what was the fact. Parson Johnes was long supposed to have been the person. A clergyman was, however, at last found, whose name was kept secret, though it would appear to have eventually become known; for, in the year 1796, Mr. Abbott, the Speaker, learned from Mr. Barton that "the Rev. Mr. Burt, of Twickenham, actually married the Prince of Wales to Lady Fitzherbert, and received five hundred pounds for doing it, as he himself declared to his family on his death-bed." \* Lord Holland's account, which he received from some unnamed friend of Mrs. Fitzherbert, is admittedly absurd as regards the religious portion, and, in the eyes of any one at all acquainted with the Roman Catholic religion, ridiculous:

"It was at the Prince's own earnest and repeated solicitations, not at Mrs. Fitzherbert's request, that any ceremony was resorted to. She knew it to be invalid in law; she thought it nonsense, and told the Prince so. . . . It was performed by an English clergyman. A certificate was signed by him and attested by two witnesses, both, I believe, Catholic gentlemen, and one a near relation of Mrs. Fitzherbert, Mr. Errington. Mrs. Fitzherbert, from mixed feelings of fear and generosity, tore off the names of the witnesses at some subsequent period, lest they should by possibility be involved in any legal penalties for being present at an illegal transaction. Before George the Fourth's accession to the throne, or, as I believe, his appointment to the Regency, the clergyman was dead (for it was not, as often surmised, Parson Johnes who married them); and his name, I understand, remains annexed to the instrument purporting to be a register or certificate of the ceremony."

It was owing to this statement and others of a similar kind by this nobleman, that Mrs. Fitzherbert's vindication was published by Mr. Charles Langdale.

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\* "Diary of Lord Colchester," i. 68.



It may be imagined that this union was for her but the opening of a series of humiliations and trials. So volatile and unstable a character as his—and it must be said, so little regulated by principle—was not likely to insure comfort. “During the commencement of her union,” we are told, “the attachment of that fickle prince still existed; few were the happy hours that she could number even at that period. He was young, impetuous, and boisterous in his character, and very much addicted to the pleasures of the table. It was the fashion in those days to drink very hard, and Mrs. Fitzherbert never retired to rest till her royal spouse came home. But I have heard the late Duke of York say, that often when she heard the Prince and his drunken companions on the staircase, she would seek a refuge from their presence even under the sofa, when the Prince, finding the drawing-room deserted, would draw his sword in joke, and searching about the room, would at last draw forth the trembling victim from her place of concealment.”\* She was, unhappily, to furnish one more instance of the experience that those who voluntarily place themselves in a position liable to be falsely construed must be content to accept the penalty in the worst construction that can be put upon their situation. She confessed long after that they were very happy and very poor, and went through many difficulties together very cheerfully.†

In the spring of this year the Duke of Chartres, now Duke of Orleans, forced him into a sort of rivalry of extravagance. They contended in sumptuous entertainments at the Jockey Club, where deep play was carried on. The Prince was said to have lost wagers to the Duke of Queensberry, Count O’Kelly, and others. His present style of carriage and horses was now a “phaeton and six,” a postilion directing the two leaders. His stud was costing him thirty thousand pounds a year, and he was living in a more reckless style than usual. His situation was indeed almost desperate.

It will be seen from this that unfortunately he had now added to his already expensive pursuits that most costly one—the keeping of a racing stable, with the consequent taste for betting on the turf. Newmarket was his favorite resort, where he would stay at Queensberry House with its owner, and have uproarious nights with “Old Q.,” Fox, and his friends. A love of horseflesh was deeply seated

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\* “Raikes’s Diary,” ii. 29.

† The Duke of Wellington repeated to Mr. Greville a story of Mrs. Fitzherbert’s having to borrow money to take the Prince down to Newmarket.

in his nature, and to the day of his death he delighted in all that concerned racing, hunting, and horses generally. There was in those days, when racing had not been brought to a system, a more passionate ardor for the sport, and a more healthy enjoyment in it than there is now. Many stories were current as to the Prince's winnings and losses; and it was said that on the occasion of his taking his guest the Duke of Orleans to Newmarket, he had won a sum of thirty thousand pounds. The probabilities are that at this stage he lost and lost heavily. As he grew older, however, he lost his taste for this perilous vice.

We now hear of Carlton House, where a grand entertainment had been given to the persons who had supported the host during the late crisis. Then began the series of various festivities. A curious spectacle was a grand assault of arms, that took place between various famous professors of fencing—St. George (the foreign artist), Angelo, and others. This was followed by a match between St. George and the famous Chevalier (or Chevalière) D'Eon, who, dressed in woman's clothes, succeeded in vanquishing the victor. The Prince himself then took the foils, and fenced with the Chevalier, and was complimented on his graceful attitudes.\*

We see him next at "a grand match at tennis between two French markers, Barcelon and Bergeron—the two best, I believe, now in the world." It is Sir G. Elliot who tells the story. "He was accompanied by a Monsieur St. George, a famous French mulatto, celebrated for his skill in fencing, music, and most other accomplishments, beyond other men, and almost as remarkable in this sort of fame as the Admirable Crichton, whom you may have read of. The Prince was also attended by Mr. Hesse, now commonly called the Prince of Hesse, and who is more with the Prince than is creditable."

We find him also following the new craze of mesmerism—attending the *séances* of Maimaduc, a professor of the delusion, and submitting to be operated upon before a company of fashionable persons. The operation was partially successful, and the Prince nearly succumbed to his influence. Thus was society rushing from one hobby and excitement to another, as in our own day it passes capriciously from rinking to tableaux, blue china, and a hundred such whims.

It was not surprising, after this round of dissipation, that at the

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\* There is an engraving of this curious scene.

end of the year he should have been attacked by illness, "in consequence," the public was informed, "of having drunk some cooling liquor while heated with dancing." He was "in perfect health" on the Guildford course, came up to the Duchess of Gordon's assembly, and sent on to Lady Gideon's that he should be with her to supper. On reaching her hall, after this busy day, he found himself unable to go upstairs, and was transported home in a sedan-chair. He could not leave his house for a fortnight. He was, indeed, all through his course, subject to attacks of the kind. Boxing, too, had engaged his attention, and he was, for a time, an earnest patron of the "noble science." The company such pursuits introduced him to may be conceived.

## CHAPTER X.

1786—1787

It will be recollected that, when the Prince contracted his engagement to Mrs. Fitzherbert, he was engaged in appealing to his father to extricate him from his difficulties. It is curious to find that the earliest results of the improvident step he had taken were to be involved, in a strange way, with his pecuniary embarrassments, and the sagacious predictions of Mr. Fox to be verified. Here, too, was to arise the first of those unseemly contests between the father and son which were to be the scandal of many years.

All attempts to arrange his extrication with the King having failed, it was determined to bring the matter before the House; not by way of formal motion, but incidentally. It happened, fortunately for this purpose, that an application had to be made to the House for an increase to the King's allowance for payment of a large debt, and Fox, with some point, called attention to the fact that while his Majesty enjoyed nine hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year, his son had but fifty thousand.

Pitt answered, in his coldest and most indifferent fashion, "that he was not instructed to make any communication to the House respecting the royal family;" adding that "he should avoid the presumption of expressing any private opinion on the subject." Alderman Newnham supported the demand. Fox then threw out a menace that before the session ended he would bring a motion formally before the House.

This injudicious step was not likely to further an arrangement. Mr. Pitt, however, had declared that if he received the King's commands he would, as a matter of course, take up the business, thus encouraging a fresh attempt. Mr. Hugh Elliott undertook, with the assistance of Sheridan, to make new proposals. He repaired to Mr. Pitt, with a modest demand for two hundred and fifty thousand pounds; the debts amounting to some hundred and fifty thousand. The minister affected to be inclined to furnish the sum, provided a balance was set aside for "some specific purposes." This, however,



was declined. The King was then once more approached, and he too affected to receive the proposals graciously, asking for a detailed statement of liabilities. This was furnished to him, and after some further delay a final answer was sent, his Majesty positively declining to accept the terms, and declaring that neither then nor at any future time would he sanction an increase to his son's income. This communication was made in harsh terms, and "not very civil."

"As soon as the Prince received the King's letter from Lord Southampton, he told him he must think of the answer for some hours, but begged of his lordship not to lose sight of him; that let that answer be what it might, his lordship should be able to assure the King from his own knowledge, that he had not seen or been advised in the writing of the answer by any of those people, friends of his, that had the misfortune of being under his Majesty's displeasure. He accordingly, after six hours' thinking, sat down and wrote to the King, telling him his determination of giving up forty thousand pounds a year to the payment of his debts."\*

No doubt the King was alarmed by this threat, and wrote that he had not said absolutely he would not pay his debts; but if the Prince chose to take a rash step, he must likewise take the consequences.

#### THE PRINCE OF WALES TO THE KING.

"SIR,

"I have had the honor of receiving your Majesty's written message transmitted to me by Lord Southampton, and am greatly concerned that my poor sentiments cannot coincide with those of your Majesty, in thinking that the former message which I had the honor of receiving, in your Majesty's own hand, was not a refusal. After having repeatedly sent in various applications to your Majesty, for two years successively, representing that a partial reduction out of so incompetent an income as mine was to no purpose towards the liquidation of a debt where the principal and interest were so considerable, I this year humbly requested your Majesty that you would be graciously pleased (having previously laid my affairs before you, sir, for your inspection, and painted them in the distressed colors which they so justly merited), whenever it suited your convenience,

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\* Letter from "a distinguished person connected with the Court," quoted by Mr. Wallace in his "History of the Life and Reign of George IV.," I. 138.

to favor me with a decisive answer; as the various delays which have occurred, through the course of this business, have in reality proved more pernicious to me in the situation in which I have been for some time past involved, than the original embarrassment of the debt. To not only these, but to any future delays, would I most willingly have submitted, had they merely rested upon my own patience; but the pressing importunities of many indigent and deserving creditors (some of them whose very existence depends upon a speedy discharge of their accounts) made too forcible an appeal to the justice becoming my own honor, and to the feelings of my heart, to be any longer delayed. Another consideration is, that any further procrastination might have exposed me to legal insults, as humiliating to me as I am persuaded that they would be offensive to your Majesty. I therefore, previously to my having the honor of receiving that message to which your Majesty has referred me, had determined, that should I not be so fortunate as to meet with that relief from you, sir, with which I had flattered myself, and which I thought I had the greatest reason to expect, I would exert every nerve to render that just redress and assistance to my creditors which I cannot help thinking is denied to me. These are the motives, sir, that have actuated my conduct in the step I have taken, of reducing every expense in my family, even those to which my birth and rank entitle me (and which I trust will ever continue to be the principle and guide of my conduct), till I have totally liberated myself from the present embarrassments which oppress me; and the more so as I am persuaded that such a line, when pursued with consistency, will meet with the approbation of every candid and dispassionate mind.

"I will not trespass any further on your Majesty's time, but have the honor to subscribe myself,

"Sir,

"Your Majesty's most dutiful and obedient

"Son and Subject,

"G. P.

"July 9th, 1786."

Of this document the Prince made copies, and gave them away to all his friends. Thus all negotiations ended for the present. It may be conceived what evil passions were raging on both sides: disappointment, mortification, jealousy, and, it is to be feared, a longing for revenge and humiliation of the adversary. Prompted,

it may be assumed, by pique rather than by a desire to economize, the Prince proceeded to carry out the undignified scheme of retrenchment he had threatened, and held himself out to the nation as a prince reduced to poverty and straits by the barbarity of his father and his father's advisers. Without a day's delay, he broke up his establishment, announced the sale of his stud, shut up half the rooms at Carlton House, stopped all the works, and ostentatiously proclaimed that he was setting aside forty thousand pounds a year for his debts. The heir-apparent's carriages and horses were sold by public auction (the whole realizing but seven thousand pounds), to the annoyance, no doubt, of the Court. Coupled with this was the renewed announcement of self-expatriation. To this course he was stimulated by his friend Mr. Fox, who gave him great commendation. Lord Grey recollected the Prince showing him this letter:

## THE PRINCE OF WALES TO MR. FOX.

"Brighton, July 19th, 1786.

"MY DEAR CHARLES,

"I am more obliged to you than I can possibly express for the contents of y<sup>e</sup> letter I yesterday received from you, and am more and more convinced of the necessity of pursuing that plan w<sup>h</sup>, I assure you, I never should have adopted had I not intended to have gone thr<sup>o</sup> with it. With regard to the other plan you mention I approve most highly of it, but shall not touch upon it at all at present, as I mean to be in London for a few hours on Monday next, when I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you, and of discussing the matter fully at length. At twelve o'clock I shall be ready to receive you at Carlton House. I will not trespass any further upon y<sup>r</sup> patience at present, but conclude, with assuring you, that no one can feel more sensibly every mark of y<sup>r</sup> friendship and regard, than

"Your sincerely affectionate,

"GEORGE P."

"How noble, how good," was the cry of friends and foes, according to the partial view of his friends. His own immediate dependants submitted cheerfully to the reductions required. The only exception was Colonel Hotham, who, having one thousand pounds a year in his household, with "poundage" in other salaries, begged that the loss would be made up to him, as it was hard that



he should suffer. The Prince condescended even to make use of his friends' equipages, as he had none of his own. And the heir-apparent was seen travelling from London to Brighton in a common postchaise.

It may be conceived, after these incidents, what animosity raged between the partisans of the Court and of the Prince. The King had certainly behaved with harshness, and, it was stated, used to make merry over the dilapidated condition of the works at his son's palace, exhibiting derisively to his courtiers, by way of contrast, a model of the projected improvements which his son had sent him. The Prince's party were not slow to retort in the most disrespectful fashion. They pointed out, as evidence of the King's lack of paternal feeling and dislike of his offspring, that at that moment his five sons had all been sent away out of the country.\*

This, indeed, has always seemed an awkward fact, ignored by historians and panegyrists of the King, that, on many occasions, he had to come with heavy debts to Parliament, applying for relief; and, while he upbraided his son for his outlay, the latter might have retorted that the Sovereign had received enormous sums. "A caricature represented the King and Queen coming out of the Treasury loaded with money-bags, and the Prince accompanying them in the poor habiliments of the prodigal son."

These savings were the result of the almost penurious economy that reigned in the royal household. From the time of the King's marriage, it had been ordered on the most careful and saving principles—as we may learn from the royal ledgers, beautifully and clearly kept for many years, and which are to be seen in the British Museum. There we find it set out that, in 1762, all the bills for milliners, mercers, shoemakers, etc., for the Queen and family, amounted to about four thousand pounds, of which nine hundred and eighty pounds went to the milliner, Mrs. MacEune. This moderate estimate was scarcely exceeded, even as the family increased and grew up. In 1806, the establishment consisted of but seven coachmen, six postilions, four helpers, eight hobby-

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\* The Duke of York was at Hanover, Prince William at sea, Prince Edward at Geneva, the Dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester were living abroad in a state of poverty and disgrace, and the remainder were at Göttingen University. "Only the oldest," says Sir Nathaniel Wraxall, "remained at home, in a dismantled palace, all the state apartments of which were shut up, his establishment dismissed, and himself reduced, in external, to the condition of a private gentleman."



grooms, eight footmen, three chairmen, one bolleman, and the total cost of salaries, etc., was about eighteen thousand pounds a year. But in this year, as there were the six princesses to maintain and clothe, the bills for the wardrobe linen reached to some thirteen thousand pounds. This seems moderation itself.

An incident that occurred about this time shows this view of the vindictiveness of the Court. When the King's life was attempted by Margaret Nicholson, his son, who was at Brighton, was left to learn the event from the letter of a friend. With good feeling that did him honor, he instantly took post, and hurried to Windsor. It will hardly be credited that the King, though in the next room to the one in which the Queen received her son, refused to see him.\*

The Prince was at this time in a state of almost actual penury. He lived at houses lent to him, like that of the Earl of Gloucester's at Bagshot. He was indeed reduced to such a plight that he was driven to the perilous and undignified course of becoming the debtor of a foreign prince. The Duke of Orleans was this year on a trip to London, and with him had come the Dukes of FitzJames, Coigny, and Polignac. Indeed, the people had begun to satire and ridicule these visits, and a fellow had insulted the French Prince at Newmarket, saying he knew he was the Duke of Orleans, and that he ought to be in his own country defending his King. Eager to be more English than the English, he had presented himself at a dinner-party, dusty and dirty, in a morning suit, his buttons enamelled with horses and dogs, which he displayed with some pride to the lady beside him.

His inflamed scorbutic face was seen everywhere—at Brookes's, at the theatre. At the Prince's desire he had sat to Sir Joshua for a fine full-length portrait, abounding in spirit and power. Being rich, and seeing the distress of his friend, the French prince pressed on him a substantial loan. The news of this transaction came from Paris to the Duke of Portland, who wrote in much alarm to Sheridan in December, 1786: "I have received a confirmation of the intelligence; the particulars varied in no respect from those I related to you, except in the addition of a pension, which is to take place immediately on the event which entitles the creditors to

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\* There was a punctilio raised: the Prince assuming that his visit was a sufficient declaration of his wishes; the King declaring that his son had not asked to see him,

payment, and it is to be granted for life to a nominee of the Duke of Orleans. The loan was mentioned in a mixed company by two of the Frenchwomen and a Frenchman, in Calonne's presence (then Minister of Finance), who begged them, for God's sake, not to talk of it. I am going to Bulstrode, but will return at a moment's notice if I can be of the least use in getting rid of this odious engagement."

Sheridan seems to have exerted himself, for the duke writes to thank him for what he had done, and seems to hope that the matter will end favorably.\* Fox's aid was also invoked, and he recovered the bonds and brought them to the Prince. This was to be but the beginning of a number of similar operations in the foreign market. It is stated by Mr. Moore that when Fox came to remonstrate with him on this foolish step, the Prince persisted in denying there was any truth in the matter, until Mr. Fox convicted him by drawing one of the bonds out of his pocket.

In all these transactions public sympathy, not unnaturally, was on the Prince's side. For several months he pursued his plan of economy, his debts under a certain amount being cleared off, and nine per cent on the larger sums being paid. This praiseworthy economy being known, many members of the House felt that his situation was unbecoming the nation, and were eager to extricate him. And proceedings now followed, which, however, were only to bring fresh scandal, and further inflame the bitterness between him and his father.

A meeting of the Prince's friends, or supporters, was now held at Mr. Pelham's (afterwards Lord Chichester), at which the Prince was present, for the purpose of concerting what fresh measures were to be taken when the debate was renewed. It was determined to press the matter on. But it was felt that the ground was tender, and the Prince must have been disagreeably surprised during the interval at having a very serious question put to him by his friend Mr. Fox, and to which he gave only too distinct and satisfactory an answer. This referred to Mrs. Fitzherbert.

It was accordingly settled, early in 1787, that the matter should be brought before the House, not by the Prince's friends, but by some independent member.

This step was opposed to the advice of the Duke of Portland and

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\* Moore, "Life of Sheridan,"

the leading Whigs, except Mr. Fox, who all held that the interest of their party must be considered, and that the advocacy of the Prince's very weak case would damage them with the country. This led to a serious quarrel between the Duke and the Prince, which was only made up two years later. It helps to prove what was before pointed out—that the Prince's politics chiefly were regulated by his own interests. It will be seen, however, that it somewhat supports his vindication of his change of politics—viz., that he was not so much bound to the party as to Mr. Fox, whose follower he was. Accordingly, on April 20th, Alderman Nathaniel Newnham, a City merchant, put a question to Mr. Pitt: "Whether he proposed taking any steps to rescue the Prince from his embarrassed and distressed situation?" He was answered by the minister, in his usual cold strain, that he had no commands from the King in reference to the matter; on which the questioner gave notice that on May 4th he would bring forward a motion on the subject.

This was the signal for joining battle. Mr. Pitt, a few days later, required to know the shape and purpose of the motion, which the other declined to furnish. While all were wondering at this strange allusion, Mr. Rolle followed, alluding to something which he said "involved matters of Church and State." The Prime Minister indeed threw out what was certainly a menace, alluding darkly to what he called "the delicacy of the question," adding that "the private knowledge he possessed on the subject made him particularly desirous of avoiding it; but, if it were absolutely determined to bring it forward, he would, however distressing it might prove to him as an individual, discharge his duty to the public, and enter fully into the subject; the minister seemed to endorse the allusion by significant nods and gestures.\* There could scarcely be a mistake as to what was intended. Yet, possibly seeing the advantage he had given his opponents, he sent for Lord Southampton, who waited on the Prince the following morning with his excuses or explanations. The latter was adroit enough to see his advantages, and told him that he never received verbal messages except from the King." From that time, we are told, he was eager to declare he was not married.

On the 27th, Mr. Newnham signified to the House that the motion he intended to make would be to the following effect:

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\* "Auckland's Memoirs," pp. 1-47.



“That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying him to take into his royal consideration the present embarrassed state of the affairs of the Prince of Wales, and to grant him such relief as his royal wisdom should think fit, and that the House would make good the same.” Several members on both sides of the House having risen to deprecate the further discussion of this business, and to express their earnest wishes that it might be accommodated in some other manner, Mr. Sheridan declared that the insinuations and menaces, which had been thrown out upon a former occasion, made it impossible for the Prince to recede with honor. He said he had the highest authority to declare that his Royal Highness had no other wish than that every circumstance in the whole series of his conduct should be most minutely and accurately inquired into, and that he was ready, as a peer of Great Britain, to give in another place the most direct answers to any questions that might be put to him.

Mr. Rolle observed that if the motion proposed was persisted in, he should state without reserve his sentiments upon the subject he had alluded to, according as the matter struck him.

Mr. Pitt declared that he had been greatly misunderstood if it was conceived that he meant to throw out any insinuations injurious to the character of the Prince. He added that he had only referred to his pecuniary affairs and to the correspondence which had passed.

It seems amazing that Mr. Pitt, and so many statesmen of the same political honor, could condescend to the sort of equivocation that is implied in explanations of this kind. There can be no doubt that what was in his mind when he uttered the threat was the ceremony that had been gone through with Mrs. Fitzherbert, for there was nothing in the revelation of the pecuniary details that could be of an alarming “or delicate” nature; or, if there were, it was clear that the publication of such matters as reprisal would hardly add to the discredit of the Prince.

All doubt being thus removed, when the House met again on April 30th, Alderman Newnham declared that in all these insinuations he saw no dangers, the Prince saw none, and it was by his desire that he was now proceeding. Highly as he was honored by the Prince’s confidence, he was not to be intimidated.

Then Fox rose, his interposition giving rise to a most exciting episode, declaring that as to the correspondence there was no objection to let it be seen. After dwelling on the debts, etc., he



came to the real point of the whole, and, in carefully-weighed words, prompted by the Prince, made this declaration as to the marriage. He said: "If allusion were made to a certain low and malicious rumor, which had been industriously propagated without doors, he was authorized to declare it to be a falsehood. He had thought that a tale fit only to impose upon the lowest of the vulgar could not have gained credit for a moment in that House, or with any one who possessed the most ordinary portion of common sense and reflection; but when it appeared that an invention so gross and malicious, a report of a fact which was actually impossible to have happened, had been circulated with so much industry and success as to have made an impression upon the minds of the members of that House, it both proved the uncommon pains taken by the enemies of the Prince of Wales to depreciate his character and injure him in the opinion of his country. He concluded with adding that he was further authorized by his royal highness to declare that he was ready, as a peer of Parliament, to answer in the other House any the most pointed questions that could be put to him respecting this report, or to afford his Majesty or his ministers any other assurances or satisfaction they might require." Knowing that the papers lying at the present moment in the cellars of Messrs. Coutts's bank were then in existence, we listen with astonishment to this extraordinary declaration.

Mr. Rolle replied that "the right honorable member had said that the fact alluded to was impossible to have happened. They all knew, indeed, that there were certain laws and Acts of Parliament which forbade it, and made it null and void; but still it might have taken place, though not under the formal sanction of law; and upon that point he wished to be satisfied."

Mr. Fox observed, that "though what he had said before was, he thought, sufficient to satisfy every candid and liberal mind, he was willing, if possible, to satisfy the most perverse. When he denied the calumny in question, he meant to deny it, not merely with regard to the effect of certain existing laws, but to deny it *in toto*, in point of fact as well as law. The fact not only never could have happened legally, but never did happen in any way whatsoever, and had from the beginning been a base and malicious falsehood." Mr. Rolle rose again, and desired to know whether what Mr. Fox had last said was to be understood as spoken from direct authority? Mr. Fox replied that he had direct authority.

Still the sturdy Rolle—having a suspicion of the truth—declined

to say that he was satisfied, though assailed by Sheridan and the upright Grey, who accepted the statement. The county member was, alas! justified in his incredulity. It was, of course, a complete victory for the Prince. No one would have calculated on his meeting these obscure insinuations by so complete, triumphant, and wholesale a denial! There can be no defence and no extenuation to be attempted beyond this, that the voluptuary's senses become so clouded by indulgence that he comes to view all that brings him inconvenience as something that should not be, and therefore—is not.

The effect on the friends of his own party—Sir G. Elliot among others—was complete. Sir Gilbert had been much “disturbed” by the delicate subject of the Prince's connection and the constituent dangers and doubts belonging to this “most equivocal position of things.” He thought it all too serious to be excused by “the levity of youth.” He was delighted, therefore, to hear the charge denied so explicitly. “Fox,” he says, “declared, by authority from the Prince, in the fullest and most unequivocal manner, that there was not the smallest foundation of any sort for the story of the marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert. Rolle hinted at the distinction between a legal marriage and some ceremony that might satisfy the consciences of some persons, but Fox rejected any such distinction, and asserted again that there never had been the slightest ground for this slander, either legally or illegally, and, in a word, denied positively from the Prince himself the whole of this slander, in words so strong and so unqualified that we must believe him.” What were Mr. Fox's feelings, when, on entering Brookes's after the debate, he was accosted by a gentleman,\* who said: “Mr. Fox, I see by the public papers you have denied the Prince's marriage to Mrs. Fitzherbert. You have been misinformed: I was present at the marriage!” No arguments or explanations could have been so convincing. It was a *coup de théâtre*. Here was the voice of a witness who had seen the transaction. Mr. Fox felt, in a moment, in what a humiliating and embarrassing position he stood.

But the unfortunate lady's position was, indeed, pitiable. Well might Pitt, or Selwyn whose wit age had not withered, quote from Othello: “Villain! be sure you prove my love” etc. But the Prince was not without resource. On the very next morning he entered her room gayly, and said: “Only conceive, Maria, what

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\* This may have been Mr. Orlando Bridgman, afterwards Lord Bradford,

Fox did yesterday! He went down to the House and denied you and I were man and wife. Did you ever hear of such a thing!" She made no reply, but turned pale. The duplicity was doubled. Having committed his friend, and gained the advantage he sought, he proceeded to disavow him.

She saw that her fate was sealed. On her indignation and reproaches he was ready to make all amends, and remove the mischief, now that his case had been made with the House of Commons and the public. He sent for Mr. Grey, and, after much preamble, and pacing in a hurried manner about the room, exclaimed: "Charles certainly went too far last night. You, my dear Grey, shall explain it;" and then, in distinct tones, "as Grey," adds Lord Holland, "has, since the Prince's death, assured me, though with prodigious agitation, owned that a ceremony had taken place." Mr. Grey observed that Mr. Fox must unquestionably suppose that he had authority for all he said, and that if there had been any mistake it could easily be rectified by his royal highness speaking to Mr. Fox himself, and setting him right on such matters as had been misunderstood between them. "No other person can," he added, "be employed without questioning Mr. Fox's veracity, which nobody, I presume, is prepared to do." A reply such as this might be expected from a man of Mr. Grey's character. "It," he said, "chagrined, disappointed, and agitated the Prince exceedingly," and, after some exclamations of annoyance, he threw himself on the sofa, muttering: "Well, Sheridan must say something."\*

But, unhappily, we have to go farther, and follow this complicated intrigue into fresh deceptions.

The Prince succeeded in persuading Mrs. Fitzherbert that Fox had "exceeded his instructions." And it would seem that for nearly twenty years—to the day of his death—she never spoke to Fox again, believing that this gratuitous insult had come from him. We might be inclined to assume, from the Prince's letter to Fox of May 10th, and its affectionate tone, that Fox had not then had his eyes opened, or felt that he was bound, without being on friendly terms, to carry through the Prince's business.

It will be seen, indeed, in a moment, in what a painful and delicate position he stood, since, to vindicate himself, he would be obliged to publicly indict his principal of falsehood, and ruin his

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\* Lord Holland, "Memoirs of the Whig Party,"



interests, and expose him to certain peril. How lightly that principal took the matter will be seen from the letter he wrote off to him at midnight after the debate:

"April 30th, 1787.

"Monday night, 12 o'clock.

"MY DEAR CHARLES,

"I beg to see you for five minutes to-morrow after I have seen Marsham and Powys, whom I beg you will desire to be at Carlton House at one o'clock to-morrow. When I see you I will relate to you what has passed between my friend and me relative to y<sup>e</sup> seeing you. I feel more comfortable by Sheridan's and Grey's account of what has passed to-day. I have had a distant insinuation that some sort of message or terms are also to be proposed to me to-morrow. If you come a little after two you will be sure to find me.

"Ever affectionately yours,

"GEORGE P."

It is stated that Mr. Fox, when he discovered the dishonorable use that he had been put to, broke off his friendship with the Prince, and did not speak to him for a year. And this view is supported by a story told by "Coke of Norfolk" to Earl Russell. Fox had been paying his annual visit to Holkham, when, on the very day of his departure, his host received a message from the Prince announcing that he intended coming down next day. He thus missed meeting Fox, but at the dinner he ostentatiously twice gave a toast, "To the best man in England—Mr. Fox." Mr. Coke believed that he had come specially to meet his old friend.\*

Fox, however, must have seen that it was idle keeping up his resentment with so irresponsible a character; and, indeed, their common political interests required reconciliation. Two years later, at the crisis of the regency, we find Sir G. Elliot delighted at Fox's going "to meet the Prince, which he thought a comfortable circumstance." †

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\* Years after, Lord Holland was waiting to see the Prince, when Sheridan told him a history of some paper or letter which he had corrected or written for the Prince. When both were admitted to audience, the Prince began a story on the same subject, but of a totally different complexion, appealing for corroboration to Sheridan, who heartily gave it, "I could not tell which was the greatest liar!" said the listener.

† "Life of Sir G. Elliot," i. 238.



Under this cruel and unmanly imputation, the behavior of Mrs. Fitzherbert was admirable for its dignity. Her friends, she told Lord Stourton, "assured her that, in this discrepancy as to the assertion of Mr. Fox and the Prince, she was bound to accept the word of her husband. She informed him that the public supported her by their conduct on this occasion; for, at no period of her life were their visits so numerous at her house as on the day which followed Mr. Fox's memorable speech; and, to use her own expression, the knocker of her door was never still during the whole day."

She was visited with studious publicity by the Duchesses of Portland, Devonshire, and Cumberland, and her position in society suffered not the least change. Such was the extraordinary testimony to her private character. Some of the meaner parasites of the Prince, we are told, taking their master's cue, went about repeating the same insinuations against Mr. Fox.\* That statesman did all he could to repair the wrong, and, when he came to power, offered to create her a duchess.

Nor was the poor lady yet to have peace. The crazed Lord George Gordon, who was about being put on his trial for libelling the Queen of France, unfortunately came to associate Mrs. Fitzherbert with the case. He introduced himself into her house with a subpœna, but was turned out by the servants; the police had to interfere to protect her.

The most extraordinary part of the transaction is, that more than thirty years after we find the Prince, then King, still denying his marriage. Mr. Croker, his friend and admirer, discussing this question, says: "We are bound in fairness to say that, on the appearance of Moore's '*Life of Sheridan*,' George IV. deliberately and distinctly declared that there was not a word of truth in it, and that he never had any communication with Lord Grey upon the subject; and he further went on to deny 'that absurd story' of his supposed marriage." This we need hardly say was during Lord Grey's life, and was intended by the King to be publicly repeated.

Nor would we consider this, in the King, an instance of unblushing falsehood; for, at the time he made it, he had grown into a habit of self-delusion of the most extraordinary kind, partially favored by a crowd of parasites and flatterers, who never ventured

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\* "*Life and Reign*," i. 160.

to contradict him or set him right on any subject. With this aid he had come, therefore, to think that his view of an incident, where he fancied he had been ill-treated, was the truth, and that what ought to have been had been. To these delusions belonged the well-known one of having been at Waterloo, and many others. Mr. Croker was but half convinced by his assurances, and at the same time doubts Lord Holland's accuracy, who, in his memoirs, reports the share of Lord Grey in the transaction. Fortunately, however, Lord Grey can speak for himself:

"I do not recollect having given him any account that would satisfy him. On the contrary, in a long conversation which I had with him, in which he was dreadfully agitated, the object was to get me to say something in Parliament for the satisfaction of Mrs. Fitzherbert, which might take off the effect of Fox's declaration. I expressly told him how prejudicial a continuance of the discussion must be to him, and positively refused to do what he desired. He put an end to the conversation abruptly by saying, 'Well, if nobody else will, Sheridan must.'"<sup>\*</sup>

Mr. Grey, who took part in all these transactions, was a young man of twenty-two, of great promise, who had just entered the House of Commons, and made an extraordinary impression. Mr. Addington was thus affected: "A new speaker presented himself to the House, and went through his first performance with an *éclat* which has not been equalled within my recollection. I do not go too far in declaring that, in the advantage of figure, voice, elocution, and manner, he is not surpassed by any member of the House."

The Prince seems to have taken an aversion to him from the rebuke implied in the rejection of his unworthy proposal, and it was curious that for more than forty years he was to find himself encountered and checked by the same cold, if not contemptuous, appreciation of his character, and the same air of reproof. Before Grey he seemed to feel abashed; he had the mortification of being forced to ask his aid at a crisis, when it was clearly shown to him that his shifty notions were understood and seen through, and the assistance was haughtily denied. It is certain that he was cordially disliked by George IV. to the day of his death. General Grey, indeed, speaks of those "idle stories," and quotes a letter of 1806 in disproof of the statement. But there can be little doubt of the fact.

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<sup>\*</sup> Note by Lord Grey in the "Life" by General Grey.

The management of the parliamentary transactions, of which this was an incident, shows that the Prince was not unskilful in a certain kind of manœuvring. His own party were not united, as we have seen, in supporting his claims to the liberality of the nation. These dissentients, among whom were counted the Duke of Portland and other "old Whigs," he contrived to neutralize by gaining the favor of the country gentlemen. The bold denial of the marriage had secured this, and had, at the same time, put the Prime Minister in an awkward position.

He felt that resistance could be no longer offered. He sent a gracious message to the Prince, full of explanations, to which the latter replied bluntly that "he did not receive verbal messages; but that if the minister had any business with him he might come himself." This, however, was softened by a letter from the Duke of Cumberland to Mr. Dundas, written by the Prince's direction, prompted, it was said, by the Duchess of Gordon. Dundas came to Carlton House, and, over much wine, assured him of Mr. Pitt's friendliness. From an interview between the Prince and minister the happiest results followed. Mr. Pitt repaired to the King, a Cabinet Council succeeded, and it was intimated that his wishes would be complied with.

"The Prince," writes Lord Beauchamp, "begins a most active canvass of the House; applies by letter or personally to every little knot of members, and indirectly to almost every individual, offering to submit his plans and his interests to the country gentlemen, producing his accounts, showing every letter, and, by the specimen I have seen, he has been guarded to an extreme degree. In short, Marsham, Powis, Hussey, Pulteney, Astley, and others of that calibre, became converts to his cause, in spite of their original dislike to it. On this footing the business rested, when, the night before the motion was to be made, Mr. Pitt acquaints the Prince, by letter, with his Majesty's gracious intention to comply with his wishes, and only hints at previous explanations being made by the Prince, by which it was understood that in future he was to be no party man; but, whatever interpretation was intended to be put upon them, the Prince instantly communicated his readiness to acquiesce, and personally to assure the King of his resolution to act in future as he would wish. The motion is, in consequence, laid aside, but to this letter, though four days have since elapsed, no answer was given till this morning, when the King signified his disapprobation to the increase of the Prince's allowance at all



events, and also to the payment of his debts, unless the accounts to be produced to him of the amount should prove satisfactory. The Prince has accepted this qualified offer, and promises instantly to send a *précis* of his affairs." \*

In the House of Commons, on the motion being withdrawn, Sheridan executed the delicate commission intrusted to him, to say something for the calumniated Mrs. Fitzherbert. "But, while the Prince's feelings had, no doubt, been considered on the occasion, he must take the liberty of saying, however some might think it a subordinate consideration, that there was another person entitled, in the judgment of every delicate and honorable mind, to the same attention; one whom he would not venture otherwise to describe than by saying it was a name which malice or ignorance alone could attempt to injure, and whose conduct and character were entitled to the truest respect." A flowery tribute that was ridiculous, as it could only have meaning on the supposition that she was married to the Prince, and that Fox's statement was untrue. As was well said: "Mr. Fox had declared that a lady living with the Prince, to all exterior appearance, in the habits of matrimonial connection, had not the sanction of any canonical forms to support her; whilst, on the other hand, Mr. Sheridan reversed the picture, by representing her as a paragon of chastity, the possessor of every virtue, and the ornament of her sex."

To the Archbishop of Canterbury it naturally seemed all "very odd," particularly as he noted "that the lady was more received than she was, I think, and stands more forward." A singular circumstance in this debate was the announcement by the Prime Minister that nothing had occurred on the side of the Government to cause the withdrawal of the motion. He meant, probably, that no arrangement had been concluded or bargain made. The Prince wrote on that night to ask an explanation, on which Mr. Pitt volunteered to come to him and give it at Carlton House. On his arrival with Mr. Dundas he found Sheridan, on which he declined to enter on the business in presence of one so opposed to the Government. On this the Prince desired both the inferior agents to withdraw. A long conference followed, at the close of which these written proposals were submitted:

"1st. That the Prince's debts should be paid, at least in part.

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\* See "Correspondence of Lord Auckland," p. 416; Wraxall's "Hist. Mem.;" Lord Cornwallis's "Correspondence."



2nd. That a grant should be made to him for the completion of Carlton House. 3rd. That such reasonable increase should be made to his annual income as would prevent henceforth the necessity of his contracting debts." Mr. Pitt took his leave with these propositions, and immediately despatched them to the King at Windsor. Much negotiation followed, and it was said that the minister himself was disgusted by the shiftiness displayed by the King.\*

THE PRINCE OF WALES TO MR. FOX.

"Carlton House, May 10th, 1787.

"MY DEAR CHARLES,

"No answer is come as yet from Pitt, excepting y<sup>t</sup> he was to see y<sup>e</sup> King to-night, and w<sup>d</sup> endeavor to get everything settled if he c<sup>d</sup>. Some sort of an answer I shall certainly have this evening, when he quits the Queen's House, w<sup>h</sup> I will communicate to you as soon as possible after I have received it. His own statement y<sup>t</sup> he has made but, as expenses for every year from the time I came of age, is thirty thousand pounds a quarter; consequently annually an hundred and twenty thousand pounds; y<sup>e</sup> moment I get a copy of y<sup>m</sup> I will transmit it to you for y<sup>r</sup> inspection. In y<sup>e</sup> meantime I beg you will not think of going to Newmarket till you have heard again from me; how late it may be I cannot answer for. Adieu, my dear friend. Pray excuse haste.

"Ever yours,

G. P."

The King presently replied with his own hand, in a letter forwarded by Mr. Pitt to the Prince, to the following effect: 1st. That the King was gratified to find the Prince ready to submit his debts to inspection. 2nd. That the Prince should set forth not only the amount of his debts, but the manner in which each particular debt was contracted. 3rd. That the Prince should engage not to contract debts in future. 4th. That upon compliance with the foregoing conditions would depend the King's consent to the payment of the Prince's debts, or any portion of them. 5th. That the King would not think any increase of income necessary, so long as the Prince of Wales remained unmarried.

This counter-project was not found satisfactory, and Mr. Courtenay, one of the Prince's legal advisers, having quickened the nego-

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\* "Life and Reign," i. 165.

tiations by giving out that he would bring this delicate question before the House, on the 21st of May the minister brought down a royal message, recommending an increase to his son's income. The message added that there was "a well-grounded expectation" that his son would avoid contracting new debts. He demanded their aid to pay the debts, and engaged from his own Civil List to add ten thousand pounds a year to his income. The Prince had given his Majesty the fullest assurances of his firm determination to confine his future expenses within his income, and had settled a new scheme of checking the household expenses. An account was furnished to the House:

## DEBTS OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.

Bonds and debts.....	£13,000
Purchase of houses.....	4,000
Expenses of Carlton House.....	53,000
Tradesmen's bills.....	90,804
	<u>£160,804</u>

## EXPENDITURE FROM JULY, 1783, TO JULY, 1786.

Household, etc.....	£29,277
Privy purse.....	16,050
Payments made by Col. Hotham, particulars delivered in to his Majesty.....	37,203
Other extraordinaries.....	11,406
	<u>£93,936</u>
Salaries.....	£54,734
Stables.....	37,919
Mr. Robins, etc.....	7,059—£99,712
	<u>£193,648</u>

On the following day an address from the Commons was presented to the King, with its vote for a hundred and sixty-one thousand pounds, for payment of the debt, and a sum of sixty thousand pounds for the completion of Carlton House.\*

This schedule was said not to correspond with the one first presented to the King, and it was understood that the debts of honor,

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\* From a letter of Mr. Pitt's, in July, 1789, it would appear that Coutts, the banker, was employed as agent in the transaction. Forty thousand pounds were to be paid to the general creditors through Mr. Anstruther, while Captain Payne was to receive so large a sum as three thousand pounds for the Brighton creditors.—Rose, "Diaries," i. 105.

etc., had been kept back because the King declined to recognize them. The relief indeed was of the most temporary kind; there was no substantial increase to his income, the sum for Carlton House was but a third of what was necessary, and his position was really that of a man in hopeless difficulties, who has obtained a small supply to help to tide him on for a little. Exactly like such a person, the Prince was overjoyed at the relief, which might be an earnest of future aid. So far from an attempt being made to observe this solemn engagement to the King and nation, which common decency might have suggested, three years had not elapsed when his debts reached six hundred and fifty thousand pounds!

## CHAPTER XI.

1787.

A RECONCILIATION immediately took place between the Prince and his father. The drawing-room on May 24th, it was remarked, was as fine and crowded as a Birthday. The Prince's household, now returned to their places, all kissed hands. The King was quite in spirits, and the Queen and her daughters beaming with delight. The impulsive Prince told every one that he was resolved never again to quarrel with his father; a declaration too comprehensive not to excite a serious foreboding.\*

On the following day an interview, three hours long, took place at the palace, at the end of which the penitent was introduced to his mother and sisters, when all was made up. By the much-injured Mrs. Fitzherbert he was also forgiven; and, at a most magnificent ball and supper given by Sir Sampson Gideon, the Prince sat at the head of the table, Mrs. Fitzherbert beside him, with all her particular friends grouped near him. Every one had noticed that his attentions to her in public had of late been of the most marked kind.

The creditors, however, were not quite satisfied with the mode of liquidation, which they thought too slow. They were paid in instalments, a first dividend of nine per cent. being presently announced.

Reconciled to his son, the King was to be further gratified by the return of his favorite, the Duke of York, who arrived on August 2nd after an absence of seven years, during which time he had contrived to impress even Mirabeau unfavorably by his uproariousness and excess in wine. The Prince was then at Brighton, and the news found him at a supper where was the Princess of Lamballe, whence he rose to post all through the night to Windsor. He was fond of this grotesque and spasmodic mode of travel, for which

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\* Auckland, "Correspondence," i. 426.



there was no necessity, and which is, in truth, characteristic of the spendthrift, who loves telegraphing and expresses where mere trivialities are in question. Thus an air of real business is given to pleasure.

The meeting of the brothers is described as most affecting. After a moment's pause, during which they surveyed each other, they embraced affectionately. Then followed a happy family dinner; and if we are to accept the reports of the various chroniclers belonging to the Court, the simple raptures of the happy father, and his queen and his daughters, were more like what would occur in the circle of the good Vicar of Wakefield than among those recently engaged in a bitter and venomous family quarrel. The Duke, in truth, had returned a finished debauchee, arrayed in all the vices; he was delicate-looking and stooped, and in the splendid picture of him by Reynolds, where he is presented in all the splendor of robes and orders, he appears as an interesting, almost feminine-looking youth, with a rather weak and volatile expression. He was now to form a strict alliance with his brother.

For the Duke of York an establishment was formed at Oatlands Park, Weybridge (now an hotel), a place hereafter to be familiar to London men of fashion; having also a grotesque celebrity as the reign of riot and the grave of innumerable dogs, favorites of the Duchess. Frolic and frivolity now set in, and the royal brothers, in this new-found *camaraderie*, were to renew the old scandals. Indeed, those of the royal family who were older did not set the young men a good example. The Cumberlands, as we have seen, had openly encouraged the Prince of Wales in his hostility to his father.

One so flattered and followed often showed a capricious humor, which, in his later days, when he studied to support his character of first gentleman, he would not have exhibited. Thus, when dancing with the beautiful Lady Salisbury at a ball given by the Duchess of Devonshire, he suddenly quitted her and finished the measure with his more lovely hostess. The gay Captain Morris thus wrote on the incident:

Ungallant youth! Could royal Edward see  
While Salisbury's garter decks thy faithless knee  
That thou, false knight, hadst turned thy back and fled  
From such a Salisbury as might wake the dead.  
Quick from thy treacherous breast her badge he'd tear,  
And strip the star that beauty planted there.

But, as the Duchess of York once said to Mr. Greville, there was a rude, coarse style of gentility then obtaining, which gave place to the good-natured manners of the later dandies. The Duke of Gloucester, whose attachment to his wife and sacrifices made for her are told in so sympathetic a fashion in Walpole's journals, had now transferred his admiration to Lady Tyrconnel, Lord Delaval's youngest daughter, "feminine and delicate in her appearance, with a profusion of light hair."

"How the men of business and the great orators of the House of Commons contrive to reconcile it with their exertions I cannot conceive," writes that most charming of public men, Sir Gilbert Elliot, to his wife. "Men of all ages drink abominably. Fox drinks what I should call a great deal, though he is not reckoned to do so by his companions, Sheridan excessively, and Grey more than any of them; but it is in a much more gentlemanly way than our Scotch drunkards, and is always accompanied with lively clever conversation on subjects of importance. Pitt, I am told, drinks as much as anybody."

The same observer describes a scene at Mrs. Crewe's, where three young men of fashion, Mr. Orlando Bridgman, Mr. Charles Greville, of the Picnic Club (a gentleman celebrated for his elegance of manners), and Mr. Gifford, were so drunk "as to puzzle a whole assembly. The last was a young gentleman lately come out, of good estate of about five thousand pounds a year, the whole of which he is in the act of spending in one or two years at most, and this without a grain of sense, without any fun to himself or entertainment to others. He never uttered a word, though as drunk as the other two, who were both riotous, and began at last to talk so plain that Lady Francis and Lady Valentine fled from the side table to ours, and Mrs. Sheridan would have followed them, but did not make her escape till her arms were black and blue, and her apron torn off."

Pitt, the model young minister, broke down in the House in the following year, owing to a debauch the night before at Lord Buckingham's, when in company with Dundas and the Duke of Gordon he took too much wine.\* Indeed, the manners and customs of the times might be called "a precious school" for young princes, and there was no public opinion to check these vices. The lawlessness that was abroad reached even to the young, who disdained the con-

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\* "Court and Cabinets," i. 380.

trol of their parents. When their consent was withheld, the result was improvident marriages with footmen and actors, and numerous elopements. Thus in this year the town was entertained with no less than three escapades, which occurred at the same time. "Lady Augusta Campbell is married to Mr. Clavering, the youngest son of General Clavering. His being only two-and-twenty, and Lady Augusta being a good many years older, makes people imagine that she rather ran away with him than he with her. They went away from the Duchess of Ancaster's, who saw masks that night. The Duchess of Argyll went home, and thought that Lady Augusta would soon follow her, but after sitting up till five o'clock, and no Lady Augusta returning, she sent in search of her to the Duchess of Ancaster's. No tidings were to be learned there of the fair fugitive. She, it seems, as soon as her mother went home, left the duchess's with Mr. Clavering, and went with him to Bicester, in Oxfordshire, where they were married. She, it is said, was married in her domino. Accoutred as she was she plunged in. It is to be hoped she dropped the mask. The lover had been the day before to Cranbourne Alley, and had procured every kind of female dress necessary for Lady Augusta.

"Miss Clinton had, the day before she eloped, offered to take her oath on the Bible that she would not marry Mr. Dawkins without Sir Henry's consent. He, after her solemn protestations, did not think it necessary to administer the oath; and she, perhaps, imagining that at some other time he might, lost no time in escaping from the sin of perjury, and likewise from her father's house. Mr. Dawkins had posted half-a-dozen hackney-coaches at the different corners which lead into Portland Place, in order that he might elude all pursuit; for as soon as the hackney-coach in which he was set off, all the others likewise had their orders to set off too, and go where they liked.

"Lady Bowes lived in Fludyer Street, which you know is very narrow, and well it was, considering the bridge she passed to get to her lover, Mr. Jessop. She excused herself to her father for not coming down to supper, saying that it was inconsistent with female delicacy to be in company with so many men as were to sup with her father. As soon as everybody was gone to bed she passed a ladder which had a plank laid upon it, and which reached from her window to that of her lover. She must pass this bridge. She had never seen this man but at his window, before she went over to him."



Gambling at this time was in the highest vogue, faro and macao tables being found at the fashionable houses. This vice continued to rage until the dissolution of Crockford's, within living memory, when it assumed another shape, which now obtains—that of laying on horses instead of on dice or cards. The French ambassador was a particular votary, and, being struck down with a paralytic stroke at a drawing-room, did not on that account suspend his Sunday evening gaming reunions—and Sir Nathaniel Wraxall attended one, when, “a faro-table being set out in one of the apartments, the company gambled at it while the ambassador lay in an adjoining room attended by physicians.”

The King and his family, who had been in such delight at the promised reformation, were now to find their son breaking his promises, even the one which had been the *sine quâ non* of the agreement, that he would no longer join in political attacks. There was something most unbecoming in this violation of an honorable agreement, but the public had long ceased to be scandalized. His friend, Erskine, after making a wild attack on the Government three hours long, had been forced to desist from illness; he was comforted by the Prince of Wales, with whom he dined in the coffee-room at the House of Commons, and, after being well primed with brandy, was instigated to renew the attack. So gross was his language that a burst of hisses greeted him.\*

No wonder the visits to Windsor grew less and less frequent, and at last were totally given up. But what must have wrung the heart of father and mother most was to find the youth that had just been restored to them led by his brother into every vice, and competing with him in the race of a degrading notoriety; and there can be no reasonable doubt but that the agitation and anguish of these days contributed to the derangement of mind which was presently to declare itself.

Two of the Prince's close associates—Tarleton and Payne (the well-known Jack Payne)—being proposed at Brookes's, met with the affront of being blackballed, though the Prince himself had put them up. In disgust at this treatment, he and his brother determined to found a new and special club, where they could be free from the restraint of these old respectable Whigs who reigned at Brookes's.

Accordingly, the task of organizing the club was conferred on his German cook, and after the custom of the time it was called “Welt-

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\* “Court and Cabinets,” i. 556.



jie's." Weltjie himself, with his broken English and familiarity, became the keeper under the royal patronage. He made money, and lived in one of the picturesque houses in Hammersmith Mall, where he was truly hospitable. He, however, lost the favor of his royal patron by his opposition to the marriage of one of his children which the Prince favored, and who, crossed in his whim, dismissed him. "His manners," says Angelo, "were not very polished, but at the same time good-natured, and his humorous, eccentric anecdotes (of which he had so many), with his excellent dishes, so pleased his guests that they were never out of patience in listening to them." Mr. Gronow gives another account of the convivial fashion in which this club was founded.

In this new *locale* play set in with new fury, and the royal pair became the victims. "The Prince has taught the Duke to drink in the most liberal way, and the Duke in return has been equally successful in teaching his brother to lose money at all sorts of play—quinze, hazard, etc.—to the amount, we are told, of very large sums, won by General Smith and Admiral Pigot, who both wanted it very much." This fatal passion the Duke had brought from Germany, and the frantic manner in which he now pursued it filled his more sober friends with apprehension. Even the Prince of Wales was heard to declare gravely that his brother of York "was too bad." \*

It was during one of these riotous scenes that an amusing adventure occurred to the royal pair. As they were passing Hay Hill, hurrying to another scene of riot, they were stopped by footpads and robbed of their watches and money. Mr. Rogers heard the Duke of York relate the story, but seems to have misapprehended it. He assumed it to have been a genuine robbery, whereas it was a pleasant trick contrived by some of their boon companions. There was much jesting on the incident, and it was declared that the sum of money obtained from the pockets of both was of but trifling amount.

The Prince's gambling was pushed to an extent which, considering his recent promises, was scandalous. He was seen to lose two or three thousand pounds of a night.† His brother, the Duke of York, was not behindhand, his conduct being as bad as possible; "he plays very deep, and loses, and his company is thought *mauvais ton*." ‡

Like other gentlemen of the town, our Prince had recourse in his

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\* The Duke, at a convivial party, rising abruptly from the table, fell upon the floor; on which his brother exclaimed, solemnly: "There lie, as our royal father says, the hopes of the family."

† "Court and Cabinets," i. 363.

‡ Ibid.

necessities to the usurers.\* One of the most notorious money-lenders who came to his aid was a personage known as "Jew Travis," or "Treves," with whom the Prince had transactions. Later came "Jew Solomon" and "Jew King." Lord Cornwallis, who had gone out to India, was, in the following year, applied to with great earnestness by the Prince to do something for a young *protégé* of his, also out there. The warmth of his intercession may have surprised Lord Cornwallis, who could not, however, set it down to the kindly feelings of his heart. The fact was, "young Treves" was son of "Jew Treves," which at once explained the solicitude exhibited for him.

#### THE PRINCE OF WALES TO LORD CORNWALLIS.

"Carlton House, March 12th, 1788.

"MY DEAR CORNWALLIS,

"Tho' I am sensible how much your time is taken up, I cannot help troubling you on a subject I have already mentioned to you. Having understood that the India directors have sent a species of order to have young Treves removed from his present situation, and feeling myself much interested in this young man's welfare, I cannot help, 1st, recalling to your mind that I took the liberty some time ago of recommending him particularly to your protection, and only hope that, if his conduct has not been improper in his situation, you would not admit of his being an innocent sufferer. I trust to your goodness in forgiving the trouble I am now giving you, and that, if any application is necessary to the subject here at home, you will be kind enough to inform me how I am to make it myself; or else I must trouble you once more in begging you to make it yourself for me and in my name. I am ever happy in any opportunity that offers itself of recalling myself to your remembrance, and assuring you how sincerely I remain,

Your sincere Friend,

"GEORGE P."

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\* It was at this time the practice of the Jews to frequent the gaming-houses in the morning for the express purpose of purchasing the I O U's of the Prince. If the I O U was for five hundred pounds, a bond or some other solid security was given for six hundred pounds, the Jew selling to the Prince some trifling piece of plate, or an article of jewelry, for the extra hundred pounds. The Prince, in some instances, expressed his high sense of displeasure at this traffic in his negotiable securities. But, as in some instances he could not discharge his I O U from his immediate funds, it was a system of great convenience to have a resource always at hand by which his honor could be saved. —Huish, "Memoirs," i. 191.

The amiable feelings that had been awakened by the return of the second son had by this time given place to the old bitterness, and the relations between the King and his son had now come to be once more on the usual disastrous footing. The blame may be fairly divided between both parties, as will be evident from the harsh treatment extended to another son, Prince William, who had been at sea, and ventured to return without permission. He arrived at Plymouth, as will be shown later, and was detained there by his father. His royal brother hurried down to see him, and the party enjoyed themselves for some time together, in their own riotous fashion, when the gay sailor got into a flirtation with a lady of the place. He was at once ordered off to sea, with sealed orders, which, on being opened, banished him to the West Indies. Yet with all this extravagance there were evidences of a good heart, or at least of good nature.

For what was called "bruising," the Prince of Wales early showed taste; but it was "recorded to his honor" that, having witnessed a dreadful prize-fight at Brighton, in the August of the following year, in which one of the "bruisers" was killed on the spot, he gave utterance to a sort of solemn vow that he would never witness another battle or again patronize the sport. This was no doubt prompted by a becoming feeling; but without the catastrophe the spectacle was brutal, and sufficiently inhuman.\*

A little sketch of him, about this time, at an evening party, shows very effectively the favorable side of his character. Among his friends was Lady Clermont, a lady of the old school, who had brought to a party the well-known Count Fersen.†

"His Royal Highness took no notice of me on his first arrival; but, in a few minutes afterwards, coming up to me, 'Pray, Lady Clermont,' said he, 'is that man whom I see here Count Fersen, the Queen's favorite?' 'The gentleman,' answered I, 'to whom your Royal Highness alludes is Count Fersen; but so far from being a favorite of the Queen, he has not yet been presented at Court.' 'God d—n me!' exclaimed he, 'you don't imagine I mean my mother?' 'Sir,' I replied, 'whenever you are pleased to use the word "queen" without any addition I shall always understand it to mean *my* Queen. If you speak of any other queen I must entreat that you will be good enough to say the Queen of France or of

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\* Mr. Windham was employed to get a palliative account inserted in his papers, being a great patron of the sport.

† Wraxall, "Posth. Memoirs."



Spain.' The Prince made no reply; but, after having walked once or twice round Count Fersen, returning to me, 'He's certainly a very handsome fellow,' observed he. 'Shall I have the honor, sir,' said I, 'to present him to you?' He instantly turned on his heel, without giving me any answer; and I soon afterwards quitted Lady William Gordon's house, carrying Count Fersen with me. We drove to Mrs. St. John's, only a few doors distant, who had likewise a large party on that evening. When I had introduced him to various persons there I said to him: 'Count Fersen, I am an old woman, and infirm, who always go home to bed at eleven. You will, I hope, amuse yourself. Good-night.' Having thus done the honors, as well as I could, to a stranger who had been so highly recommended to me, I withdrew into the ante-chamber, and sat down alone in a corner, waiting for my carriage. While there the Prince came in; and I naturally expected, after his recent behavior, that he would rather avoid than accost me. On the contrary, advancing up to me, 'What are you doing here, Lady Clermont?' asked he. 'I am waiting for my coach, sir,' said I, 'in order to go home.' 'Then,' replied he, 'I will put you into it, and give you my arm down the stairs.' 'For heaven's sake, sir,' I exclaimed, 'don't attempt it; I am old, very lame, and my sight is imperfect. The consequence of your offering me your arm will be that, in my anxiety not to detain your Royal Highness, I shall hurry down and probably tumble from the top of the staircase to the foot.' 'Very likely,' answered he; 'but, if you tumble, I shall tumble with you. Be assured, however, that I will have the pleasure of assisting you, and placing you safely in your carriage.' I saw that he was determined to repair the rudeness with which he had treated me at Lady William Gordon's, and I therefore acquiesced. He remained with me till the coach was announced, conversed most agreeably on various topics, and as he took care of me down the stairs, enjoined me at every step not to hurry myself. Nor did he quit me when seated in the carriage, remaining uncovered on the steps of the house till it drove off from the door."

"The Prince," we are also told, "was one day so exceedingly urgent to have eight hundred pounds, at an hour on such a day, and in so unusual a manner, that the gentleman who furnished the supply had some curiosity to know for what purpose it was obtained. On inquiry he was informed that the moment the money arrived the Prince drew on a pair of boots, pulled off his coat and waistcoat, slipped on a plain morning frock, without a star, and, turning his



hair to the crown of his head, put on a slouched hat, and thus walked out. This intelligence raised still greater curiosity, and with some trouble the gentleman discovered the object of the mysterious visit. An officer of the army had just arrived from America, with a wife and six children, in such low circumstances, that, to satisfy a clamorous creditor, he was on the point of selling his commission, to the utter ruin of his family. The Prince brought him the money himself to an obscure lodging-house." \*

Yet, as moralists well know, such impulses, unless directed by principle, have little value, and become no more than new shapes of self-gratification. Presently we find him at Tunbridge Wells, where he much contributed to the gayety of that place. Here, among other visitors, was Fitzgibbon, afterwards the well-known Lord Clare, whose wife, "a smart lady," and one of "Buck" Whaley's family, attracted the notice of the impressionable Prince.

There was another watering-place which attracted him and engrossed much of his time, thought, and extravagance. The luxurious city of pleasure, the modern "London-on-the-Sea," unrivalled for its gayety and enjoyment, is indebted to the young Prince of Wales for its earliest appreciation. Almost before he was of age he delighted in hurrying away from town for a brief snatch of seaside enjoyment. We are told a new and fantastic equipage, consisting of a phaeton drawn only by three horses, one before the other, on the first of which rode a postilion, was designed to enable him to reach his favorite haunt with more expedition. With all his fickleness he was through his life constant to this fancy, and, like the Grand Monarque, paid it the homage of adorning it with the quaint and costly palace which still rears its outlandish pinnacles. †

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\* Huish, "Memoirs," i. 157.

† In an old posting-book now before me, once belonging to a friend of Mr. Sterne's, in which are set down several notes useful on travel, furnished by that gentleman, as "Mr. Sterne recommended Mr. Ray of Montpellier as a most worthy English banker,"—there is a MS. sketch of the place so early as 1767. "Until within a few years it was no better than a mere fishing town inhabited by fishermen and sailors, but through the recommendation of Dr. Russel, and by the means of his writing in favor of sea-water, it is become one of the principal places in the kingdom for the resort of the idle and dissipated as well as of the diseased and infirm. There are two assembly-rooms which are opened on different nights, one kept by Mr. Shergold, who keeps the sign of King Charles's Head, and lives in the very house wherein he was concealed; and the other assembly-room is kept by Mr. Hicks, who keeps the coffee-house. The place on which the company usually walk in the evening is a large field near the sea, called the Stean, which is kept in proper order

This fancy had taken root after the time when he first visited the Duke of Cumberland, in 1782, who then occupied a small, old-fashioned house on the very edge of the sea, known as Grove House, belonging to a Mr. Wyndham. This stood almost solitary, some sandy downs spreading away near it, a curious contrast to the vast crowds of houses which now line the shore.\* In the following year he paid a second visit, on this occasion occupying Mr. Kemp's house, or rather cottage, which was close by. This, or some addition, was built by Weltjie, his cook, and was separated from the high road by some shrubs and rose trees. Owing to the bad state of his health, and the agitation produced by the events of 1783, he was ordered sea-bathing by the physicians. And the excuse of seeking health being thus added to the other attractions of the place, he pursued his hobby with the ardor so often found in persons of his disposition. Thus, we learn, he would set off from London, and return the same day, making the drive there and back in ten hours. The next step was to build, and from thenceforth for many years he was engrossed with the costly folly of constructing a country as well as a town palace at the same time—a mania that brought him down to the level of an impoverished spendthrift, and involved him in the most humiliating shifts. Holland, the architect of Carlton House, furnished plans, and in 1787, the first rough sketch, as it may be called, of the Brighton Folly was completed; for, like Carlton House, it was to be altered and reshaped several times, a characteristic of the self-indulgent, who build not to have a house, but for the pleasure of building. It then was a plain substantial structure, low, flanked by two wings, with a large rotunda in the middle, the favorite form in those days of the nobleman's house. One wing, however, was the shell of the old house. For the decorations an emissary was despatched to Italy, to study and bring back suitable designs.† But he was not content with so homely an edifice, and Nash, the fashionable architect, was called in to reconstruct the whole in the fantastic form which it now exhibits. Additional land

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for that purpose, and whereon are several shops, with piazzas and benches therein erected, and a building for music to perform in when the weather will permit."

\* A view of this old mansion, as it appeared at this date, is given in "The European Magazine."

† This agent was said to have been a common bricklayer, and his expenses were charged at two thousand pounds.

was bought, and for more than twenty years the chopping and changing, and rebuilding went on.

Just as there was then a sort of spurious Gothic, which seemed to be evolved from the brain of the scene-painter; so the pavilion affected a sort of Eastern architecture, which might be Chinese or Turkish, or Hindoo, the vague and cloudy term "Eastern," being used to cover the assemblage of contradictory and inharmonious elements. The fashionable architect, we are told, worked under "the direct surveillance" of the royal virtuoso, whose "facility of invention and taste" was the soul of the whole. How this taste was inspired may be gathered from the following fact: He received a present of some beautiful Chinese papers, which he was embarrassed how to dispose of. The idea of a Chinese gallery to exhibit the paper suggested itself, and was carried out. This again suggested a sort of transparent chamber in the middle, formed of glass painted with Chinese patterns, and illuminated from behind, so that the guest was delighted, and perhaps provoked, at finding himself in a sort of lantern. These sort of surprises were then considered in the best taste. The apartments were certainly laid out on a splendid and spacious scale; and the noble music-room, banqueting-room, blue and yellow drawing-rooms, offered fine proportions, though certainly disfigured by the Chinese monsters and "gilt trellis work in imitation of Bamboo," which was all in execrable taste. Yet there were admirable models, and architects of the Adam school, who could have designed a building that would have been effective and in good taste; but it was characteristic that our Prince should have assumed that he could not effectively display his gifts out in the style that was accepted by the nation, but only in some extravagant and unfamiliar fashion. There, however, it stands to this day—the Brighton Pavilion—decayed and cumbering valuable earth, an eccentric gathering of pinnacles, without the quaintness of antiquity, and having something of the effect of the tawdry decorations of a ball, seen on the morning after. Unhappily, it was now to be associated with scenes of revel and riot, and the Pavilion must always rise to the memory when we think of the merry days of the Regency, or the hot youth of George, Prince of Wales.

Arriving at Brighton from Tunbridge he brought with him the usual carnival. Wonderful was the change that had taken place within the two or three years since he had "taken up" the place. The effect of patronage on such places as Homburg and Brighton is like magic. Already it was overflowing with company. Doctors



had established themselves; and Pepys, the eminent physician, also found it desirable to follow his fashionable patients thither during the season. There was even a playhouse. Unfortunately, the example of the august patron had also the effect of drawing there the most indiscriminate collection of persons, for we are told "that, authorized by the royal example, everybody thought himself at liberty to do as the Prince himself did," and the spectacle of a crowded night at the theatre was not an edifying one. Lord Brudenell, keeper of the King's privy purse, flung himself into the riot with more zeal than discretion, acquiring the nickname of "Cockie" to the great amusement, it was said, of his Majesty.\*

But in all this frivolity and gayety he did not suspect that a crisis of the most important and momentous kind was at hand. Here it was that an express reached him with alarming news of his father's illness. He posted at once to Windsor, and the fashionable watering-place, as though every one was seized with a panic, became deserted almost on the instant.

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\* Auckland, ii. 235.



## CHAPTER XII

1788.

IN the last weeks of October some strange rumors as to the state of the King's health were current at the two great clubs, though the common crowd knew no more than that the King was indisposed. His physician, Sir George Baker, who had seen him on the evening of October 22nd, had suspected that his mind was disordered, while his strange behavior at the *levée* had excited the worst forebodings of the ministers. Not, however, until November 4th could the malady be said to have revealed itself, and for nearly a fortnight the suffering King had been allowed to encounter exciting duties of all kinds, to ride hard, four hours at a time in the rain, to go to town and hold his *levée*, all the time suffering from agitation and fever.

Miss Burney describes minutely the painful scenes at the palace during this early stage: the queen and her daughters sitting up all night "in an agony of weeping:" the unhappy King promenading restlessly hither and thither, not so disordered as to warrant restraint or interference: pouring out a stream of ceaseless talk, until he became almost inaudible from hoarseness. The spectacle of his friends and attendants, whom he encountered in every passage and anteroom, whispering together, following him, while affecting to hide from him, must have had the worst effect; to say nothing of the Queen's "ghastly face" and perpetual floods of tears, and the scared manner of her ladies.

The Prince announced that he intended returning to Brighton the next day; but the events of that night were to change all his plans, for when that dismal family party were seated at dinner, the King flew at his son—who had caused him such sorrows—in a paroxysm, seizing him by the collar and pushing him with violence against the wall. He would know did he dare to prevent the King of England speaking out. The Queen fell off into hysterics; and the Prince, dreadfully agitated, began to cry. In a situation of the kind his nerves seemed always to fail him. He was, indeed, so upset, as it is

called, that he had to be bled next day.\* This want of firmness was only what was to be expected in one whose life was so devoted to pleasure.†

The forms of these early paroxysms show what was preying on the King's heart, and reveal the causes of his madness—the loss of his American colonies, and his son's unfilial behavior and irregularities.

During this agitating night no one in the castle went to bed. Miss Burney, wandering about the galleries, accidentally opened a door and found herself in a room filled with gentlemen, sitting round in awful silence, among whom were the two Princes. This was the ante-room, while the poor King, now quite mad, was babbling away within, unconscious that such a crowd was near him. Later on he suddenly opened the door and stood bewildered at seeing so many faces, but was scarcely more bewildered than were the others. Even then he showed his instinctive dislike of his eldest son, for he exclaimed piteously, on recognizing the Duke of York, "Yes, Frederick is my friend." No one had courage or presence of mind to take any steps. The Prince of Wales shrank back; the physician, Baker, whose duty it was to have controlled him, lost courage; until Colonel Digby went up to him boldly, and awing him with some judicious words, got him back to bed.

The Prince, instead of returning to his pleasures at Brighton the morning after his visit, now found himself the central figure to whom all eyes were turned. The King was not expected to live; the Queen, utterly crushed by the blow, was falling from one fit of hysterics into another. The future ruler took the whole direction of the castle into his own hands. In every difficulty the people came to him for direction. As numbers of idle persons found their way to the castle to gossip with the various officials, he prudently issued strict orders that, save four persons, whom he named, no one should be admitted. He himself presided at the equerries' table.‡

\* Buck, Pap. i. 437.

† The King did not call his son an old woman, as Lord Stanhope says ("Life of Pitt"); that speech was really addressed to his physician.

‡ One of these troublesome persons was his old tutor Smelt, who, much affected at the condition of the King, was insisting with much importunity that he should be allowed to attend on him as his page. The Prince received him good-naturedly, and told him that he had better stay and see the Queen; on which the tutor was hurriedly setting off to fetch Mrs. Smelt and secure apartments for her at the inn. The Prince, who purposely changed his mind,

In London it was believed that the King's illness was of a fatal kind; and even before November 5th (the day of the first outbreak of the insanity) there was "a general alarm" abroad. An anxious placeman at Whitehall, Mr. W. Grenville, was quick to discern the exultation of his opponents, who, he said, did not disguise their anticipations that the blow would happen in a few days. This was to be the tone of the Tories in the bitter struggle that followed; Fox and his friends being usually described as a band of unscrupulous men who wished, not to oust a ministry, but to "seize on the Government" and "overthrow the Constitution." On the evening of the 6th, an express had reached Pitt with news of the scene at the dinner-table. All seemed to herald his own fall, and even ruin. He waited in hourly expectation of a messenger from Windsor with news of the King's death. The Chancellor was already on the spot, and came up the following morning with directions for Pitt to go down and see the Prince. Mr. Grenville fondly imagined that this message looked like negotiation.

Things began to look yet more gloomy when it was found that Thurlow would not be disinclined to serve a new king in the same capacity. Nor was there anything extraordinary or unnatural in such an idea; for it was known that he cordially disliked Pitt, and that his devotion was more for the Sovereign than for the party. He belonged to "the King's friends."

An accurate and well-informed observer seems to have kept a sort of diary of these melancholy proceedings, and from their record I quote what follows:\* "In the violent paroxysms of his Majesty's disorder, he continually raved about the Queen; sometimes loading her with reproaches, and uttering threats against her; at others desiring her presence, with expressions of passionate regard. One day, tired of vainly soliciting to see the Queen, his Majesty desired to have her picture. He addressed it with great calmness and recollection in these words: 'We have been married twenty-eight years,

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had so much to think of that he forgot his instructions to the gate-keepers, and Mr. Smelt was denied admittance at the gate, and went away shocked and overwhelmed. A few weeks later, at Kew, the Prince apologized to him in his own gracious manner; having, as Miss Burney says, "the faculty of making his peace with captivating grace."

\* These "particulars" are singularly interesting, and are given in an obscure *Life of George the Third*. They seemed to have escaped the notice of Mr. Jesse and other writers: but I have not been able to trace the author.



and never have we been separated a day till now; and now you abandon me in my misfortunes.' Another day, his Majesty desired to have four hundred pounds from his privy purse. He divided it into different sums, wrapping them up in separate papers, upon which he wrote the names of persons to whom he had been accustomed to make monthly payments, with perfect accuracy and precision. His Majesty then wrote down the different sums, with the names annexed, cast up the whole, as he formerly used to do, and ordered the money to be paid immediately, it being then due. After this instance of perfect recollection, his Majesty began to deplore the unhappy situation of London; which, he said, had been under water a fortnight. He then proceeded to explain, with the same composure, that the water was making gradual advances; and that, in one week more, it would reach the Queen's House. His Majesty expressed great unwillingness that a valuable manuscript, the precise situation of which he described, should suffer; and declared an intention of going, on the ensuing Monday, to rescue it from the approaching evil. This mixture of distraction and reason giving way to absolute alienation, his Majesty expressed his sorrow that Lord T—— was not present, he having prepared everything for creating him a Duke."

The behavior of the Chancellor, from the very beginning, excited the suspicion of his companions in the-ministry. It must be said, however, that he seemed careless what they thought, and pursued his course. The "memoranda" of the Duke of Leeds give the fullest account of this episode. On the visit of ministers to Windsor the Prince did not see them, but he was closeted with the Chancellor both in the morning and in the evening; and Mr. Pitt learned that on the same evening Fox had been with the Chancellor. They were not slow to let him feel that they suspected him; for a week or two later when the whole Cabinet were dining with Lord Stafford, this incident took place. The host, "with much emotion," told them that the King had been struck by one of his pages, adding that the King had not only been shamefully treated but had been betrayed. The Chancellor, thus glanced at, said that if anything of the kind had occurred, the person in question ought not to be "suffered about his person; but he knew that, in a paroxysm, the King had hurt one of the pages extremely." Lord Stafford replied significantly that "it was not the page he alluded to when he said the King had been betrayed." The Chancellor, however, could actually bring himself to assure his colleagues that, "in the several conversations with the



Prince there never had been anything of a political or ministerial nature introduced." A statement difficult to accept.\*

In the first agitation the Prince was, as it were, bewildered, and knew not whom to turn to. Fox, his adviser and counsellor, in despair at any change in his political fortunes, had left England for a tour, hopeless as to the condition of his party. The situation was of extraordinary difficulty and delicacy, and there was but one person of sufficient sagacity and resolution to whom he could turn for advice. This was Lord Loughborough, the Chief Justice, who had come an adventurer from Scotland, and yet who, though enjoying a splendid office, was eager to adventure yet more. On the 6th November the Duke of York was despatched to him, with an assurance that everything should be told to him, and that to him alone should the Prince look for advice. But, with characteristic oddity, the Prince determined that this communication should be secret and mysterious.

There was now at Windsor, with the Prince, one of his favorite familiars, a navy officer, known to Sheridan and others as "Jack Payne." This not very brilliant adviser, with wits confused by two nights' vigils, was the last person that should have been cast for the delicate part of a negotiator, yet fancied he was of sufficient calibre to direct the negotiation. Accordingly, on the 7th, Lord Loughborough received from him a letter that began thus solemnly: "In situations of difficulty and moment one generally looks to their friends, who, from presuming most willing, we know also are most able to give advice. Knowing the friendship and good opinion the best of friends entertain for you coincides so much with my own, I venture to say to you that, at a time when he sees nobody, that if anything that can suggest itself that can be of use, I shall be happy to be made a vehicle of it to his advantage." The letter goes on mysteriously: "The Prince talked to me of rejecting a rule where somebody was not united to him. I told him he would be advised to the contrary by his best friends, on the truest principles of public good. If any important accident should happen, I need not say to you," concludes Jack Payne, "I beg I may not be understood to have had any communication with you, as I have no authority for doing so,

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\* Mr. Jesse is inclined to discredit the truth of this singularly painful story; but it was repeated afterwards by the King himself, when restored to reason, not only to Lady Harcourt, but to Lord Eldon. To the lady's husband the King also complained of much cruel treatment.

and therefore you need not acknowledge any such. Seeing the Prince so much as I do, I am anxious to have the best opinions."

What this "rejecting a rule" pointed to, is not very clear, but it most likely refers to the Duke of Portland, or to Thurlow, who was in attendance, and whom the Prince received with the marks of the highest consideration, saying: "I have desired your lordship's attendance, not only as my father's friend, but as my own friend; and I beseech you, my lord, to give me your counsel on this unhappy occasion. I have the utmost confidence in your judgment, and shall have the utmost satisfaction in acting by it."

The King's death was supposed to be only a question of a few hours. As Mr. Payne wrote in the same letter, with ill-dissembled elation, "his state is so bad, that I fear dissolution is almost the best that can be hoped. The *last* stroke, as I hear from the *best*" (underlined) "authority, cannot be far off. It is what everybody, in a situation to see, is obliged to wish, as *the happiest possible termination to the melancholy scene*. The event we looked for last night is *postponed*, perhaps for a short time."

Thus, it is clear that the Prince was revelling in the *tracasseries* which he considered to be diplomacy. The Chief Justice continued to receive much encouragement: "Tell Lord Loughborough" (Mr. Payne wrote in the name of the Prince) "I am persuaded no less of his attachment than I desire him to be of mine, and shall always receive his advice with the same great degree of pleasure as I do upon this occasion, and without which I shall not act for any material decision of my present delicate situation." And again: "*Certain people*, not quite convinced a reform takes place, and all active communication where you are may be well accounted for, without a certain person, who sees nobody, be supposed to be informed. The person I allude to said to me last night: 'I hope Lords L. and S. are in close communication together on this occasion.'" In explanation of this mystery and confused English, it seems that the Prince did not wish to commit himself to any party, save the one which would give him most power. It is wonderful that Loughborough, an old *rusé* practitioner, could have allowed himself to be played with, or "bamboozled" by such stuff as the following: "Before any decided measure is decided on, it is necessary, I think, you should see the Prince, and, he says, as soon as he has seen S—— he will contrive it; but he is extremely jealous of seeing more than one person at a time, and that not by way of *consultation*, but in private friendship. He said to-night he thought it had better be done by your coming to

your farm and then to Bagshot; but more of this hereafter." \* In reply, the Chief Justice developed his plans in a long despatch: "I have not the least apprehension," he wrote, "of any mischief that can arise to H.R.H. but from his own virtues." He advised "not dissimulation, but a certain reserve and guard upon the frankness of that amiable disposition which is the ornament and delight of society."

But, actually as he was writing, the airy house of cards was toppling. The King, who at midnight "was in a situation he could not long have survived," was suddenly relieved by some strong remedies, fell into a profound sleep, and awoke to be pronounced out of danger. This was indeed provoking, and it rendered necessary a total revision of their plans.

There remained one satisfaction. The mental affliction promised to be permanent. He had "all the gestures and ravings of the most confirmed lunatic," and the doctors agreed "that to the disease they at present see no end in their contemplation." "These are their own words," writes Captain Payne eagerly, "which is all there can be implied in an absolute declaration, for infallibility cannot be ascribed to them."

The idea of the King's dying was therefore dismissed. The little plotters at the castle had to deal with a new state of things. The next letter of the sanguine Payne is written to Sheridan, and is almost entirely taken up with consolatory assurances of the hopeless state of the King's wits. "Dr. Warren," he said, "was the living principle of this business (for poor Baker is half-crazed himself), and who I see every half-hour." He was the doctor in the Prince's interest. With a view of checking the malignancy of their political foes, who would do their best to excite public suspicion, "The various fluctuations of his (the King's) ravings" were accurately written down throughout the night, "and this we have got signed by the physicians every day." Thus was intrigue made to override all considerations of feeling; and it was scarcely surprising if Lord Bulkeley heard that "the two sons of the Queen, I am afraid, do not announce the state of his health to her with caution and delicacy."

The prospect was now not nearly so brilliant. A regency, instead of sovereignty, was to follow as a matter of course; and though there had been some whispers that "certain persons" might attempt to impose restraints on that power nothing certain had transpired, for

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\* Campbell, "Lives of the Chancellors," vi. 92.



at this time Mr. Pitt had not made up his mind what course to take.

The Prince had another agent at work—his henchman, the shifty and vivacious Sheridan, who was now in London. With his affected monopoly of the Prince's confidences, and "his eagerness to display his own importance," he had, as Mr. Grenville heard, quite disgusted the Duke of Portland and the more sober and dignified members of the party. Indeed, those concerned in the regency struggle of twenty years later, might have found a clue to the perplexing questions then raised in the fact that the control of the situation fell naturally to the Prince's henchmen and personal friends; and the Greys and other respectable Whigs might have learned from the proceedings of 1789 that their influence would be but of small account.

It would seem that the various plotters were carrying on distinct intrigues, each opposed to the other. Payne and his Prince, while affecting to communicate with the Chief Justice, and enjoining secrecy on him, were themselves secretly negotiating with Thurlow; while with the Duke of Portland and the official leaders there seems to have been little or no communication.

Sheridan, finding the threads of the intrigue becoming entangled, complained almost despairingly to his coadjutor, the Chief Justice: "It is really intolerable," he wrote, "and I mean to speak plainly to him." The Prince was sending up Payne to town on that day, and Sheridan was to try and set the meddling equerry's "head to rights, if possible, for he was growing worse and worse." He was inclined to think, however, that a few words from Loughborough would have more weight. It was reported that a strange sort of council had been held at Bagshot, to which came secretly the Prince, Sheridan, Mrs. Fitzherbert, and the indispensable Jack Payne; and that Master Barry, Lord Barrymore's hopeful brother, with some Eton lads, had been called into council at Carlton House. The Duke of Portland and the more respectable Whigs might have learned the significant lesson that there was nothing in common between them and the other wing; and that, Fox absent or Fox dead, there was to be no sympathy for them in the Prince's mind and no place in his councils. This also should be borne in mind when the question of "the treatment of the Whigs" comes to be considered.

We must now turn our eyes to the opposite camp, where there was hardly less anxiety. The leader himself did not at once take up this later attitude of adherence to his afflicted king, but seems to have been willing to take service with the new administration. For



nearly a fortnight he attempted, in his numerous visits to Windsor, to discover what the Prince's intentions were, and it was only when he found, beyond a doubt, that "we were all to be turned out," that he took up a bolder attitude.

When the crisis of the King's disorder was past, the unpleasant truth began to dawn on the party that they would be all dismissed. We find Mr. Grenville ruefully observing that there was "no knowledge of the Prince's intentions, as no overture, either direct or indirect, had been made to Pitt." This, with the eagerness with which Sheridan was consulted on all occasions, was "an index of what was to be expected." Under this view, it is amusing to find how the whole plan of hostile restrictions is developed. They would enforce that there should be a ruler, or "guardian," but he was to exercise authority "in the King's name." It was determined that there should be a Regent, but he was to be invested with only a portion of the royal prerogatives, to be checked by a Council, and not to have the power of dissolving Parliament. They were surely bound, thought Mr. Grenville, by every tie of gratitude and honor, and, indeed, as public men, to preserve all his rights for the afflicted King. This system of offence was only resolved upon when it was found that after nearly ten days the Prince persisted in his reserve. The Prime Minister had now therefore decided on his course of action. There were many encouraging circumstances. On a visit which he himself had paid to Windsor on the 14th, he found that even Reynolds and Baker had begun to talk with some hope of the King's recovery. There was a general impression, indeed, that the royal patient was getting better, and the friends of the administration were giving this out industriously. The opinion of Hunter, the great surgeon, that "recovery was certain," was also circulated. The flattering offer from the City merchants of a large present of money, with addresses that the present Government might be continued, were satisfactory proofs of the feeling of the country, though Lord Sheffield heard that this element of support was to be "artfully worked up by the Government into a sort of agitation." Arrived at this conclusion, Pitt now developed his plan, which was conceived in a spirit of just but stern hostility. The Prince was not to look for the slightest indulgence, but was to be dealt with as the chief of a faction. There can be little doubt that the idea of a controlling council was intended, which would have made the Prince's position much about what a Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland is

now. This could not have been a secret, as Mr. Jesse thinks, for it was known to his party, as well as to the Opposition. Mr. Storer heard that it was intended to saddle the Prince with a council, while the Duke of Richmond was quoted for a plan of the same kind. Even a jest was in circulation, that it was resolved to put the strait-waistcoat on the Prince of Wales instead of on the King.

When this became known, and it was felt it would be carried out, the plotters and intriguers about the Prince had the incredible folly to enter upon a new course, as stupid as it was unconstitutional. They deluded themselves that a sort of *coup d'état* might be attempted without difficulty. They had but to declare the "divine right" of the Prince to take on him the government, unconscious that there was a great question involved: though Payne allowed that some "form" might be tolerated on the side of Parliament, in asking the Prince to take on him the government. From this dream they were destined to be rudely awakened. This original blunder vitiated all their plans and destroyed the game.

More surprising was it that the vigorous Loughborough should have been daring enough to suggest that the Prince should declare his right to rule the kingdom, and put aside, as an affront to his dignity, the interference of Parliament. On the first symptoms of the King's recovery he had prepared the plan. A pencilled note, found among his papers, sets out the details of the scheme. The Privy Council was to be summoned, to whom the Prince was to announce it formally, notice was previously to be sent to trusted friends or conspirators, and a proclamation was to be then issued summoning Parliament. That Lord Loughborough had written a letter containing such advice later became known to Pitt. There have been, of course, many supporters of this divine-right theory, which, to the majority of minds, would have been expected to have been a high Tory doctrine; but this shows how pliant is political conscience, according to times and persons. This gives an idea of the strange, agitated, and desperate tone of the politics of the times, which was verging near to the modern French system. Lord Campbell learned, he does not say from whom, that this programme was read by the Chief Justice himself to the Prince at Windsor, or, more probably, in his secret council at Bagshot:

"Upon the supposition of a state of disorder without prospect of recovery or of a speedy extinction, the principle of the P.'s conduct is perfectly clear. The administration of government

devolves to him of right. He is bound by every duty to assume it, and his character would be lessened in the public estimation if he took it on any other ground but right, or on any sort of compromise. The authority of Parliament as the great council of the nation, would be interposed, not to confer but to declare the right. The mode of proceeding which occurs to my mind is, that in a very short time H.R.H. should signify his intention to act by directing a meeting of the Privy Council, where he should declare his intention to take upon himself the care of the State, and should at the same time signify his desire to have the advice of Parliament, and order it by a proclamation to meet early for despatch of business. That done, he should direct the several ministers to attend him with the public business of their offices.

“It is of vast importance in the outset that he should appear to act entirely of himself, and in the conferences he must necessarily have, not to consult, but to listen and direct.

“Though the measure of assembling the Council should not be consulted upon, but decided in his own breast, it ought to be communicated to a few persons who may be trusted, a short time before it takes place; and it will deserve consideration whether it might or not be expedient very speedily after this measure, in order to mark distinctly the assumption of government, to direct such persons—at least in one or two instances—to be added to what is called the Cabinet, as he thinks proper. By marking a determination to act of himself, and by cautiously avoiding to raise strong fear or strong hope, but keeping men’s minds in expectation of what may arise out of his reserve, and in a persuasion of his general candor, he will find all men equally observant of him.”

This memorandum is unsigned, but in the Chief Justice’s handwriting; and, taking what occurred as evidence for committing the Chief Justice to the Tower, might have been sufficient. It was characteristic of the bold Scot, who flung off his gown in open court, in presence of the astonished judges, and took his way to London penniless.

The self-sufficient Payne airily dismissed the notion of there being any difficulty in the way. He now wrote to Sheridan quite elated: “I can only add,” he says, in conclusion, “I have none of the apprehensions contained in Lord L.’s letter. I have had correspondence enough myself on this subject to convince me of the impossibility of the ministry managing the present Parliament by any contrivance hostile to the Prince. Dinner is on the table.” A



few days before he had written sagaciously that if "Pitt stirs much, I think any attempt to grasp at power might be fatal to his interests—at least, will turn against it." This was indeed a shallow forecast.

It was at this time that party spirit began openly to divide the battalion of doctors who were in charge of the King, and which was already ranged as the King's or Prince's men. Already Warren was considered by Jack Payne and his friends as "the living principle in this business," while "poor Baker," because he was more sanguine as to the King's recovery, was held to be "half-crazed himself." On the other hand, the Tory view was that "nothing could exceed Warren's indiscretion in giving out that the disorder was incurable." No less than seven or eight physicians were called in to take charge of the unfortunate monarch. They were Dr. Warren, Sir Lucas Pepys, Sir George Baker, Addington, Heberden, and finally the two Willises. Warren was a fashionable doctor, remarkable for "the amenity of his manners, and the cheerful tone of his conversation." He had cured Lord North of a dangerous illness, and the minister, full of gratitude, had offered to make him a baronet. This, however, he had declined, but requested instead a bishopric for his brother, which was given. The Prince was very partial to his society, and it was not unnatural that his *protégé* should have little hopes of the King's recovery.

Baker seems to have been a person of feeble cast, and was presently dismissed with some disgrace. Addington had, oddly enough, a clergyman's experience in the treatment of lunacy, and was more remarkable as having supplied the nickname of "The Doctor" for his son, the future Prime Minister.\* Pepys was another of the fashionable physicians; while Heberden will ever be remembered as the affectionate friend and adviser of the revered Johnson. The discord and partiality of this *Æsculapian* band became a scandal. Their ignorance of mental disease was profound, and partisanship supplied the deficiency. The struggle, however, was soon confined to the two who had most ability—Warren and Willis. By-and-by the daily bulletin came to be considered as a mere form, the public having found out that the opposing doctors could not or would not agree, except in some colorless report; and the only official news that was relied on came by the back-stairs, or private letters from the Court.

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\* The more immediate occasion of this sobriquet was the minister's having suggested "a pillow of hops" to the King as a remedy for sleeplessness.



## CHAPTER XIII.

1788.

THE meeting of Parliament was fixed for November 20th, and both ministers and Opposition had issued the most pressing letters, desiring the attendance of their friends. The roads were crowded with members, hurrying from all parts of the kingdom, desirous of witnessing what Sir N. Wra<sup>x</sup>all calls "so new and so interesting a situation of affairs." The same diligent observer had posted from Bath, scenting intrigue from afar, and found London exhibiting a scene of fermentation difficult to conceive or describe. But when the Houses met every one felt that the proceedings must be purely formal. Neither party were ready for battle, and the Opposition were without a leader. Pitt, after alluding in terms of becoming concern to the King's malady—a malady that prevented his servants from approaching his person or communicating with him—simply moved that they should adjourn for a fortnight.

But a new performer was now to enter on the scene, and displace the fussy persons who were confusing the situation; and a more capable mind was to take the command. Fox, it was believed and hoped, was fast hurrying to England. Messenger after messenger, it was said, had been despatched by the Prince in pursuit of him, though no one could tell precisely where he was to be found. The task, however, had been intrusted to one resolute and persevering messenger, who had followed in his track like a hound, now losing, now picking up the trail. Not a moment had been lost in sending him away. He had been despatched on the sixth day after the distressing scene at dinner when the King's malady first broke out. He was detained, however, at Dover by contrary winds till the 8th. Without losing an hour he traced Fox to Geneva, where he was for a time uncertain what route "the chase" had taken, and finally came up with him at Bologna, covering the long journey from Paris in a week. Fox, who was attended by the notorious Mrs. Armistead, had laid out for himself a delightful Italian tour, and, turning with disgust from politics, had purposely left no traces of his

progress. He wished, as his friend Elliot said, to be lost. Though he had been absent since August, he never looked at a newspaper save once, and that from curiosity to see what had won a race at Newmarket. Since September he had not received a letter from England, and knew nothing of what was going on. No doubt he assumed that the prospects of his party were hopeless, and that the record of perpetual defeat must be uninteresting. One day, at Bologna, he heard from a stray traveller that a messenger had been searching for him at Geneva; and Fox, having heard from another tourist that Lord Holland was very ill, naturally concluded that news of his father's death was on its way to him. When the messenger at last reach him, his affectionate anxiety was so relieved that he fell upon a sofa and burst into tears. He started at once, and the trusty messenger, still unwearied after his long journey, set off the same day on his return, ordering horses in advance all along the road for the greater traveller following, who hurried on, travelling night and day. On Mont Cenis, his carriage crossed that of Pulteney, father of the great heiress of the day, and to whom he communicated the news. At Lyons, he found letters still more pressing, with the additional news of the King's total loss of reason; then, for greater speed, he quitted his companion and proceeded alone, taking one of the ordinary post-carriages instead of his own well-appointed chariot.

Finally, he drove up to Thomas's Hotel, in Berkeley Square, which still flourishes, arriving on the morning of Monday, November 24th, having been just nine days on the road. This was considered an amazing feat; and such it certainly was, under the conditions of travel in those times. But the immense exertion, and the rudeness of the chaise for which he had exchanged his own, told on his bulky person accustomed to ease, and when he was set down in London he was already an altered man.

This might be considered like the presence of Napoleon with an army. He was only just in time. His coming made an important change in the conduct of affairs. Almost as soon as he arrived he wrote to Loughborough, begging him to come to him to arrange some plan of action; but that he had not seen or heard from the Prince and had no authority.\*

Meanwhile, the negotiations with the Chancellor had proceeded

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\* Lord Campbell is surely mistaken in declaring that Fox offered him the chancellorship, and that Loughborough "clutched at the seal."

very far. It was contrived that he should have a kind of right of inspection of the King; which gave him opportunities, as the Prince's party fancied, for arranging with them, but as he intended it, for judging day by day whether the King would recover. They had determined that "no active courtship was to be practised."

Lord Loughborough—who had himself set his mind on the chancellorship—was pressed to resign his pretensions, the Prince saying lightly: "Well, if the Chancellor chooses to remain where he is, Lord Loughborough can have the privy seal of the President of the Council for the present, and settle the other arrangement afterwards, if it is more to his mind." We shall see that this partiality was a whim of the Prince's, which his followers too obsequiously favored. Sir William Young writes that "this wonderful attachment to Thurlow" was matter of public remark; and Sir Gilbert Elliot suggested that the liking was for "the sake of his table qualities," and that he had been "negotiating, and intriguing, and canvassing him incessantly, with little discretion; and, in spite of many disappointments and breaches of engagements, still persisted in sending for him." With this courtship—not from members of the party, but from the future king—it was difficult for such a character to take a firm part, and he is, therefore, entitled to some indulgence. We shall presently see how and what he finally determined.

There can be no doubt, too, that the Chancellor had announced to the Prince that, in any case, his views as to his (the Prince's) rights were opposed to Pitt's. And this should be kept in mind during the curious and much-debated intrigue which is to follow.

The Prince was all this time imprisoned at Windsor, and obliged for decency's sake to forego his usual round of pleasure. It was noted that he fretted against this confinement, which had now lasted nearly a month. Occasionally he made his escape to Bagshot or to Carlton House, and when the King had been removed to Kew, on November 29th, he found himself within half-an-hour's drive from the capital and the favorite scene of his enjoyments. Stories were circulated of the want of feeling and rashness displayed by the two brothers, but as these were industriously spread by those of the opposing faction, and who were virtually his enemies, they may be assumed to be much exaggerated. One charge dwelt on with horror was that he had introduced Lord Lothian into the King's darkened room in order that he might hear his ravings, a proceeding not perhaps to be justified on the score of good taste, but intelligible when it is considered that it was insinuated that the Prince was



making out the King's condition worse than it really was. The nature of the struggle between the two contending factions made all delicacy impossible. His situation was the most awkward conceivable: credited with the worst motives by his mother and his sisters, watched with jealousy, looked on as an intruder and as his father's worst enemy, he was driven, as it were, into a hostile attitude. Mr. Jesse deals severely with the behavior of the two princes, but with a certain exaggeration. For the instances of unfeeling conduct are presented as occurring during the horrors of the first stage of the King's seizure, whereas they really belong to a period many weeks later, when the worst was over and his recovery certain. On the other hand, men of his own party represent his conduct during the crisis as having been all that was correct. "It was universally agreed," Storer wrote, "that he had conducted himself with great propriety." Lord Sheffield declared that he gained great credit by his conduct at Windsor. "It is agreed on all sides," wrote Storer a fortnight after his first letter, "that the Prince has acted with the greatest attention to the King, and in all respects with the greatest propriety," while Sir Gilbert Elliot wrote to his wife that both the Prince and his brother had conducted themselves "in an exemplary way." Making due allowance for their partialities, this testimony may be fairly accepted, especially as there is nothing to set against it on the other side.

But now Fox had assumed the command, and a larger and less frivolous view of the situation was to be taken. He saw the Prince on the Wednesday, and suggested that the regular leaders of the party should be, as was only fitting, called into council. The Prince had quarrelled with Fox's devoted friend the Duke of Portland, and during the present crisis had had no communication with him. This advice had the best effect. In consequence, the Prince gave Fox a message for the duke. Taking him by the hand he said: "Pray shake the Duke of Portland by the hand for me, and tell him that I hope everything that is past may be forgot between us; and, as a proof that I retain no impression from it, assure him that as soon as I come to town, which will be in a day or two, I shall come to Burlington House, and I do not desire that my going there should be kept private." "This looks more like heart, and is done more like a gentleman than one looks for from any other prince we have known in England," said Elliot. The duke was properly touched, and with the help of Windham and Sir G. Elliot wrote a reply. When they met, the Prince greeted him warmly and embraced him,



begging that every unpleasant circumstance that had passed between them might be buried in oblivion, and assuring him that he should be happy to receive his aid and counsels. The Prince then begged to have the advice of the party who were in the Cabinet in 1783.

Fox seems to have entered reluctantly into the plan for gaining the Chancellor, who had been allowed access to the King in the hope that the spectacle would have due effect. Captain Payne was to set off for town immediately after to report the result to Sheridan and Fox at the latter's house. One of the physicians was despatched to Pitt with the view of announcing a welcome relapse, and with the rather spiteful purpose of letting him know that the King had been letting out some state secrets, and brought word that the minister was much taken aback. These small intriguers did not know that this news had only confirmed Pitt in his plans, for that night at White's it was remarked that he was in the highest spirits. The attempt on the Chancellor does not seem to have been very successful. Lord Bulkeley, an enthusiastic Tory, wrote that very day that he had "heard for certain that he was now firm as a rock."

On the Wednesday night, or rather during the small hours of Thursday morning, a messenger came to Pitt's house with summonses for a Cabinet meeting at Windsor in the afternoon. The servant who opened the door, after inquiring as to the reason of this unreasonable visit, asked if he had found the Chancellor, and was answered "Yes," and that "Mr. Fox was with him." This seems to have been the first time that Pitt had any direct evidence of the intrigue that was going on; and that the chief of the hostile force should be closeted at midnight with his Chancellor had certainly a suspicious air. But, however suspicious the transaction may have appeared, the truth was Fox had as yet made him no offers.

The Duke of Leeds—then Lord Carmarthen, and one of the ministry—describes a curious message to the Cabinet from the Prince, delivered on this very day. Written in his own hand, it set out that "not choosing to act upon his own authority, he had thought it necessary to convene the King's confidential servants, that they might learn his state and see whether it was necessary to remove him to Kew." There was something here to excite grave suspicion. "The manner in which we were convened and the style of the paper rendered it necessary for us to proceed with caution in framing our answer, especially in the use of the word 'authority.'"

The answer was accordingly framed so as to offer no recognition of what appeared to be thus claimed; and they announced that

they were ready to see his Majesty, in consequence of an intimation made to them that it was "the pleasure of the Prince *and* the royal family."

On the next day the ministers proceeded to Windsor. The object of this visit was to decide on the removal of the patient to Kew, a place more suitable for his proper treatment, as being more private. This matter being settled, it was proposed to exhibit the poor King not to the Chancellor merely, but to the Prime Minister. Unfortunately for Captain Payne, he was not in so favorable a state for this purpose as he had been two days before. The Chancellor shed big tears at the affecting spectacle, which were duly ridiculed. The sight might, indeed, have had some effect in securing his wavering allegiance. It was, indeed, piteous enough. The colder Pitt owned that the King was deranged, but that his conversation was surprisingly coherent. In concert with the Queen he had brought down Dr. Addington. The Prince declined to see the ministers then, contenting himself with a written message by the Duke of York, couched in "rather royal style," and which was replied to with a cautiously drawn paper which did not admit his authority, and at the same time did not proffer any advice. He had a positive dislike to Mr. Pitt, whose respectful hostility had met him at every turn. He was determined, as Sir G. Elliot wrote to his wife, "to have nothing to do with him, since he had insulted him whenever he could, and was arrogant to him both in manner and conduct."

The imperious minister, before he left the Castle, was to have his suspicions once more confirmed as to the fidelity of Thurlow in the most curious way. As the council broke up, their hats were brought to the ministers; but the Chancellor's alone could not be found. He was in some confusion at this loss, when—Lord Stanhope heard Mr. W. Grenville tell the story—a servant came running with the missing article, saying that he had found it in the Prince of Wales's room. The awkwardness of this discovery, and the significant glances of the party, may be conceived.\*

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\* Mr. Moore makes an odd jumble of this story, representing Thurlow as coming to the Council with the Prince's hat instead of his own. Another version of this story is told by Mr. Wilberforce, which gives Lord Camden the credit of the detection. He was pressing the Chancellor to return to London with him, when the latter made the excuse that he had to dine with a friend at Windsor. Lord Camden, having his suspicions aroused, made inquiries, and found that the "friend" was the Prince. The Chancellor was certainly unlucky.

Still, he was only "rattically inclined," to use Lord Bulkeley's odd expression; and notwithstanding all these interviews and soundings, the Prince and his friends did not find him in a sufficiently encouraging mood to make their offer. Meantime, the awkward discovery at Windsor had circulated among his party, and looks of suspicion greeted him. Grenville, however, had sagacity enough to guess how matters stood; he was even indulgent. "His situation," he writes, "is a singular one. It is unquestionably true that he has seen Fox repeatedly, and certainly the Prince of Wales; and, of all these conversations, he has never communicated one word to any other member of the Cabinet. Yet I am persuaded that he has made no terms with them 'as yet.'" He was afraid, too, that it was from Thurlow that the Prince and his party had gained their knowledge of Pitt's plans; not that the Chancellor had deliberately revealed them, but they were inevitably to be gathered from the tenor of his conversation.

Yet in the adoption of these plans he "explicitly agreed with Pitt." His doubtful behavior had caused deep resentment, and was universally reprobated by those he acted with; Pitt, indeed, from his regard to the King, dissembled his knowledge of the matter, and suppressed all allusion to the subject. But a Cabinet Council, held on the following Saturday, must have been a *mauvais quart d'heure* for the "beetle-browed" Chancellor, whom the cold gaze of his chief and the suspicious reserve of his comrades must have disturbed.

At once, some artfully designed inquiries were made to test him. Had any one heard whether Fox had been to Windsor to see the Prince? Did any one present know anything of his movements? But the rough Chancellor was not to be thus put out of countenance, and declined to be "drawn," as it is called, in this indirect fashion. He joined with the rest, and no doubt with truth, in expressing his ignorance on the point. He even asked if any one knew what was the color of Fox's chaise.

Pitt then came direct to the point, and asked if there was any one among them who desired to unite with the Opposition, and addressed this question personally to the Chancellor. No doubt he also resented being baited in such a style, and answered that that was an abstract question. Pitt retorted that it was a plain one. He desired to know would he join under any circumstances. To this no answer was given. But, strange to say, Pitt seemed to gather from the ominous silence of the rest that a coalition of some kind with the Opposition would be necessary. It is Mr. Rose that reports this little scene,



and it illustrates curiously the character of the leading actor, and it favors Thurlow. This was on Saturday, the 29th November.

On the Thursday Parliament was to reassemble, so there was no time to be wasted in further coquetry. One cause of the delay in making a direct offer was certainly the noted objection of Fox, who felt what a doubtful gain there was in such an alliance, and how disloyal it would be to put aside Lord Loughborough. Nothing shows how worthy Fox was of that warm affection which his friends bore to him than his scruples, and even at being obliged to take this course. He had spent the whole week in trying "to discourage the notion," and had actually prevented the Prince saying anything to Thurlow that would commit him. But the pressure was too strong, and on the Saturday he ruefully consented. Not but that Lord Loughborough suspected what was going on, and a day or two after the visit to Windsor he addressed a solemn warning to Sheridan against the duplicity of the Chancellor. Nothing could exceed the bitterness of this letter. He drew a picture of Thurlow as a false, self-seeking adventurer, who "wanted to make his way by himself," and who had managed hitherto as one very well practiced in that game. The plan of letting him see the King periodically, "the inspection," instead of winning him would be artfully turned to purposes of trimming, as he would then have access to the Prince and to the Queen. It was with this view that he actually contrived that the physicians should magnify the King's disorder so as to lead to the proposal of his visits. "In short, I think he will try to find the key of the backstairs, and with that in his pocket take any situation that preserves his access and enables him to hold a line between different parties." He laughed at the tears shed over the King as hypocritical, and even with a view of touching the Queen. Their own "best friends," particularly men like Lord John Cavendish, were certain to be alienated, and would be reluctant to take any active part, and would shrink from such an ally. Finally, the Chancellor's position at that moment virtually gave him the command of the House of Lords. He explained how, but the rest of the sentence beginning "for" is provokingly obliterated by damp. It no doubt showed how his ambiguous attitude held him out as having in some degree the confidence of both Prince and Queen.

Lord Loughborough must have been disagreeably surprised to receive an almost supplicating letter from Fox, with a direct proposal that he should waive all his own claims and make way for Thurlow. Fox said he was literally ashamed to write to him; but he explained



the pressure that was put on him, and in terms of humiliation owned that the motive that influenced him was that he shrank from the responsibility that would attach to him, should his refusal be found to have endangered the chances of his party. His feelings were revealed more poignantly in a letter which he despatched to Sheridan. "I have swallowed the pill," he said, "and a most bitter one it was." No wonder he found the pill bitter; since, according to Sir G. Elliot, Fox thought worse of him than of any man in the world. With true forecast, he added he was convinced that it would come to nothing, and their offers be rejected. He never felt so uneasy about any other political thing he ever did in his whole life.

The next point was, who was to make the proposal to Thurlow. Was it to be the Prince himself, Sheridan, or—strange negotiator—Warren, the doctor? which shows how much the latter was a creature of the Prince's. To this point had the matter reached by Saturday night, November 29th. Fox assumed to Sheridan that Loughborough's answer "of course must be consent," as it proved to be. The latter wrote dryly, that it appeared to him to be a strong indication of weakness.

But the wily Chancellor was undecided, and contrived to put aside the proposal; no doubt with the excuse that he had used before, "a pretence of delicacy towards his colleagues."

The unfortunate King had now been removed to Kew, under charge of the Queen, who had first received a notification or declaration from her son that, in consequence of what had passed at the Privy Council, he was prepared to accept the post of Regent; but hoped that she would take on herself "the sole and absolute care of the distraught monarch." The former office, he declared, he claimed from his station and age.

A Council was held at Mr. Pitt's, on Sunday, at noon. Upon its rising, a messenger was despatched to Kew, with a letter to the Queen. At nine o'clock in the evening of the same day the Prince of Wales received a reply from her Majesty, in which were "strongly-expressed sentiments of that prudence, good sense, and maternal and conjugal affection by which her Majesty's conduct had ever been distinguished." Her Majesty informed the Prince that she had been applied to, and urged to take a share in the Regency, as the only means of securing to herself a certainty of preserving the care of the King's person. "But," her Majesty added, "she authorized his Royal Highness to declare that she would on no account take any share in the political affairs of this kingdom; it being her

determination to remain at Kew, or wherever else his Majesty might be, and to devote herself wholly to him as his friend and companion." His royal highness's answer, which was immediately returned, contained the most dutiful and tender professions. It concluded with the assurance that, "if her Majesty's taking any share in the government of this country could give her any additional care or authority over his royal father's person, he should be the first to propose its being conferred; but, her Majesty being the only person upon whom such a trust ought to devolve, she might assure herself that she should be considered as his Majesty's sole guardian, so long as the unhappy malady should continue." \*

Here were there the beginnings of that unseemly struggle between mother and son, when contending interests soon imparted to it the bitterest rancor; for it will be seen that it was the interest of one that the King should recover, of the other that he should not.

Theoretically, the Prince was a spectator of this contest; but in practice he was known and accepted as the leader of one side. The conflict was to be of a desperate kind—letters were written in cipher for fear of their being opened; meetings between natural allies were contrived with mysterious secrecy; accusations of treachery, disloyalty, and unscrupulousness were to be bandied to and fro.

No wonder Thurlow's colleagues were mistrustful. Later, when they were arranging the details of the Regency Bill and talking of the restrictions, the Chancellor showed his discontent. After a Cabinet Council, we learn from the Duke of Leeds' MS., the Chancellor remained behind, and discussed with Lord Carmarthen some suggestions that had been made. "He said the paper would not do either for our own sakes or other people's. He then mentioned the difficulty of restrictions and the foolish one respecting the peerage. He agreed there was no probability of the King's recovery, and that, for the quiet of the country, his death might not be a very unfortunate event." This was significant enough. Not unnaturally, the Duke of Richmond, writer of the paper they had been discussing, had his suspicions aroused by finding that on that day Fox had been closeted with the Chancellor at the House of Lords. "He said he thought it shameful for him to be making his terms with the Opposition at the same time that he was present at all our meetings."

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\* These particulars are to be found in Holt, "Life of George III."

## CHAPTER XIV.

1789.

ON Monday, December 4th, Parliament reassembled. The Chancellor had addressed letters of summons to all the Peers, and in the Lower House a call of all the members had been directed. The attendance, therefore, was very large. The appearance of Fox shocked every one. "His body seemed to be emaciated," as one of the members present described him; "his countenance sallow and sickly, his eyes swollen, while his stockings hung upon his legs, and he rather dragged himself along than walked up the floor to take his seat." The physicians had been examined by the Privy Council the day before, and their report was laid before the House. This was hazy enough, but all inclined to the idea of the King's recovery. Warren alone had declared it impossible to give any precise opinion on the point, and the propriety of putting the question categorically to him was debated more than an hour and a half.

Nothing, however, could be extracted from him, and he declared that he had no data on which to found an opinion. This was a disagreeable surprise for the Prince and his party, who were said to be furious at an opinion which they found not sufficiently thorough, and so different from what they expected from their creature. On the other hand, Dr. Addington was more sanguine than his brethren. Pitt moved that it should be considered at their next meeting, and also gave notice that he should move for a committee to search for precedents applicable to the present crisis. It was faintly objected by Fox and others that the House itself ought to have an opportunity of examining the physicians, but the matter was not pressed. In the other House much the same proceeding took place. It struck some observers that the Opposition were rather cast down by the result of the day, while some saw in Pitt's proposals a wish to defer the appointment of a regent and make persons outside think it was unnecessary. From this they might gain their first hint of the inflexible mood in which the minister was to encounter them. The following day he himself brought to Kew an aged clergyman who



was rector of Wapping, and who, from a strange fancy, kept a madhouse, which he conducted with extraordinary success. No one suspected at the time that to the introduction of this sagacious practitioner the King was to owe his rapid recovery. For with him he brought confidence and a cheerful hope, while his sensible treatment began almost at once to exhibit results.

On the 10th, when the House met again, Mr. Pitt moved "that a committee be appointed to examine and report precedents," a motion which was strenuously opposed by Mr. Fox, who contended that it was the duty of Parliament to lose no time in proceeding to provide some measure for the exigency of the present moment. What, he asked, were they going to search for? Not precedents upon their journals, not parliamentary precedents, but precedents in the history of England. There existed no precedents whatever that could bear upon the present case. There was then a person in the kingdom differing from any other person that any existing precedents could refer to—an heir-apparent, of full age and capacity to exercise the regal power. He declared that he had not in his mind a doubt that in the present condition of his Majesty, his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales had as clear, as express a right to exercise the power of sovereignty during the continuance of the incapacity with which it had pleased God to afflict the King, as in the event of his Majesty's having undergone a natural demise!

The moment the fatal words as to the Prince's "right" escaped Fox, Pitt was said to have struck his thigh, saying triumphantly, "I'll unwhig the gentleman for the rest of his life." There was an inconsistency almost ludicrous in such a claim coming from Fox, which was indeed appropriate in some old Tory. Starting to his feet the instant Fox sat down, and with eyes flashing, he declared that the doctrine they had just heard was little short of being treasonable to the Constitution. He scornfully added, the truth was that the Prince had no more right than any individual in the community. He was prepared to admit that the Prince had a claim which was of course entitled to the greatest respect. Then this master of resource proceeded to turn the opening to account, artfully declaring that now or never a question had arisen which must be settled. The great privileges, "our own rights," had been questioned by one of themselves. And with a haughty confidence he pledged himself to show that the view he had laid down was supported by every precedent. Fox might have gathered from the enthusiastic cheers which greeted Pitt that he had made a monstrous blunder, though a



*claque*, formed of the young followers of his party, and who "took the time" from Fitzpatrick, may have encouraged him. Stung by the clever turn Pitt had given to his mistake, he again defiantly reiterated his statement. He declared that the Prince's right could not be more clear even in the case of the King's death. He defied Pitt, "acute as he was," to prove that the Houses had such a power as he claimed.

But every one must have been amazed at Burke, who now leaped to his feet, and with a bitterness and incoherent fury, fell upon the minister. He seemed to have lost all self-control. In a fury himself, he accused Pitt of "bursting into a flame," and of trying to intimidate them. Where was the boasted freedom of debate, he asked, if they were to be charged with treason "by one of the Prince's competitors?" Instantly he was interrupted by vociferous cries of "Order!" from the excited Treasury bench. This only inflamed him the more, and he declared that he repeated the phrase and would justify it. But the scene that took place in the House of Lords on the next day was more exciting still, when Lord Camden branded Fox's doctrine as new to him, unconstitutional, and extraordinary. Which brought forward Lord Loughborough, who, thus challenged, "in a manly style," says Wraxall, justified the doctrine and avowed it to be his own. Then, assuming the offensive, he assailed Pitt for his doctrine, which, he declared, made the regency elective, which was a thing far more alarming. The Parliament, he said, might set up a pageant of a regent, while they assailed his sovereignty; for, of course, the elected must be the slave of the electors.

Then he showed how, as regards treason and its penalties, the law assumed the Prince to be on the same footing as the King. To his ingenious argument the Chancellor came forward to reply, amid much curiosity and speculation. It was noticed that he was "very sour and crusty," but nothing could be more skilful than the few words he uttered. He affected keenly to discuss the point of law opened by Lord Loughborough, which he declared was new to him, though, at the same time, he was willing to be enlightened and receive all the information on so delicate a topic that could assist him. He then passed a high eulogium on the Prince, whose virtues and merits he praised Lord Loughborough for not introducing as a support for his arguments, and "who should always have his applause when its expression could not be an act of impertinence."

This was thought by Pitt's friends almost decisive that "he had opened enough of his sentiments to show that he meant to stand by his colleagues." It struck Lord Bulkeley as being "one of the finest speeches he ever heard," and it was greeted with merry "Hear, hears," a testimonial of adhesion "not very frequent in the House of Lords." This beginning of steadiness was thought to be owing to the positive opinion as to the King's state given by Willis, the new doctor, and also to some pressure exerted by Lords Weymouth and Stafford.

Lord Campbell and others have alluded to Pitt's threat of sending Lord Loughborough to the Tower, as reported by the Duke of Leeds. But it seems to have been scarcely seriously intended, for the duke, who heard him, writes in his MS.: "Mr. Pitt said if Lord Loughborough again brought forward his doctrine of devolution, his words should be taken down by the clerk, and if they are not satisfactorily explained, he should be sent to the Tower. . . . He then said that though, seriously speaking, it might not be necessary to proceed to so violent a measure, yet it must be directly met by a resolution." The rumors, however, of passion and prejudice that filled the air were inconceivable. It was urged that the restrictions on the Prince, according to his followers, were an artful device of Pitt's to make him refuse, when a "committee of Regency" would be appointed, of which the minister would be chief, reigning "as King William IV." Burke lashed him as "a competitor for the Regency." When Pitt replied to such attacks it was noticed that "he spoke in a damned passion." The general opinion was that nothing could be more adroit and masterly than his treatment of the whole matter; yet a heated partisan, Lord Sheffield, when every one was talking of Fox's and Sheridan's blunders, could only see that Pitt was playing the game without temper or judgment, and his "mountebank speeches suit the nonsense of many."

Mr. Rose was listening to Fox's speech, and some words which the latter dropped to those near him showed that he felt alarmed at the effect of his declaration, and meant to explain them away. This he attempted to do on the 12th by declaring that the Prince had a claim—and the only one that had a claim—to the Regency, which, however, it rested with the House to declare and admit. Pitt, however, with an almost malicious logic, declared, while admitting the explanation, that as the point of right had been raised it must be settled before they went a step further, and that it was

his duty to have it decided that it belonged to the Parliament alone to confer such powers. He affected, however, to make a concession, that the Prince was the most proper and suitable person, and that it was according to the spirit of the Constitution that, subject to certain guards, he should be a Regent, or, as he put it, "whatever portion of the royal power" it might be necessary to invest him with. In reply to a question of Fox's, he even declared that the Prince should not be fettered with a Council, and should be free to choose his own political servants, but that anything likely to embarrass the King's lawful authority on his recovery should be withheld.

This notification was a relief, as it disposed of the rumors of the Council of Regency, "King William the Fourth," and the like; but the question of right was held to be an artful pretext for creating delay. In vain Fox protested; when the indiscreet Sheridan—carried away by his warmth, and panting for place—warned the ministers against the danger of forcing the Prince to assert his right! No wonder Mr. W. Grenville declared that he "had never known a man of the meanest talents guilty of such a blunder." And the uproar which he excited exceeded anything that members could recollect.

Once more the masterful minister had only to turn the opportunity to his advantage, and declare that now—after "so indecent a menace"—he must see to maintaining the rights of the House; and, speaking with great spirit and emphasis, that "the House would do its duty, in spite of any threat, however high the quarter from which it might come."

This heated language shows the pass to which matters had come. The Prince was alarmed and angry, and instantly addressed a letter to the Chancellor, complaining of the disrespect with which he was treated, in this plan being ready to be brought forward without any communication being made to him; and also bitterly inveighed against the whole behavior of Pitt toward him personally, since the illness of the King began. This was answered by the minister in his haughtiest style, and he took care to show how he resented the manner in which he had been treated by the Prince.

The answer received was as follows. Pitt wrote, on Monday, December 15th, that he had the unhappiness to perceive that his general conduct, and what he had said in the House of Commons, had been represented in a light which neither of them deserved.



"I have certainly felt myself bound rather to wait the commands of your Royal Highness, than to intrude on your Royal Highness's time, without having received a previous intimation of your pleasure; at the same time, your Royal Highness will permit me to recall to your recollection that I more than once had an opportunity humbly to express my readiness at all times to attend your Royal Highness; and have several times, at Windsor, had the honor to inquire whether your Royal Highness had any orders for me, and have received for answer that you had not." He then explained that he had not announced the plan as reported, the details of which he now unfolded.

To Pitt's communication no reply was sent, so it may be conceived how inflamed was the hostility between the two. But on the same day the Prince had despatched the Duke of York to the House of Lords to disclaim on his part any such intention as had been imputed. After soliciting the indulgence of his hearers, as being unaccustomed to public speaking, he said, "that no claim of right had been made on the part of the Prince; and he was confident that his Royal Highness understood too well the sacred principles which seated the House of Brunswick on the throne of Great Britain, ever to assume or exercise any power, be his claim what it might, not derived from the will of the people, expressed by their representatives, and their Lordships in Parliament assembled." This address on the part of the young Prince found much favor, both for its matter as well as for the manner in which it was delivered. But the appeal was ineffectual; nor was that of the Duke of Gloucester more successful. But the point of dramatic interest was reached when the Chancellor rose to speak. The House was crowded, and the leading members of the Lower House were on the steps of the throne. Pitt and his own party, the last to be taken into his confidence, expected to hear him declare his adherence to the Prince. But there was a surprise in store for all. The scene has become historical. He began by dealing a stroke at Pitt, declaring that the question of right—like all abstract questions of right—was odious and need not be opened. The real object was to preserve the King's rights, "so that when Divine Providence shall restore him to his people, he may not find himself disabled from exercising his prerogatives." Then alluding to the piteous spectacle of the afflicted monarch he uttered the hypocritical burst so well known: "My debt of gratitude to him is ample for the numerous honors which he has bestowed on me, which, whenever I forget,



may my God forget me. . . ." "O the rascal!"\* was an exclamation that broke from Pitt as he listened. This bitter comment of Wilkes' has been often quoted: "Forget you! He'll see you d—d first!" Nor was Burke's less witty or original: "Forget you! The best thing that can happen you!"

This scene is usually considered the consummation of "Thurlow's treachery." He was eager to join the Prince, and had drawn back when he saw that there was little or no chance of the Prince coming to power. But, strange to say, the speech was not considered among the Opposition to be a declaration for the King; it amounted to no more than a hypocritical burst of sympathy. It is certain that the dramatic point of this declaration is lost if we find that it made no alteration in the relation of the parties, and that the offers of the Prince and his advisers were continued for a fortnight more. We find that on Christmas Eve he and Mr. Fox had a conversation, in which he announced that the negotiations must come to an end, and desired that no more should be said to him on the subject till the Regency was settled. He advised that the Prince should now make his arrangements without reference to him. Mr. Fox declared that he was perfectly open and explicit. He talked of the constitutional question that was to be debated, and said it was confused and difficult. Then they passed to general topics—travelling, the classics, and, in short, were in perfect good humor. In this conversation he had left a curious impression on that statesman, who had expected to hear from him an outline of the arguments with which he was to confute those of Pitt and his friends. "But," says Mr. Fox, "I could not collect what would be the course of his arguments." He said it was a confused and difficult case, and I therefore suspect he will answer the arguments of others rather than produce his own. My idea is he has thought less on the subject than could be supposed."† This was scarcely the bearing of a traitor, but Fox's open nature did not suspect anything.

The explanation may be that it was directed against Pitt, who, he insinuated, was limiting the King's powers and prerogatives; and this is supported by the King's coldness to Pitt when he recov-

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\* General Manners heard the words, and with natural wonder asked Pitt what was meant by this remark, when the latter gave an account of Thurlow's suspected double-dealing. Wraxall received this account from General Manners himself.—"Posth. Memoirs," iii. 221.

† Lord Campbell, "Life of Lord Loughborough," vol. vi.

ered. In no case could it apply to his continuing as the Prince's Chancellor, such change of service being common enough in those days.

Still, we find that the Prince's party equally complained of being tricked. Lord Rawdon, the Prince's familiar, talked of his "coquetting" with them, and that, having taken fright and drawn back a little on some show of amendment in the King, "he received from the Prince of Wales and Duke of York, before Fox, so rough a charge of double-dealing that it is impossible he can close with us." \* This was written on February 28th.

The year after we find Lord Thurlow expressing himself to the Princess of Wales on the manner he had been treated: "It would make a long story to lay before your Royal Highness in exact detail the circumstances of the period, without which it is impossible to form a judgment, and with which your Royal Highness would be the readiest to discern his futility and folly. The Prince, he believes, is satisfied that his affairs both then and now would have been in a different situation if he had followed sounder advice." † Notwithstanding this low opinion of the Prince, he was soon to become his friend and adviser.

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\* Cornwallis, "Correspondence."

† Sir G. Elliot, iii. 24.

## CHAPTER XV.

1789.

ON the 16th of December, the Prime Minister introduced his resolution in a very convincing speech. He showed that there were precedents; that the argument of the "civil decease" of the King had no foundation, for that then "the Prince would ascend the throne as King, not as Prince; that when the third branch of the legislature was gone or suspended, there was but one plain remedy to resort to—the organs of the people in both Houses." This seemed a refutation of Fox's truly fanciful argument, that King, Lords, and Commons were necessary for any legislative Act. In fact, his statement of the question they had to settle was so briefly framed that it seemed to carry its answer with it, viz., "Whether any person had a right title to assume or to claim the exercise of the royal authority during the infirmity or incapacity of the sovereign; or whether it was the right of the Lords and Commons of England to provide the deficiency?" Nor did he fail to repeat publicly the haughty challenge he had sent to the Prince: "I trust that I shall not be represented to the Prince as undutiful or disrespectful to his Royal Highness; but were I even certain that I should be so represented and considered, I feel that within which prompts me to do what I know to be right; and I will sacrifice every personal consideration to my zeal and attachment to my sovereign and my duty to the public."

The three resolutions were: "1. That it is the opinion of this committee, that his Majesty is prevented by his present indisposition from coming to his Parliament and from attending to public business, and that the personal exercise of the royal authority is thereby, for the present, interrupted. 2. That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is the right and duty of the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons of Great Britain, now assembled, and lawfully, fully, and freely representing all the estates of the people

of this realm, to provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority, arising from his Majesty's said indisposition, in such manner as the exigency of the case may appear to require. 3. That for this purpose, and for maintaining entire the constitutional authority of the King, it is necessary that the said Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons of Great Britain should determine on the means whereby the royal assent may be given in Parliament to such bills as may be passed by the two Houses of Parliament, respecting the exercise of the powers and authorities of the Crown, in the name and on behalf of the King, during the continuance of his Majesty's present indisposition."

It was evident that here was opened up a great question, on which many would speak and amendments be moved; so it was not unlikely that there was truth in the charge that he was willing to avail himself of the delay. It, indeed, actually proved to be of inestimable service to his cause; for the three weeks thus gained to the King, by Fox's and Sheridan's blunder, might have sufficed to place the Regent in office, and it is probable that the King would not have been "pronounced to have recovered" so speedily as he would have been when in the hands of his own friends. Nor is it fanciful to deny that the young Prince and his train of impoverished followers would have shown a chivalrous *empressement* to lay down their offices as soon as the impartial Willis had pronounced that his royal master was restored.

The first resolution passed. Stung, however, by the disheartening prospect, when they reached the second, Fox made a bitter attack on Pitt. But his speech only showed him to be more indiscreet than he had been before. He spoke of his own relations to the Prince. He accused Pitt of insulting the Prince, "whose favor he was conscious he did not deserve. He was so fond of power that he determined to cripple its exercise for his successors. Why, if his doctrines prevailed, the two Houses might choose for regent a foreigner, a Catholic, and set aside the family of Brunswick!" At which extravagant and ill-judged supposition the House showed such impatience that Fox had to explain his illustration away.

Nothing could be more crushing than Pitt's reply. Fox had announced himself and his friends to be the successors of the present administration. He did not know upon what authority that



declaration was made; but he thought that the House and the country were obliged to him for this seasonable warning of what they would have to expect. The nation had already had some experience of that right honorable gentleman and his principles. It was well known to be the avowed system of him and his party to endeavor, by the weight and extent of their political influence, to nominate the ministers of the Crown. It could not be denied that they maintained as a fundamental maxim that the ministers ought at all times to be so nominated. It could not but be supposed that by such advisers power would be perverted to a purpose, which it was indeed impossible to imagine that the Prince of Wales could, if he were aware of it, ever endure for a moment. The other side of the House was desponding. "We were shockingly beat," writes Sir G. Elliot; "two hundred and sixty-eight to two hundred and four." Yet every nerve had been strained. The Prince and his brothers were canvassing openly. To Lord Lonsdale, the head of the great house of Lowther, who directed the votes of half-a-dozen members, the Prince had written, asking his support as a personal favor. This he obtained. In fact, at a meeting at Burlington House, Fox assured his friends that they were certain of victory. Nor was victory so improbable; for the demoralization of the situation produced a spirit of political gambling, it being on the cards either that the King would recover or the Prince be established in his place. Either case was fatal for the losers, and this in consequence of the King's own unconstitutional theory that those who opposed the King's ministry were enemies of the King himself, and that those who sought to displace his ministry sought to displace him. To choose one's side was therefore a matter of peril.\*

A discreditable spectacle was the number of distracted waverers and deserters. The list of "rat peers" and "rat members" increased every day; and it was whispered that the most splendid offers and promises were being made. Among these deserters were the Duke of Queensberry, Lords Malmesbury, Lothian, Abergavenny, Cholmondeley, Eglinton, and Rodney, with some baronets. Some of these cases were flagrant. The Duke of Queensberry and Lord Lothian

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\* The result was shown first in a sort of "cave" or impartial body, who went by the name of "The Armed Neutrality." It had met at Northumberland House, and consisted of about thirty members of the House of Commons and some thirty peers.

were actively in office about the King. Lord Lothian had been for many years in confidential relations with him. But Lord Malmesbury's behavior was more extraordinary. He had just been raised to the peerage by the King. The well-known "single-speech Hamilton" was another deserter, after having "eaten toads" for years at Mr. Pitt's table.

Fox was now so ill that the next debate was put off for a day. On the 20th it was resumed, when the second resolution was passed. On the 22nd the third was debated in the most acrimonious style. Pitt, fortified by the unanimous support of the country, addresses from the great towns pouring in on him, was determined not to make the slightest concession even to the dignity of the Prince. In vain the Opposition urged that after the Prince was invested with his office it would then be proper to settle the restrictions. Pitt would not trust him. "Who can answer," he exclaimed, "for his not using the royal negative when the limitations are presented to him for assent?" Until this was done he proposed to supply the absence of the royal assent by a cumbrous mode of empowering the Chancellor to affix the great seal; a fallacy it will be seen, as it was the delegated act of the two Houses. It justly acquired the nickname of "the phantom." No wonder, then, that on the 22nd Burke should have attacked this theory, tearing and rending it with all the powers of his sarcasm and invective. "He was wilder than ever," said an observer, "and laid himself and party open more than ever speaker did. He is Folly personified, but shaking his cap and bells under the laurel of Genius. Among other things, he said that Pitt's proposals could not be adopted by them as gentlemen, as cavaliers." "The words," adds Sir William Young, who was writing these notes, "will not be forgot." "As little acquainted with the interior of Carlton House as of Buckingham House, I profess," adds Burke, "only to deliver my sentiments in a manner becoming a simple citizen. The great seal, it appears, is to be affixed to a commission, robbing the executive power of its due function. A composition of wax and copper is to represent the sovereign. So preposterous a fiction merits only contempt and ridicule. I disclaim all allegiance, I renounce all obedience to a king so formed. I worship the gods of our glorious Constitution, but I will not now bow down before Priapus!" Against the Chancellor, Burke inveighed in the most personal terms. "I approve not," exclaimed he, "of robbery, house-breaking, or any other felony. Yet is each of these crimes less inexcusable than law forgery. If the unfortunate monarch, whom we

all lament, could know the proposition now agitated, he would no doubt cry out with Macbeth—

Upon my head they placed a fruitless crown,  
Thence to be wrench'd with an unlineal hand,  
No son of mine succeeding.

Restore me," he would add, "to my former state. Let me not behold a black-browed phantom seated on my throne!" This coarse vein of allusion he followed up by likening the character to the god Priapus in the hands of the carpenter Pitt. Then carried away by this madness, as it seemed to the ministerial party, he let out the names of some of those whom his party intended advancing, rewarding such as Lord Fitzwilliam, who was to be Marquis of Rockingham, and Lord George Cavendish. More, it was thought, would have been revealed but for his friends pulling him back, and for the ironical cheers from the ministerial benches.

All this brought fresh glory to Pitt, to whom the City of London was now proposing to offer a present of three thousand pounds a year on his quitting office, a thing now considered to be settled. The debate in the Lords, when the resolution reached it, was even more exciting. It was remarkable for Lord Shelburne's (now Lord Lansdowne) brief but admirable summary of the question. The Chancellor strongly supported Lord Lansdowne's arguments,\* while he bestowed eulogiums on the Prince. In reply to Lord Loughborough's assertions of the right which his royal highness possessed to exercise the Regency, Thurlow demanded: "What means the term of regent? Where is it defined? In what law book, or in what statute? I have heard of protectors, guardians, and lords justices; but I know not where to look for the office and functions of a regent. To what end then address the Prince to take on him a power the limits of which are not ascertained?" "No man entertains a higher respect than myself," continued he, "for that illustrious person. I wish as ardently the advancement of his honor and interests as those who affect more attachment to him. But I never will argue that he possesses any inherent right to the regency, or that, as heir-apparent, he can possess such a right. There might even arise Princes of Wales whose conduct would justify the two Houses in setting them aside from the regency. It becomes, therefore, expedient that we

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\* Lord Hawksbury told Mrs. Harcourt that he had prevailed on the Chancellor to make one of his finest speeches for the cause, probably this one.

should not abandon the power inherent in us; nor, under the circumstances in which we are placed, fail to declare it to be our right." When the division took place, only sixty-six peers were found in the minority.\*

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\* The Dukes of York and Cumberland voted in the minority; as the Duke of Gloucester would have likewise done, if he had not been prevented from attending by severe indisposition. All the Lords of the Bedchamber, with the single exception of the Duke of Queensberry, adhered to Government. Thirteen bishops, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, were likewise found on that side; three members of the episcopal bench voting with Opposition. The Scottish peers ranged themselves, six with administration, seven on the other side.



## CHAPTER XVI.

1789.

THE resolution being passed, and the bill being prepared, founded on the principles of the resolution, we will now turn to contemplate what was going on at Windsor, where the Chancellor was still the central figure.

"The Prince, having understood that the Chancellor had used some expressions of which he thought he had cause to complain, desired to see his lordship, and generously afforded him an opportunity of vindicating himself, if the rumor were unfounded. The Chancellor assured his Royal Highness that he never had, even in thought, deviated from the profound respect he owed him. He begged to know the full extent of what he had been charged with, in the full confidence of being able to exculpate himself. His lordship proceeded to say that what opinions he had publicly advanced his legal situation compelled; but that he felt himself strongly devoted to his Royal Highness: and that he might assure himself that he should on no account unite with Mr. Pitt, or enter into any opposition to his Royal Highness's government, when his dismissal, which he saw was at hand, should take place. He should, on the contrary, give it every support in his power; and if, at a future day, his services should be thought of use, he should be happy to offer them. The Chancellor spoke of Mr. Pitt as a haughty, impracticable spirit, with whom it would be impossible for him ever cordially to unite. He added that the whole party was split, divided, and discontented."\*

The family dissensions, too, had reached a scandalous stage, chiefly owing to the Queen. A hostile system of exclusion was adopted, directed by her. The Prince was not allowed to see the King; or else such difficulties were thrown in the way as made it disagreeable and almost impossible. When he wished to see his mother, the same obstructive course was pursued. As he fairly argued in his letter of

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\* "Particulars" in Holt's "Life of George III."

grievances, he "could not force his way in." Up to this time, too, it had been the practice to send the physicians' report of each day to the Prince—"the only distinction," he sarcastically said, "made between myself and the rest of your Majesty's subjects," and certainly a privilege to which he was entitled. Now express orders were given to the doctors that this was not to be done.

In the confusion of the removal to Kew, it had been forgotten that the King's papers and jewels had been left open and unprotected. The Prince, after consulting with the Chancellor, repaired with Lord Weymouth, the King's friend, and Lord Brudenell, the Keeper of the Privy Purse, to Windsor, and made them, in his presence, collect and seal up all these articles, taking a formal receipt from them.

When the Queen heard of this reasonable precaution, she fell into a fury. As the Prince describes the scene: "To my extreme astonishment, she condescended, at my next interview, to a species of warmth of reproaches, into which nothing could have surprised or betrayed her Majesty but a degree of passion which I had never witnessed or believed to exist in her Majesty before." Without ascribing the Queen's dislike to him to this cause, he had "soon to lament it, as the first open demonstration of it." This is very significant, and shows the hostility between the hard German lady and her son.

"What a fine fellow my brother York is!" the Prince was heard to say at a supper; "he never forsakes me." Then, describing the scene of the jewels and his mother's anger, he repeated his worthy brother's speech to her. "Says York to her, 'I believe, madam, you are as much deranged as the King!'" \* "She is playing the devil," wrote Sir Gilbert Elliot to his lady, "and has, all this time, been at the bottom of the cabals and intrigues against the Prince. It is believed that she was ready to accept the Regency, if the Prince had been advised to refuse it." †

This was undoubtedly part of the policy of her faction, and perhaps the object of Mr. Pitt's almost insulting treatment of the Prince. "Mr. Pitt," wrote Mr. Storer, "is so powerful that he can do as he pleases. Had he known his own power at the beginning of this business, perhaps he would never have thought of the Prince of Wales as Regent; it being now undoubtedly proved, I think, that he might have conferred the Regency on the Queen. If he has been guilty of any error, it has been in not having foreseen his strength in Parliament."

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\* Auckland, "Correspondence," ii. 280.

† "Life of Sir G. Elliot," i. 252.

This envenomed feeling, with the sense that they were looked on by their family and the ministers as enemies, is some justification for the many outbursts which were set down as "indecent" on the part of the foolish youths. Both talked loudly of their grievances everywhere and in all companies. The following description shows how painfully strained must have been the relations of this happy family.\* Through the curious record before alluded to † we are enabled to hear the royal brothers explaining themselves on the situation.

"At entertainments given by the Duke of York, having for their avowed object the conciliation of members of both Houses, the Prince was present, and expatiated with great eloquence upon "the indignities and injustice he had experienced from the usurpers of those powers of which he conceived he ought to be possessed, as the natural representative of a father unhappily incapable of exercising them, and, to the infinite affliction of his family, not likely to be ever again in a situation to hold the reins of government." He said: "Reports have been circulated that I had frequent interviews with Mr. Pitt. The truth is I saw him but once during my stay at Windsor. In the first days of the King's illness, and before I had recovered from the shock it occasioned me, some person told me that Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Richmond were come. My mind fully occupied by the sad state of things, I hardly heard, and it soon escaped my recollection that they were there. Some time after, Mr. St. Leger entered the room, and told me that the Duke of Richmond and Mr. Pitt had been waiting two hours. I awoke as it were from a trance, and desired that they might instantly be admitted. The duke was most obsequious, bowed incessantly. Mr. Pitt was most stately. He said he should do so-and-so, and looked with unforgiving haughtiness." He had assured the Queen he should be happy to conform in everything to the wishes of his royal father; and he promised that every indication of his intentions previous to his lamented indisposition should be religiously observed. Her Majesty having then received no unworthy impression, was satisfied and happy in receiving this assurance, and permitted him and the Duke of York to assist in packing up and to put their seals upon the Crown jewels and some valuable movables of the King's, which, together with the Queen's

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\* In the palace, even the royal pages betrayed their master, and no less than four were afterwards dismissed for furnishing the Prince with information.

† Given in Holt's "Life of George III."



jewels, were conveyed to Kew when the Queen went thither. He had now to lament a sad revolution in her Majesty's opinion, which had been effected by mischievous and designing persons. He had received a letter from her Majesty of her own writing, but not of her own dictating. It charged him with designing to take advantage of the weak state of the King to get possession of his treasures, and to change the whole state of things.

"Ladies —, H—, and C— were censured by his Royal Highness as the advisers of this letter. He said he had charged the last mentioned with a knowledge of it, and if he had not before had a certainty of it, her confusion would have given it. He complained of the personal indignity with which Mr. Pitt had treated him on every occasion. He specified two important instances of most indecorous conduct toward him. The summonses to members of the Privy Council to examine the physicians (of which he had received no previous intimation), and the restrictions upon the power of a regent, had both been sent by common Treasury messengers, and left without ceremony with a porter at Carlton House!

"The Prince was not present at the fourth and last entertainment. The Duke of York entered upon the interesting tale of the injury done to his brother in withholding his acknowledged rights, and of the imposition practised upon the public by fallacious representations of the King's state. His royal highness said: 'It must be imagined that the subject was a most painful one to him; that only the solicitude he felt to impress a sense of his brother's wrongs, and to warn gentlemen whom there was a design to mislead, could have induced him to enter upon it.'

"His royal highness spoke concisely but clearly. He declared 'that a string of fallacies had been obtruded upon the public; gave his royal word that not one of the King's children was permitted to approach him;' and lamented that 'the Queen, wrought upon by insidious arts, particularly by the machinations of the Chancellor, seemed resolved to abet the daring attempt to supersede his brother's just pretensions, and to promote the views of those most inimical to him.' "

His royal highness then mentioned an attempt, on the preceding Thursday, to prevent Sir C. Baker's seeing the King, which was rendered abortive by his steadily refusing to sign the bulletin, if that were not permitted. The Duke said "that endeavors had also been used, the following day, to prevent Dr. Warren's entering the royal chamber, Willis assuring him that the King was in such a state as



promised immediate recovery, and that his presence would do harm. Warren, upon an acknowledgment being extorted that the Queen had seen the King that morning, insisted upon being admitted, as one whose presence was less likely to agitate the royal mind. He found his Majesty sitting quietly, and attentively considering a Court calendar, which he was translating from beginning to end into doggerel Latin. He accosted Warren upon his entrance, 'Ricardensus Warrenensus, baronetensus.' " The Duke said, "Warren had assured him that after a long and minute examination he brought away the melancholy conviction that the mind was only subdued, and that its sanity was in no degree restored."

On the Duke being asked what was the general state of his Majesty's health, he replied, "he was told that he was deplorably emaciated; but that that circumstance was as much concealed as possible." His royal highness said, "that the Queen seemed no longer to have confidence in any person but the Chancellor, who, while he was flattering her Majesty with every demonstration of zeal, was paying obsequious court to his brother." He added: "He seems to have learnt a lesson of duplicity from Pitt. The Chancellor," the Duke continued, "seldom fails to receive three or four letters a day from the Queen, and he generally sees her once every day. Till concealments respecting the King began to be practised, and till the Queen suddenly declared her resolution to accept the Regency, if the Prince would not accept it with severe restrictions, my brother and myself omitted not one day paying our duty to her; but, since these events, our visits have been discontinued."

The Duke concluded by expressing in strong terms "the misery he felt at being compelled to make an appeal to the public, that induced the necessity of exposing circumstances over which every principle of delicacy, feeling, and filial affection prompted his royal brother and himself to throw a veil; and which a sense of what they owed to that public could alone prevent their interposing; their duty to that outweighing, in their estimation, all that could affect themselves."

"*January 24th.*—The King had been terribly affected during the last seven or eight days. On the 19th his Majesty had been induced to walk in the garden. The anxiety of the amiable and royal female relatives drew them to an upper window. Regardless of everything but his own impulses, his Majesty threw his hat into the air and hurled a stick he held in his hand to an incredible distance, such was the force that animated him. His Majesty then proceeded with

a rapid movement towards the Pagoda, which he was very desirous to ascend. Being thwarted in that, he became sullen and desperate, threw himself upon the earth; and so great was his strength and so powerful his resistance that it was three quarters of an hour before Willis and four assistants could raise him."

Nor were the scenes in the ranks of the Prince's party more edifying.

"Meantime, nothing was equal to the violence of the party, *de part et d'autre*, but most the Prince's side, because disappointed. The Duke of Portland has declared to the Prince his determination not to act with Mr. Sheridan in council, who is just now Prime Minister at Carlton House. He and his wife live with Mrs. Fitzherbert, having no other habitation. Charles Fox, besides ill-health, is plagued to death all day long; dissatisfied with Mr. Sheridan's supremacy, and not choosing to be questioned by Mr. Rolle, who vows he will, in spite of threats and opposition, *approfondir* that matter.

"But what you will not see is the strange supper of which I am going to tell you, and which Lady Mount-Edgcumbe had from the Duchess of Gordon herself, who, being entirely for Mr. *Pett*, is vastly teased by the princes, whom she never fails to answer extremely well. A few days ago Mrs. Richard Walpole gave a supper to the two princes, Mrs. Fitzherbert, Colonel Fullarton, Jack Payne (who is such a favorite he is to be a Lord of the Admiralty, and leans on the Prince as he walks, not the Prince on him), Miss Vanneck, and a few others; the Duchess of Gordon the only Pittite. Then says Jack Payne, after a great many invectives against Mr. Pitt, calling him William the Fourth and William the Conqueror, etc.; 'Mr. Pitt's chastity will protect the Queen;' which was received by all present as a very good thing. The Duchess of Gordon\* (for which you will like her, though a Scotchwoman) declared if they began to abuse the Queen she would leave the room. And now I am in a fright lest I should have told you all this before."

The triumphant Pitt now addressed a formal letter to the Prince, announcing to him the nature of the restrictions it was proposed to

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\* "Jack Payne, the Prince's secretary, one day uttered some ribaldry about the Queen, in the presence of the Duchess of Gordon. 'You little, insignificant, good-for-nothing, upstart, pert, chattering puppy,' said her grace, 'how dare you name your royal master's royal mother in that style?'"—*"Lady Harcourt's Diary,"* Locker MSS., in Massey's *"History of England,"* iii. 389.

lay upon him. The Prince of Wales complained bitterly of a studied affront in the mode of delivery of this letter, that it was left at his door by a servant, though this was denied; but he retaliated by addressing his answer not to Pitt, but to the Chancellor.\*

Mr. Pitt's communication was dated Tuesday night, December 30th, 1788.

"It is their humble opinion that your Royal Highness should be empowered to do all acts which might legally be done by his Majesty; with provisions, nevertheless, that the care of his Majesty's royal person, and the management of his Majesty's household, and the direction and appointment of the officers and servants therein, should be in the Queen, under such regulations as may be thought necessary. That the power to be exercised by your Royal Highness should not extend to the granting the real or personal property of the King (except as far as relates to the renewal of leases), to the granting any office in reversion, or to the granting, for any other term than during his Majesty's pleasure, any pension, or any office whatever, except such as must by law be granted for life, or during good behavior; nor to the granting any rank or dignity of the peerage of this realm to any person, except his Majesty's issue who shall have attained the age of twenty-one years."

#### THE PRINCE OF WALES TO LORD LOUGHBOROUGH.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I have just received a letter from the Minister with such restrictions as no dictator could possibly, I think, ever have been barefaced enough to have brought forward. . . . Pray come to Charles, as soon as you possibly can, to take these matters into consideration. . . . I am, my dear Lord,

"Most truly yours,

"G. P."

The result of this consultation was a reply which the Chancellor was, oddly, selected to be the bearer of.

Writes the Duke of Leeds: "At Carlton House a note was delivered to him in the hall desiring him to go to Mr. Fox in South Street (Mr. F., for more quiet, was removed to Mrs. Armistead's), who was not well enough to come out, and that there the Prince

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\* "Court and Cabinets," ii. 87.



would meet him. He found there Lord Robert Spencer and two other members of the House, who, when Mr. Fox came, withdrew. Shortly afterwards the Prince arrived. I think the Chancellor said the Prince received the paper afterwards and offered to send it to the Chancellor, but, his lordship declining giving him that trouble, the Prince signed it and sealed it up."

"He observes, therefore, only generally on the heads communicated by Mr. Pitt—and it is with deep regret the Prince makes the observation, that he sees in the contents of that paper a project for producing weakness, disorder, and insecurity in every branch of the administration of affairs—a project for dividing the royal family from each other—for separating the Court from the State; and therefore, by disjoining government from its natural and accustomed support, a scheme for disconnecting the authority to command service from the power of animating it by reward; and for allotting to the Prince all the invidious duties of government, without the means of softening them to the public, by any one act of grace, favor, or benignity.

"The Prince's feelings on contemplating this plan are also rendered still more painful to him, by observing that it is not founded on any general principle, but is calculated to infuse jealousies and suspicions (wholly groundless, he trusts) in that quarter, whose confidence it will ever be the first pride of his life to merit and obtain.

"With regard to the motive and object of the limitations and restrictions proposed, the Prince can have but little to observe. No light or information is offered him by his Majesty's ministers on these points. They have informed him what the powers are which they mean to refuse him, not why they are withheld.

"The Prince, however, holding as he does that it is an undoubted and fundamental principle of this Constitution, that the powers and prerogatives of the Crown are vested there, as a trust for the benefit of the people, and that they are sacred only as they are necessary to the preservation of that poise and balance of the Constitution which experience has proved to be the true security of the liberty of the subject—must be allowed to observe that the plea of public utility ought to be strong, manifest, and urgent, which calls for the extinction or suspension of any one of those essential rights in the supreme power, or its representative; or which can justify the Prince in consenting, that in his person an experiment shall be made to ascertain with how small a portion of kingly power the executive government of this country may be carried on.



“The Prince has only to add that if security for his Majesty’s repossessing his rightful government, whenever it shall please Providence, in bounty to the country, to remove the calamity with which he is afflicted, to be any part of the object of this plan, the Prince has only to be convinced that any measure is necessary, or even conducive to that end, to be the first to urge it as the preliminary and paramount consideration of any settlement in which he would consent to share.

“If attention to what is presumed might be his Majesty’s feelings and wishes, on the happy day of his recovery, be the object, it is with the truest sincerity the Prince expresses his firm conviction that no event would be more repugnant to the feelings of his royal father than the knowledge that the government of his son and representative had exhibited the sovereign power of the realm in a state of degradation, of curtailed authority, and diminished energy—a state, hurtful in practice to the prosperity and good government of his people, and injurious in its precedent to the security of the monarch, and the rights of his family. Upon that part of the plan, which regards the King’s real and personal property, the Prince feels himself compelled to remark, that it was not necessary for Mr. Pitt, nor proper, to suggest to the Prince the restraint he proposes against the Prince’s granting away the King’s real and personal property. The Prince does not conceive that during the King’s life he is, by law, entitled to make any such grant; and he is sure that he has never shown the smallest inclination to possess any such power. But it remains with Mr. Pitt to consider the eventual interests of the royal family, and to provide a proper and natural security against the mismanagement of them by others.

“The Prince has discharged an indispensable duty in thus giving his free opinion on the plan submitted to his consideration.

“His conviction of the evils which may arise to the King’s interests, to the peace and happiness of the royal family, and to the safety and welfare of the nation, from the government of the country remaining longer in its present maimed and debilitated state, outweighs, in the Prince’s mind, every other consideration, and will determine him to undertake the painful trust imposed upon him by the present melancholy necessity (which of all the King’s subjects he deplores the most), in full confidence that the affection and loyalty to the King, the experienced attachment to the house of Brunswick, and the generosity which has always distinguished the nation, will carry him through the many difficulties inseparable from this most

critical situation, with comfort to himself, with honor to the King, and with advantage to the public.

“GEORGE P.

“ Carlton House, Jan. 2, 1789.”

The authorship of this has often been discussed, being given to Sheridan or to Sir Gilbert Elliot. It was thought that it might have been the handiwork of the first, as he was so intimate with the Prince. Sir James Mackintosh, consulted by Moore, declared from internal evidence that it must have been Burke's and no other's, though Moore declared that “the violent state of this extraordinary man's temper during the debates would have rendered him an unfit person for such an office.” Sir Gilbert Elliot, who had written, and was to write, many such public letters for the Prince and his party, disclaimed it and furnished the true answer. “Not a word in it was his,” he said; “it was originally Burke's, altered a little, but not improved, by Sheridan and other critics.”\*

The Duke of Leeds, however, showed his sagacity at guessing at the authorship. “The Prince of Wales's comments on Pitt's letters filled three quarto pages, showing displeasure to Pitt. It was, upon the whole, a strange performance, by no means an able one; now and then appeared something of Sheridan's language, and still more of Loughborough's.”

The haughty Pitt now proposed that a reply should be sent to this document; and, as the Duke of Leeds informs us, “at a Cabinet on the 5th, Mr. Pitt read the proposed answer to the Prince. The Chancellor, however, disapproved sending any. They tried to convince him, urging the mischievous effect on the public of a division of opinion. The Chancellor, however, remained sulky.” He complained of being misrepresented. At last an expedient was thought of, that he should go and ask the Prince of Wales if he wished or expected to receive one, and if so, then present it. To this he agreed, though not with a good grace. The Duke of Richmond said: “That man will ruin us all yet.” Lord Camden said privately to the Duke of Leeds that he was a bad man. Accordingly the Chancellor wrote to the Prince of Wales on the subject of the answer, and received a note from the Prince, dated Piccadilly (the Prince dining at the Duke of Queensberry's), desiring him to come to him at nine to South Street. The Chancellor went,

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\* “Life and Letters,” i. 269.

and found the Prince and Mr. Fox. The Chancellor held the letter in his hand, and asked the Prince whether he expected any answer, to which the Prince answered in the negative; but on Mr. Fox observing that as there was one prepared it might as well be looked at, the Chancellor delivered it to him.

After much wrangling over the "report" of the physicians (it filled four hundred folio pages), Mr. Pitt, on the 16th of January, introduced his "Restrictions." They were in the shape of resolutions, the first of which conferred the honors of Regency; the second restrained him from granting peerages, save to the royal family; the third from giving places, save under conditions; the fourth protected the King's property; and the fifth and most important, introduced on the 19th, gave the care of the King's person to the Queen, with power to appoint all officers about his person with the assistance of a Council. These were duly passed by both Houses. It was this resolution on the household that excited the most tumult. Its object was evident. By household he explained himself to mean any office—"master of horse, chamberlain, and so downward to the pages, beef-eaters, and grooms." It was noted that he spoke as though he were "ashamed of such a scheme." It was assailed in vehement style by Sheridan, who stigmatized it as a plan for governing the country through the Queen, when the minister himself shall have been dismissed.

He denounced Pitt's duplicity and arrogance, and sneered at the Queen with ironical praises, and pictured the former coming down to the House attended by his household. Mr. Fullarton, a fiery Scot, quoted from the "History of France" the description of Queen Isabella and her minister Marvilliers; a woman whom he described as attached only to her treasures, and governed by her chancellor.

The Council was to be composed, as Sir G. Elliot heard, of the great officers of the household, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Chancellor, "so that this immense job was not trusted even to the Queen, but put directly into the hands of the faction itself."

When it reached the House of Lords on January 26th, the discussion was expected to be interesting from a melancholy spectacle of what Lord Bulkeley would have called "a rat bishop," viz., Watson of Llandaff. Never was there so unlucky a miscalculation. He was a man of a certain power and talent; and for his two hours' eager advocacy, it was reported he was to receive splendid promotion when the Regent came into office. But he was never



forgiven by the King, and had to endure for the rest of his life perpetual banishment to his obscure Welsh diocese.

But there was to be another scene of treachery more painful still. Thurlow now stood forward to bid for the gratitude of the recovering monarch, having at last made up his mind. After dwelling on that piteous and lamentable situation, "a misfortune equal to any which has ever fallen to the lot of man since misfortune was known upon the earth;" then drawing a picture of the ingratitude the royal sufferer had been treated with—

Deserted, in his utmost need,  
By those his former bounty fed—

he burst into tears. This exhibition excited the ridicule of Burke, who, when Pitt moved to wait on the Prince with the resolutions, frantically burst out in the most violent agitation. The minister was a despot. "Slaves," he cried, "do you presume to hesitate?" And later he held up the Chancellor—his tears and his "phantom"—in his wittiest vein. "The other House is not yet recovered from that extraordinary burst of the pathetic which was exhibited the other evening; it has not yet dried its eyes nor been restored to its placidity. The tears shed on that occasion were not the tears of patriots for dying laws, but of lords for expiring places. They were the 'iron tears that flowed down Pluto's cheek,' and rather resembled the dismal bubbling of Styx than the gentle streams of Aganippe. In fact, they were tears for his Majesty's bread. The Lords of the Household would stick by the King's loaf as long as a single cut of it remained; they would fasten on the crust, and gnaw it while two crumbs of it held together; and they would proudly declare, at the same time, that it was the honor of the service, the dignity of the office, which alone they regarded." Then, bursting into a new paroxysm, he exclaimed: "I cannot, for my soul, understand the means of this art-magic, any more than I can doubt the purpose. I see a phantom raised. But I never heard of one being raised in a family but for the purpose of robbing the house. The whole ceremonial, instead of being a representative of the forms of the Constitution, is a masquerade, a mummary, a piece of buffoonery, used to ridicule every form of government."

At last the resolutions were passed, and it was on the 30th of January that a deputation, consisting of Lords Camden and Stafford, with Pitt and some others, waited on the Prince with an address; to which he gave the following reply, supposed to be



written by Sheridan, but which was, in truth, the work of Sir G. Elliot, done in a hurry, half an hour before it was spoken:

“MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“I thank you for communicating to me the resolutions agreed to by the two Houses; and I request you to assure them, in my name, that my duty to the King my father, and my anxious concern for the safety and interests of the people, which must be endangered by a longer suspension of the exercise of the royal authority, together with my respect for the united desires of the two Houses, outweigh, in my mind, every other consideration, and will determine me to undertake the weighty and important trust proposed to me, in conformity to the resolutions now communicated to me.

“I am sensible of the difficulties that must attend the trust, in the peculiar circumstances in which it is committed to my charge, in which, as I am acquainted with no former example, my hopes of a successful administration cannot be founded on any past experience; but confiding that the limitations on the exercise of the royal authority, deemed necessary for the present, have been approved only by the two Houses as a temporary measure, founded on the loyal hope, in which I ardently participate, that his Majesty's disorder may not be of long duration; and trusting, in the meanwhile, that I shall receive a zealous and united support in the two Houses and in the nation, proportioned to the difficulty attending the discharge of my trust in this interval, I will entertain the pleasing hope that my faithful endeavors to preserve the interests of the King, his crown, and people, may be successful.”

All this was merely preparatory to the introduction of the bill itself. The next step was to issue a commission, who were to be empowered to set the great seal to a patent for giving the royal assent to the regency bills now to be passed. These “roundabout” devices seem ludicrous enough. The Prince and the Duke of York were included in the commission, but the latter rose in his place and declined the honor for himself and for his brother, and the Duke of Cumberland did the same for himself as well as the Duke of Gloucester.

When the bill was introduced in the House of Commons, Burke burst out once more into fury. It seems incredible that so sound a mind could deliver itself to such intemperance. He accused Dr.

Willis of rashness, impetuosity, and presumption, in taking upon him to fix the probable duration of his Majesty's illness. He exclaimed: "Of his sanity, should God restore it, where was the confirmation? With a junto—an obscure and contemptible Council! manifestly not wishing to produce a sound King, but to usurp the Government without one—where a proclamation was to supersede the two Houses—a proclamation from authority existing no more—for the King governs not—but is governed!" He taxed the bill with reviving the doctrine of divine right, which had been exploded on the expulsion of the House of Stuart in favor of another House. "In the idiot abominations of the Stuart race divine right was the assumption of the Prince alone! it was now more monstrously to be usurped by the Minister!" "The bill," he said, "was not only to degrade the Prince of Wales, but the whole House of Brunswick, who were to be outlawed, excommunicated, and attainted, as having forfeited all claim to the confidence of the country."

This extraordinary declaration having excited the smiles of several of the members, Mr. Burke's indignation rose with his climax, and he directly charged the House "with degrading the royal family; sowing the seeds of future distractions and disunion among them, and proceeding to act treasons, for which the justice of the country would one day overtake them, and bring them to trial!" He received a fine rebuke from Mr. Pitt, who observed that when Mr. Burke chose to indulge himself with a direct attack upon him, in the style of invective in which he was accustomed to deliver himself in that House, he seldom thought it worth his while to make him any answer, because his speeches, from their extraordinary style, and the peculiarly violent tone of warmth and of passion with which they were generally delivered, seldom failed to make that impression which those to whom they were directed wished them to make.

But even here the consequences of the Prince's rash marriage and his flagrant denial were to pursue him. Mr. Rolle, who had been threatening, in spite of all cajolery, that he would bring forward his favorite subject, at last found an opportunity made to his hand in a clause depriving the Prince of the regency should he marry a Papist. He proposed an amendment, awkward to deal with, "excluding any one thus married already, either in law or fact." The old ground was once more gone over, and it was urged that the royal marriage virtually repealed the Act of Settlement

and its heavy penalties. But it was noted that not one of the law officers now said a word; while Dundas, refuting this argument as derogatory to the Act of Settlement, "declared that he regarded the solemn assurance of Mr. Fox as decisive." Then alluding to Fox's absence in the country, he said he was convinced that "if anything had occurred to make him change his opinion, he (Mr. Fox) would at all hazards, even at the risk of his life, come down to the House." This artful thrust must have gone home. But he (Mr. Fox) was now considered to be restored, and it was believed that he delayed returning to avoid this awkward situation. The most curious position in this episode was the part taken by Mr. Grey, who rebuked Rolle for his conduct, and imputed to him the worst of motives. This, as he knew Rolle was speaking the truth, seemed strange. But of late his relations with the Prince had become confidential.\*

On the household question Burke again broke out in extraordinary style, and, on Pitt's protesting against stripping the King of the adornments of royalty, exclaimed: "Did they recollect that they were talking of a sick king, of a monarch smitten by the hand of Omnipotence; and that the Almighty had hurled him from his throne and plunged him into a condition that drew upon him the pity of the meanest peasant in the kingdom? This produced loud calls to order, and the cries of 'Take down his words' interrupted him; and the Marquis of Graham told Mr. Burke that neither he, nor any man in that House, should dare to say the King was hurled from his throne. A scene of great confusion followed, during which Burke persisted in his course, and justified his expression by the language of the prayer offered up in our churches for the King's recovery, and, proceeding in the same strain, asked: 'Ought they, at that hour of sickness and calamity, to clothe his bed with purple? Ought they to make a mockery of him, putting a crown of thorns on his head, a reed in his hand, and dressing him in a raiment of purple, to cry, Hail! King of the British!'"† The disgust expressed by the House at this indecorous allusion, at length induced the orator to change his tone, and to arraign the

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\* In December, when he wrote to Sir G. Elliot at Brookes's: "I did not see the Prince, for he had just retired to a private room with Grey, who is a great favorite, and is admitted to most private or Cabinet Councils."

† On the following morning Mr. Burke found chalked on his door a sort of parody of the daily bulletins: "Very irritable in the evening; no sleep all night; and very unquiet this morning."—Auckland, ii. 292.



clause with more chastened animation, and with more temperate eloquence.

The effect of one of these restrictions was to prevent a peerage being given to Prince William, which "the party thought was an act of pure malice." This was said to have hurt the Prince of Wales more than all the rest, and the Duke of York was heard to say, in a coffee-house, that it was very hard that Mr. Pitt should punish his brother, who had never done anything to offend him; but that for himself, Mr. Pitt was right to do him all the injury that he could, for he had opposed him.

Sir G. Elliot said later, the plan was "to consider the Prince and everybody that is suspected of the least attachment to him, as a prey, to be hunted down and destroyed without mercy. This, I assure you, is the private conversation of him and the Queen's whole set."

It was then proposed that the Duke of York and the other Princes should be of the Council; which was plainly and *sans façon* resisted by Pitt, who declared that if the Prince was unsuited, on various accounts, to have the care of the King, the argument applied, *à fortiori*, to the others. The last clause was concerned with the delicate question as to who was to have power to declare the King restored to health. This was to be done when it should appear proper to her Majesty and to five members of the Council, and by them should be notified to the President of the Privy Council; and that, the act being then complete, the Regent should cease to rule, and the King resume his office. This was hotly contested, and it was urged that Parliament alone should restore the powers it had taken away; and the plan had certainly a doubtful air, and it was certainly open to the suspicions imputed by the Opposition.

The excitement that prevailed during this struggle was extraordinary. London society was ranged in two factions, each agitated by feelings of the most vulgar kind. Every one was to gain or lose by the issue; the Opposition rapacious for power and place, now almost within their grasp—the Government as eager to defeat them. Everywhere there was fury and acrimony, and the ladies were more inflamed than the men. At balls and parties ladies were already seen wearing "Regency caps."

How the hungry followers of Fox and Sheridan must have been affected by the giving away the control of the household to the Queen, may be gathered from the fact that no less than one hun-



dred and fifty places would be thus lost to them. It seemed invidious, and was certainly insulting to the Prince to lay down that he was not fitted to be entrusted with such patronage; but it must be recollected that—shocking as it may seem—he and his father were on the footing of enemies, and that his father's malady was supposed to have been induced by his unfilial treatment. On the other hand, there was an inconsistency in the argument of the Opposition, who, it will be recollected, had vehemently denied the power of the House in the matter.

But the prospect of power had its usual disintegrating effect upon the Opposition, and dissensions had broken out among the leaders. Fox, as we have seen, under pretext of illness, had retired from the fray, disgusted at the influence which Sheridan and Grey, with others of that "wing" of the party, enjoyed in the direction of the Prince's affairs.

The Duke of Portland, Fox's ardent friend, declared that one could take no step so long as Sheridan enjoyed the supremacy he had. Burke, too, as Mr. Moore thinks, was dissatisfied with Fox, as being too temperate. Between Sheridan and Burke there were also jealousies.\* It would seem that much of Burke's extraordinary violence and intemperance of language was prompted by the pressure of personal necessities, and of a hope deferred in the most exasperating way; and he was inclined to lay the cause of the failure, which he foresaw was at hand, to the moderate counsels of Fox.

The first care of his friends had been to lay out splendid provision for him in their plans; and when the next fit of royal lunacy came on some twenty years later, they were to be again busy allotting aerial places of the same kind, and to be again the prey of a similar illusion.

In this Utopian ministry, Sheridan was to be Treasurer of the Navy. Less sanguine than might be supposed, he never accepted the prospect of office seriously, always maintaining that the King would recover. They had even sent him the plan of the rooms in the new Somerset House which he was to occupy. And when he came to hear of his disappointment, he could drink the King's health cheerfully at his own table. As to the other offices, the Duke of York was to be Commander-in-Chief; field-marshal were to be created, of which the Prince himself was to be one. Lord

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\* Moore, "*Life of Sheridan*," ii. 60.

Spencer was to go to Ireland; Fitzpatrick to be Secretary-at-War; the Home Secretaryship lay between Lords Rawdon and Stormont.

The Prince in his cups would give away colonelcies to unqualified persons, who would insist on keeping him to his promise next day.\* Lord North, now old and blind, declined office. Even the Bishopric of St. Asaph had fallen vacant, and a successor had been designated, who had received the congratulations of his friends. With these arrangements they were busy in the first weeks of February, and it was thought that the Prince would be in possession by Saturday, the 14th.† Alas! for such pleasing anticipations. For now, while in this fool's paradise, rumors of a steady change in the condition of the royal patient began to take firmer shape. Dr. Warren, to the disgust of his friends, was compelled to declare that the King was improving every day.‡ In fact, so early as the beginning of February the disorder had begun to diminish. On the 11th the King bade Warren feel his pulse, and asked him did he not think there was some amendment, to which the doctor agreed; and on the 17th certified that "the King was in a state of convalescence." On the 19th the Chancellor stood up in the House and announced that it would be "indecent," in the King's state, to proceed with the bill further, and proposed to adjourn for a week. The Duke of York professed great satisfaction at the news.

In truth the Prince and his party already felt that, in vulgar phrase, "the game was up," for even if they came into office, it seemed to be settled that he could not, with the King fast recovering, dismiss the existing Ministers, who would have to be restored a week or two later. Already the Duke of Portland was said to have told the Prince that, under the circumstances, he could not take office;§ nor were there other annoying elements wanting to make this "day of dupes" even more humiliating. The Irish Parliament, after some angry debates, had voted an address to the Prince, inviting him to take on him the Regency of Ireland. On

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\* Auckland, "Correspondence," ii. 292.

† "Life of Sir G. Elliot," i. 269.

‡ One of the Prince's good stories often told at his own expense, was the comfort brought to him by Fox's Italian servant, Basilico who would approach him confidentially: "I have de honor, sare, to be at Windsor. I have seen your fader, and"—here the Prince would admirably mimic his air of rueful sympathy—"and he looks as well as ever."—Moore's "Diary."

§ "Court and Cabinets," ii. 107.

February 19th the Houses waited upon the Lord-Lieutenant with a request that he would transmit it to the Prince. This he refused to do on constitutional grounds, while, after passing a vote of censure on the Lord-Lieutenant, a deputation was appointed to convey the address to London, which, unfortunately for their purpose, they did not reach until the "day after the fair," and the King all but restored. This might have brought about a dangerous conflict. "The Irish Ambassadors," as they were called, were rather unfairly assailed with gross abuse. Epigrams were showered on them for their bootless errand. The members were ridiculed in a coarse vein. At the various dinner-parties given to the deputies by the Duke of York, Sir T. Dundas, and others, the Prince devoted himself to making a favorable impression on them. At the latter's house he was "uncommonly agreeable and captivating," singing a capital sea-song, which turned on a battle between a French and English ship; the French ship sinking, and the British rescuing the crew, the burden being that "the Briton conquers but to save." This gives a good idea of his convivial gifts.

On the 27th of February, when the very bulletins had ceased to appear as unnecessary, the Prince received their address and answered it in a suitable manner:

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

"The address from the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons of Ireland, which you have presented to me, demands my warmest and earliest thanks. If anything could add to the esteem and affection I have for the people of Ireland, it would be the loyal and dutiful attachment to the person and government of the King my father, manifested in the address of the two Houses.

"What they have done, and their manner of doing it, is a new proof of their undiminished duty to his Majesty, of their uniform attachment to the house of Brunswick, and their constant attention to maintain inviolate the concord and connection between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, so indispensably necessary to the prosperity, the happiness, and the liberties of both.

"If, in conveying my grateful sentiments on their conduct, in relation to the King my father, and to the inseparable interests of the two kingdoms, I find it impossible to express adequately my feelings on what relates to myself, I trust you will not be the less disposed to believe that I have the understanding to comprehend the



value of what they have done, a heart that must remember, and principles that will not suffer me to abuse their confidence.

“But the fortunate change which has taken place in the circumstance which gave occasion to the address agreed to by the Lords and Commons of Ireland, induces me to delay, for a few days, giving a final answer; trusting that the joyful event of his Majesty’s resuming the personal exercise of his royal authority may then render it only necessary for me to repeat those sentiments of gratitude and affection to the loyal and generous people of Ireland, which I feel indelibly impressed on my heart.

“The happy event of the King’s recovery, and the consequent reassumption of the exercise of his auspicious government, announced by his royal commission for declaring the further causes of holding the Parliament of Great Britain, has done away with the melancholy necessity which gave rise to the arrangement proposed by the Parliament of Ireland; but nothing can obliterate from my memory and my gratitude the principles upon which that arrangement was made, and the circumstances by which it was attended.

“I consider your generous kindness to his Majesty’s royal family, and the provision you made for preserving the authority of the crown in its constitutional energy, as the most unequivocal proof which could be given of your affectionate loyalty to the King, at the time when, by an afflicting dispensation of Providence, his government had suffered an intermission, and his house was deprived of its natural protector.

“I shall not pay so ill a compliment to the lords and commons of Ireland as to suppose that they were mistaken in their reliance on the moderation of my views, and the purity of my intentions. A manly confidence, directing the manner of proceeding towards those who entertain sentiments becoming the high situation in which they are born, furnishes the most powerful motives to the performance of their duty; at the same time that the liberality of sentiment, which, in conveying a trust, confers an honor, can have no tendency to relax that provident vigilance, and that public jealousy which ought to watch over the exercise of power.

“Though full of joy for the event which enables me to take leave of you in this manner, personally I cannot but regret your departure. I have had the opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of your private characters, and it has added to the high esteem which I had before entertained for you on account of your public merits; both

have made you the worthy representatives of the great bodies to which you belong.

"I am confident that I need not add my earnest recommendation to Parliament and people of Ireland to continue to cultivate the harmony of the two kingdoms which, in their mutual perfect freedom, will find the closest as well as the happiest bond of their intercourse."

On the same day they were entertained at a magnificent banquet at Carlton House, at which assisted the Dukes of York, Cumberland, and Portland; Fox (now returned), Burke, Sheridan, and all the leaders attended. The Prince exerted his most engaging arts as host, and at the close insisting on what he called the "Landlord's Bottle," and drew from Burke the rather solemn jest that he was entitled to order if *jure di-vino*. They spent some jovial weeks in town fêted by all the Opposition, and then returned to their own country.

## CHAPTER XVII.

1789.

WHAT made these proceedings the more unbecoming was the fact that the King was actually recovered. On the 20th he had been seen by the Chancellor, who declared that he never, at any period, saw the King more composed, collected, or distinct. All accounts agree in this view, which is, moreover, supported by the minute and accurate reports of Miss Burney. They had even opened to him some of the proceedings which had taken place during his confinement—a most painful and delicate task.

Pitt, more defiant and haughty under these conditions, was not disposed to allow his enemies even the formal advantages of this position. "We shall not feel ourselves disposed," wrote Mr. Grenville, "to give up the King's authority into the hands of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and the less so because we know that he and his friends, as he calls them, have taken the resolution of making the change at all events, and of taking all the offices of the country into their own hands, even, as they express themselves, if they are to hold them only twelve hours." \*

But the most disagreeable incident in this painful business was now to be seen. The sons were compelled by this hostile treatment to look on the announced recovery as part of their enemies' "game," and possibly a deception contrived by the Queen and her "faction." On this ground they declined to believe that he had recovered, and were searching in his words and actions for evidence to the contrary. The accounts were still colored by violent prejudice. The Chancellor had seen the King for the second time on the 20th, and declared to Pitt that there was not the least trace of the disorder.

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\* The same spirit was evident in the mode of treating the Irish address. "On conversing with Pitt," wrote Mr. Grenville, "we were both clearly of opinion that no communication ought to be made to his Royal Highness of what had passed in Ireland, as we have uniformly considered him as not entitled under the present circumstances to any communication of any part of the business of Government."—"Court and Cabinets," ii. 123.



For the other party he had a different story. "By G——," he said to the Duke of York, "they always contrive to wind up the King when I am to see him, and he appears very well before me." He had told Warren to repeat to the two Princes his opinion of the King's state, which, at his first interview at least, was certainly unfavorable.\*

Inflamed by this suspense and the contradictory reports, the two Princes called repeatedly at Kew, and pressed to be allowed to see their father. They were refused on various pretences; it being, no doubt, considered that they came, moved not by filial anxiety, but in the capacity of spies. At last they addressed a demand to the Queen:

"Your Majesty's most dutiful son, the Prince of Wales, most humbly begs leave to represent to your Majesty the following circumstances:

"It has for some days been confidently reported, and is generally credited, that his Majesty is happily restored to health, though that health is not yet perfectly confirmed. It must be on a supposition of this fact, that the Lord Chancellor has been introduced into his Majesty's presence.

"That the Prince of Wales, with the Duke of York, have frequently made most respectful and dutiful applications to be permitted to see the King their father; but that they have met with a refusal, on the idea that his Majesty was by no means in a condition to be approached by them, without the danger of affecting his sensibility in such a manner as to renew or increase his illness.

"They beg leave to inform your Majesty that, in such a moment, the Prince claims a right to see his father, as a gratification due to his feelings as a son. The Prince claims access to his Majesty in right of his birth. He claims, at fitting times, and with proper precautions, an audience of the King, as being actually nominated by a bill, which has passed the House of Commons, for the arduous and delicate trust of his Majesty's government during his illness.

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\* Even on the morning after the Chancellor's announcement to the House of Lords, when Sir G. Baker complimented the King on seeing him dressed in his usual clothes: "I wish you joy, sir, of appearing again like a king, and I am glad to see that star again." The poor patient replied, putting his finger on his mouth: "Hush, hush! don't talk of stars, we must not talk of stars; you know I am *mopsimus*, and don't like French mottoes."—Sir G. Elliot, "Life," i. 273.

“The rule of the Prince of Wales’s conduct must, in a great measure, be formed upon an accurate idea of his Majesty’s condition. He apprehends that he owes it to his Majesty and to his Majesty’s faithful subjects, to do all that in his power lies, that no man should make use of his Majesty’s name whilst he labors under illness, which may redound to the detriment of his Majesty’s government—which may, against his will, and by surprise, possibly tend to the dishonor and disadvantage of his family.

“Her Majesty will naturally expect that the Prince of Wales should be exceedingly anxious and apprehensive lest, if he and the Duke of York should not see the King (though they may be, against their wishes, excluded from his Majesty’s presence), that circumstance might be hereafter employed by persons not well disposed to your Majesty, or to them, to prejudice his Majesty’s mind against them, as deficient in reverence, duty, and natural affection.

“If it be thought that their seeing his Majesty might agitate his mind, and retard his recovery, the Prince is sure that the same reason might be urged with regard to the Chancellor, who, in his character of minister, must naturally remind the King of affairs of State, and renew in his mind the cares and anxieties of his government.

“The Prince of Wales desires and requests, as guarantees and witnesses of the prudent use which he and the Duke of York will certainly make of this visit of duty and respect, the presence of two or more of the attending physicians, provided that all persons who may operate on the King’s mind by restraint be not present.

“The Prince of Wales entreats, that if the physicians should be of opinion that his Majesty’s state of health will not safely permit the desired interview, the Prince, for his future justification with the King, may receive that opinion in writing, signed by them.

“The Duke of York most humbly supplicates your Majesty for the same indulgence, in paying his humble and affectionate duty to the King his father.”

On the morning of the 21st they again presented themselves at Kew, and sent Drs. Warren and Gisborne to Dr. Willis with a formal demand for admission, requiring also that the reasons for refusal should be given in writing. Willis returned with a message from his Majesty, thanking them for their inquiries; but wishing to put off seeing them till he had seen the Chancellor, which he was to do to-morrow. This was reduced to writing and sent to them. “How

it will be received I know not, but it has completely defeated the avowed object of the visit, which was to prejudice his mind against the measures which have been taken." Such was Mr. Grenville's ardent view.

Mrs. Harcourt gives a pleasant picture of the restoration: "On February 22d," she says, "Lady C. Finch said the King showed the greatest affection to the Queen. It was the attention of a lover. He seemed to delight in making her presents—kissed her hand & showed every mark of tenderness. I was just with Lady C. when Gen<sup>l</sup> H. came to fetch me to Mr Smelt's house saying the King was waiting to see me. I flew up stairs where I found the King & before I could speak he caught me in his arms & kissed me, which I own I did him on both sides of his face, telling him how happy I was & how I thanked God for this blessing of seeing him well, yet hardly knowing what I said so overcome was I with joy. He staid about  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour in which time he was exactly what I had ever seen him when in good spirits. He talked much of Windsor, said it was his only home, he knew no other—spoke of the great regret in quitting it. He looked very thin but was in excellent spirits, making his usual jokes & looked full of kindness & benevolence. Gen<sup>l</sup> H. removed from the Ks. mind a prejudice as to the Queen's leaving him at Windsor before he was removed to Kew by fully explaining the plan having been so arranged by the physician & the King declared himself highly pleased & satisfied. The King & Queen afterwards came together to see me. She was dreadfully reduced & shewed me her stays, which would wrap twice over."

More touching still is Lord Carmarthen's (the Duke of Leeds) account of his first meeting with the poor King. He remained with him three hours: "The moment the door was shut the King embraced me, put his cheek to mine, and, with tears in his eyes, thanked me for my affectionate behavior during his illness." He found him grown thin, his voice hoarse, but he appeared perfectly clear, and his conversation more connected and less hurried than it used to be. He was most grateful to all for the support he had received during his illness, and said it was no small comfort to him to reflect on the small number of those who had deserted him, and still more so as they were persons whose conduct he was not surprised at.

On the 23rd the father and his sons were to meet. The meeting was fixed for one o'clock, but the worthy pair did not arrive till half-past three. Though thus kept waiting for them, the King's mind





QUEEN CHARLOTTE.



had been fully prepared: there had been unfolded to him the intended regency, the very day it was to have passed; Willis, with great tact, impressing on him the providential interposition which had restored him at so critical a point. The result was that he was so moved to thankfulness and pious gratitude, that he expressed himself "ready to bear any reverse or anything vexatious he might have to know." Rather strange seems the dislike he now exhibited to Mr. Pitt, chiefly, it would appear, from an idea that it was owing to his interference that he had been confined at Kew. It was more likely to have been caused by the manner in which the minister had favored the Queen, and given over his authority to her.

Yet no one could have more chivalrously championed his master. The king said piteously to Willis that, "Had they crushed you, doctor, they would have crushed me—we must have fallen together." \* The Princes, too, filled with bitterness against the man who had crushed them, gave out that as soon as they had explained matters to the King, he would see Pitt's behavior in the worst light. At the interview that followed between the King and Mr. Pitt, full justice was done to the courageous minister who had twice rescued him from difficulties and dangers.

Advised no doubt by their friends, the Princes had thought of reconciling themselves to their father, for their position, both from debt and general discredit, had now become most critical. But the vindictive Queen jealously guarded her spouse; and the odious rôle which the sons had played was to be transferred to her. It would appear that she was determined to use the victory in the most uncompromising fashion; more particularly as there were still some strange symptoms in her recovered husband, which pointed at disturbance of the domestic peace.\*

Now began a series of painful family incidents. The Princes, having at last obtained an audience, were shown up to the Queen, while Colonel Digby went to inform the King. When he came to the door he had to stop from agitation, for the tears rushed to his eyes. After a pause, he said to Colonel Digby that the house of Brunswick had to make it a rule never to shed tears. Then, entering, he took both his sons in his arms with the greatest tenderness. "He said he always loved them and always should love them," shedding tears on their faces. And they, too, were affected. "The

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\* "Mrs. Harcourt's Diary," p. 12.

† See "Mrs. Harcourt's Diary," p. 28, for this unsuspected episode.



Prince protested that it was the happiest day of his life." "The King," writes Sir G. Elliot, "did not touch at all on anything like business, but talked to the Prince about horses, and to the Duke about his regiment. The Queen was present, walking to and fro in the room with a countenance and manner of great dissatisfaction; and the King, every now and then, spoke to her in a submissive and soothing sort of tone. . . . He made, however, one or two 'slips,' such as telling them he was the Chancellor."

They took leave in half-an-hour, and told Colonel Digby they were delighted that the King was better, though they noted that he had made an odd remark about his "playing piquet better than Mr. Charles Hawkins."

The poor monarch's own account of the transaction, dated February 23rd, was given to Mr. Pitt. "It is with infinite satisfaction," he wrote, "that I renew my correspondence with Mr. Pitt by acquainting him with my having seen the Prince of Wales and my second son. Care was taken that the conversation should be general and cordial. They seemed perfectly satisfied. I chose the meeting should be in the Queen's apartment, that all parties might have that caution which, at the present hour, could best be judicious." It will be seen, therefore, that the Princes were maligned when the Court party set it about that they were unfeeling, as it was the King who made the conversation general. In this unfortunate contest now about to commence, the blame must be shared between the parties; but the chief share attaches to the Queen, who set herself up as the head of a faction, and, it will be seen, conducted the struggle with a venom and bitterness that challenged hostility. The young Princes, without proper advisers, smarting under disappointment and their "wrongs," were only too ready to encounter her enmity with enmity as inflamed—so that here were furnished materials for family scandal of the most indecent kind.\* It shows how envenomed the Court party was when it spread abroad the report that "the Princes showed no emotion." The same authority declared that they were frequenting masquerades, "rioting, and drunk. The Duke of York plays much at tennis, and has a score with all the blacklegs, and in the public court tells them they shall all be paid as soon as his father can settle with him some of the Osnaburg money which he owes him. They amused

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\* "Mrs. Harcourt's Diary," p. 12; "Court and Cabinets," ii. 122; "Life of Sir G. Elliot," i. 274.

themselves yesterday evening with spreading about a report that the King was still out of his mind, and quoting phrases to which they gave that turn: Bless God, it is yet some time before these mature and ripened virtues will be visited upon us in the form of a government."

The Queen had despatched General Harcourt to Pitt with her account of the interview, pressing him to come the next day, assuring him of the most cordial reception. Pitt acknowledged the invitation, with some reserve and pride, expressing a hope that the zeal of his friends was not pressing him on the King. The truth seemed to be that the faithless Chancellor was again at work,\* and had seen the Prince, who had sent Adam to Fox only the day before to open some new scheme of alliance. This, however, Fox discouraged, saying that he had a horror of negotiations with Thurlow. Here is an amusing glimpse of the rough Chancellor at this time. He was convinced, he told Lord Carmarthen, they wanted to get rid of him, and complained of a want of confidence between members of the Cabinet. "Dundas was the most impudent fellow he ever knew; that he had proposed a dinner to the Chancellor at the house of the latter, with Pitt and Lord Grenville, where he (the Chancellor) was to give his opinion on the election of the sixteen Peers. The Chancellor told him he would very readily give him a dinner, but no opinion." †

In his daughters the King was blessed. Wrote one in delight at his restoration: "I cannot describe to you the joy every one showed whenever the King came. I can assure you it was almost too much. Everywhere they sang 'God save the King.' I was greatly entertained on the day we arrived at Lyndhurst to hear a poor man say 'I am so sorry we have no band for the King; it is so hard he has no music—he loves it so much!'"

Of the Princess Royal at this time Mrs. Harcourt thus speaks: After declaring that her disposition was such that she had not an enemy in the world, she goes on: "Her apprehension is quick. Her conduct in the difficult situation she has been placed in by being ever distinguished with marked affection by her Brothers, especially the Prince, has been uniformly creditable to her Judgment. She writes with an ease and fluency which renders her let-

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\* "The Chancellor is again getting about the Prince, persuading him that he is attached to him and that he hates Pitt; but he is the falsest and most treacherous character in the world."—Sir G. Elliot, i. 275.

† Leeds MS.

ters singularly entertaining. I have heard Miss Goldsworthy compare them to Mad. de Sevigné's. Her desire is ever to be a peace-maker—and if she can procure pleasure to others, it is the greatest delight she knows. Princess Augusta adores her parents; but tho' she is ever fulfilling her duty she is a less marked character, tho' I cannot exactly define why, than the P<sup>ss</sup>. Royal. Princess Eliz<sup>th</sup> again is quite different from her two Elder Sisters. She has great good humor, quick feelings, a great deal of genius, an Imagination full of fire, much resolution, much presence of mind, the same surprising Memory which runs through the family, very strong affections and friendship, high principles, and a manner which, from its superlative good humor, pleases every one. She has a turn for conversation and a peculiarity of Ideas, which is just entitled to be called wit. She writes as she speaks, often full of humorous conceits, and she has the power of defending and supporting her own opinions in presence of the Queen in a manner her Sisters cannot attempt. I ought rather to say a manner which the P<sup>ss</sup> Royal dares not, and the P<sup>ss</sup> Augusta does not wish to attempt. Of the Beauty of the 3 Princesses people think differently, though all agree that they have a considerable share. P<sup>ss</sup> Royal is the finest woman, P<sup>ss</sup> Augusta the prettiest, and P<sup>ss</sup> Eliz. the handsomest."

PRINCESS AUGUSTA TO MISS GOLDSWORTHY.

20th Feb.

"I have the pleasure, my dearest Gooly, of telling you we had the happiness of a Visit from my dear Papa. Last night he came up stairs at 7 and staid till  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 9. Thank God my dearest Goolly, for this Comfort. Thank God for his great mercy to us. I am so very happy that I really could hardly believe my eyes when I saw him: he was so composed, so kind, so exactly what you and all our real friends could wish. The Gentlemen below declared they never saw him better than when he quitted us, and he has had a Charming night of 7 hours sleep. Your most affect. my dearest Goolly

"AUGUSTA SOPHIA."

"The P<sup>ss</sup> Augusta and the D. of Y.," adds Mrs. Harcourt, "was now continually with the Q<sup>n</sup> endeavoring to regain her favor & trying to obtain it for the Prince. The Queen said there were parts of his conduct she could never forget, & instanced his setting Sheridan to answer her letters. The King had related this to Mr. Digby &



said tears were shed on both sides. But the King looked to amendment of conduct not declarations.

“P<sup>ss</sup> Royal told me the P. of Wales had won money of the D. of Bedford at Newmarket & upon the Course as they were riding about he called out to the Duke, You know it don’t signify what you lose to me as your Brother-in-law, on which the D. of Orleans said, *Qu’est que c’est que ça que vous lui dites là? Je l’appelle* (said the Prince) *mon beau-frère.*—*Qu’est que ça veut dire; est-ce que la Fitzherbert a une Sœur?*—Non, non (said the Prince), *il est l’amant de ma Sœur aîné, il en est folle.*

“Dr. Willis had now prepared the King’s mind. He said he had told the K. of the intended Regency & what day it was to have finally passed. That he was struck as he ought with the mercy of God, who had restored him at so critical a juncture, & that he expressed unfeigned Gratitude to the Divine author of all Good. Said he felt so impressed with it, & with such perfect resignation to the will of him who had afflicted him, that he could bear any reverse or anything vexatious he might have to know, as under such circumstances he ought to bear it.

“He told his Majesty the great part Mr Pitt had acted & his obligations to him. The King told Mr Smelt afterwards he would rather have been obliged to the Nation and next to the Nation to his Fred<sup>k</sup> than to any Individual, but he seemed on the whole reconciled to Mr Pitt, anxious to see him & likely to receive him kindly.”

Yet Dr. Willis was much dissatisfied with the remuneration offered to him for his great services. He complained of coldness on the part of the King. “He only now learnt that he was to be rewarded with £1000 a-year for 20 years—£500 a-year for the life of Dr John. Tom Willis was to have his Expences p<sup>d</sup> & to be provided for in the Church. Dr W. allowance was to be from the King’s purse not from Parl<sup>t</sup>.” The other physicians had their expenses paid as follows:

Dr. Geo. Baker.....	£13,000
Dr. Warren.....	1,000
Reynolds.....	900
Pepys & Gisburne.....	700

Dr. John Willis, when eighty years of age, and some forty or fifty years after the transaction, was still complaining (to Mr. Julian Young) of Mr. Pitt’s having broken his promises.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

1789.

ON February 26th the King again saw his favorite son, "his Frederick," to whom he would rather be obliged, he said to Mr. Pitt, than to any one, and received from him the keys of his papers, jewels, etc. The King received them with many expressions of delight, which the young prince told and reported as evidence of his insane state.\*

His pitiless German mother was determined not to let father and sons be reconciled. Almost at the first opportunity the Prince had given her a number of papers to be laid before the King, which included his correspondence with Pitt, and an explanation of his own behavior. On the 5th of March, having received no answer, he wrote to know if she had delivered his documents, and pressed for an interview with his father. "The Queen sent him some excuse," writes Sir Gilbert Elliot, "for not answering that day (not choosing, in fact, to give an answer till she could see the Chancellor next morning); accordingly, yesterday the Prince received her answer, that she had mentioned the matter to the King, but that he had not asked to see him. The request for an interview she did not notice. The Duke of York seems to have been always admitted, amusing himself by describing his father's conversation, saying it was made up of childish remarks, or rational, with occasional instances of singularity."

On one occasion, however (March 4th), when the Duke tried to obtain admittance, he was met by Dr. Willis, who declared that it was improper that he should see the King. On which the young prince lost his temper, and threatened to knock him down if he dared to oppose him. "Dr. Willis then besought permission to

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\* He kissed them, and said: "My dear key! my favorite key!" which even Sir G. Elliot, carried away by the distortion of party, declared "was perfectly unlike sound reason in anybody." The Duke had, of course, given this account at the headquarters of the Opposition.

apprise the Queen of the visit. To this the Duke consented, stipulating that the doctor should not be present at the interview, which his royal highness declared should take place. The Queen then hastened to the King's apartment, and the Duke was admitted. His royal highness did not depart with favorable impressions of the King's state; he scrupled not to declare that he thought his Majesty very deficient in mental powers, and that he believed something like fatuity had succeeded to irritation. On Thursday, the 12th, the Duke of York visited his Majesty, whom he found carefully examining a great number of spectacles, and selecting with peculiar care some which he said were for his dear Eliza. To change the conversation, the Duke informed his Majesty that he had three desertions from his regiment. The King, impatient of the interruption, broke out into violent abuse of the Duke and his regiment, and became so perturbed that the Queen was obliged to command the attendance of Dr. Willis. On his appearance, the storm instantly subsided; his Majesty became quite composed: he talked of an intention to visit Germany; told the Duke that he should send over a curricule and six small grays, and drive the Queen and himself through that country."

On March 7th, a letter was written and sent to the Prince from the Queen enclosing one from the King to her, in which he virtually declined to see his sons, on the ground of avoiding all business and agitation. How wrong the Queen was all through this transaction may be fairly gathered from her behavior later on, when her son was engaged in his quarrel with Colonel Lenox.

On which the Prince of Wales addressed the following letter to the Queen, the draft of which is corrected and the date annexed in the handwriting of Mr. Fox:

THE PRINCE OF WALES TO THE QUEEN.

" Carlton House, March 9th, 1789.

"MADAM,

"The contents of your Majesty's note were really of too much importance, and of too painful a nature, for me to return an immediate answer. I have shown them to my brother, whose sentiments agree entirely with mine, and who feels as I do the distressing alternative that is offered us, of leaving our conduct unexplained to the King, or of obtruding upon him a discussion which may have the effect of agitating him too much. In this



situation, however, we do not hesitate to sacrifice everything to our tenderness for his Majesty, and do not desire he should be further troubled upon our account at present. We have too lively an impression of what they have to answer for, who have brought or suffered others to bring business before the King at a time when all agitation is improper, to be guilty of anything liable to a similar construction. But I trust we shall be permitted to represent to your Majesty a few facts and circumstances relative to the peculiarity of our situation, with the truth of which you are perfectly well acquainted. I conceived myself to have a promise from your Majesty that the papers which I had sent you should be given the King at the first moment of his being in a proper state to attend to business. Relying upon this promise, I thought myself authorized to disbelieve all the reports which the Ministers had so industriously circulated, of their having laid business before his Majesty, and explained to him what had passed during his illness. But when the Chancellor and Mr. Pitt made their respective declarations in the two Houses of Parliament last Thursday, I could not but suppose there had been some truth in what I had before treated as idle rumor, and wrote to your Majesty in consequence.

“Feeling as my brother and I do for the King’s quiet and repose, we consider the answer sent to us as a prohibition with respect to any present explanation of our conduct; and thus, instead of having the preference to which we had so just a claim, and which we were induced to expect, we dare not even attempt to counteract the impressions which our enemies, who have daily access to the King, may have given of the part we took in the late important occurrences. Your Majesty must surely be of opinion that this state of things is neither decent nor just, and that whoever is responsible for what passed at Kew since the King’s convalescence, has much indeed to answer for. I forbear to say anything more upon this painful subject, nor should I have said so much, if I had not thought that I owed to my brother and myself to make your Majesty this true representation of these peculiar hardships of our situation. I am,” etc.

The draft of another note, says Lord Russell, in the handwriting of the Prince himself, without date, but manifestly written on this occasion, deserves insertion, because it shows what were his spontaneous feelings and surmises on this extraordinary refusal of a father to listen to the vindication of his children.

## THE PRINCE OF WALES TO THE QUEEN.

“MADAM,

“The contents of your Majesty’s note were really of too much consequence and of too painful a nature for me to return an immediate answer, before I had first seen my brother, and consulted with him whether he saw in the same point of view and with the same regret what appeared to me a prohibition on y<sup>t</sup> just claim we both conceived we had on the paternal goodness and affection of his Majesty, and w<sup>h</sup>, we are confident, w<sup>d</sup> have induced his Majesty to have furnished us with the earliest opportunity of informing him of what had passed, and of explaining and justifying our own conduct, if the interested advice of some persons desirous of sowing dissension between our father and ourselves, and of concealing the truth from him, had not interfered. Under this impression, we have taken the liberty of writing to his Majesty; and we wait the result of our letter with y<sup>e</sup> most anxious impatience, still confiding y<sup>t</sup>, with y<sup>e</sup> assistance of your Majesty’s gracious and affectionate endeavors, we may be favored with the opportunity of communication with him, w<sup>h</sup>, tho’ denied to us, has been granted to others, who neither by affection, duty, or blood are attached to his Majesty as we are. With the most respectful submission, I have y<sup>e</sup> honor to subscribe myself, Madam,

“Your Majesty’s,” etc.\*

On March 10th, the Houses met to address his Majesty. The King was still represented by the commission; so that even here there was an embarrassment. How was the King’s recovery to be officially known? From what point did it date? Who was entitled to say he was recovered? There was talk of an examination by the physicians; but all were eager not to raise difficulties. But even here the family rancor intruded; and Lord Radnor heard that the Duke of York had positively determined to have made a motion, the day previous to the address, tending to show that the King was still in a state of insanity; but, having felt his ground, he dropped the thought.† This scarcely seems credible.

In the Lower House, Fox, on the address being moved, proposed another to the Prince, who, he said, was also entitled to congratu-

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\* “Correspondence of Charles James Fox,” v. 305.

† Auckland, “Correspondence,” ii. 306.

lation on the manner in which he had behaved during the crisis; but this was put aside.

Then followed jubilations and festivities. As the King returned to Kew from Windsor, he was greeted, Mrs. Harcourt says, with bursts of joy. At night the City was illuminated. The King of France ordered his ambassador to give a fête. "But those about the Court were very uneasy at the King's hurried manner, and the captious temper which he betrayed, evidently produced by the unusual bustle and the premature intercourse with the public." He was full of all kinds of plans for travelling, building, etc.

About the 17th, Lord Chesterfield waited on the Queen with an invitation from the gentlemen of White's Club, which proposed giving the royal family a ball, in honor of the King's recovery. The Court itself proposed some festivities, and it will now be seen what rancor was imported into these gayeties, and how the narrow vindictiveness of a German court was suffered to direct all the proceedings that followed—which offers, perhaps, the best excuse for the behavior of the Prince.

The illuminations were of the most spontaneous kind, and extended even into the suburban districts. The whole country seemed ablaze with lights. The reckless Princes, whose good-humor and love of enjoyment never flagged, took what pleasure they could out of the festival.

"On the day of the illumination the Princes dined with the Irish deputies at Lord Hertford's," writes Sir G. Elliot. "The Prince and the Duke of York went away together in the Prince's coach, and were going to the opera. In some of the narrow streets the coach was stopped by other carriages, and the mob soon knew the Princes. They called, 'God save the King!' while the Prince, letting down his glasses, joined them in calling very heartily, and hallooed, 'Long live the King,' and so forth with the mob. But one man called out to him to cry, 'Pitt forever! or God bless Pitt!' The Prince said he would not; but called out, 'Fox forever, and God bless Fox!' The man and, I believe, some others began to insist on his saying, 'Pitt forever;' and I believe he said, 'Damn Pitt—Fox forever!' on which a man pulled the coach-door open, and the Prince endeavored to jump out amongst them in order to defend himself; but the Duke of York kept him back with one arm, and with the other struck the man on the head, and called to the coachman to drive on, which he did at a great pace, the coach-door flapping about as they went; and so they got to the opera. From the opera the Prince, accompanied



by some of his friends, among whom was Tom Pelham, would walk to Carlton House; and from thence he chose also to walk abroad the streets to see the illuminations. But they persuaded him first to call at Brookes'. They accordingly made their way on foot through the crowd along Pall Mall. He was soon known, but not insulted; and several people called, 'God bless your Highness!' which he was much pleased with. They also called, 'Long live the King!' which he always joined in as loud as any of them. At St. James' he fell in with a gang of butchers, with marrow-bones and cleavers, who knew him, and began immediately to play before him; and he found it impossible to get rid of them. They accordingly cleared the way for him, playing and shouting all the way up St. James' Street. When they came to Brookes', they gave him three cheers; and the Prince in return hallooed out, 'Long live the King!' and gave them three cheers himself. He then sent them ten guineas to drink. He heard at the same time that Lord Charlemont and another Irish deputy were on the other side of the street, and could not get across; on which he gave to the chairmen nine guineas to help them across. From Brookes' Pelham persuaded him to order his coach and go home, which he did."

This spirit was admired, and there was wonder expressed that he had not the good luck to be exceedingly popular. Still striving to obtain access to his father, he found himself frustrated by his mother, with whom he had an angry altercation on the subject. "The Prince of Wales," says Sir G. Elliot, "has had a smart tussle with the Queen, in which they came to strong and open declarations of hostility. He told her that she had connected herself with his enemies, and had entered into plans for destroying and disgracing him and all her children, and that she countenanced misrepresentations of his conduct to the King, and prevented the explanations he wished to give. She was violent and lost her temper; and the conversation ended, I believe, by her saying that she would not be the channel of anything that either he or the Duke of York had to say to the King, and that the King did not mind what either he or the Duke of York either did or said or thought."

The enthusiasm was setting fast in favor of the recovered monarch.

"I have never seen a greater crowd at the Court, so great that I was never within a room of the Queen. All the women, with only two or three exceptions, had caps with 'God save the King!' on them—our ladies as well as the others. All of us went to court.

“The King is in London to-day—I believe for the first time since his illness. He persists in going to St. Paul’s, although every means have been tried to dissuade him.”\*

“Inflamed by these exciting scenes the Queen carried her hostility still further. It was proposed to give a concert and entertainment at Windsor, on April 2nd, in return for the sympathy that had been displayed. To this the Princes received no invitation; and it almost seemed that the injudicious Queen had determined to exclude them. She sent for the Duke of York, and delivered to him a message from the King. ‘I am commissioned by the King to acquaint the Prince of Wales and you that there is to be a concert here on Thursday next, to which you will be very welcome, if you like to come; but it is right to tell you that it is given to those who have supported us through the late business, and therefore you may possibly not choose to be present.’† The Duke of York tried to laugh the thing off, and said, ‘Then it is given to the whole nation, for all parties have supported the King according to their different opinions of his interests.’‡ But the Queen would not let him off so, and said, ‘No, no; I don’t choose to be misunderstood. I mean expressly that we have asked the ministers, and those persons, in short, who have voted in Parliament for the King and me.’

“The Duke of York was amazingly angry, as you may suppose, and said that he did not understand the sort of distinction attempted to be made; that his brother and himself did not yield to any person in the kingdom for loyalty and affection for the King; and since this sort of distinction was to be made, he should certainly not come to the concert. He added, however, that he should inform the Prince of Wales, who would act as he chose. The Prince of Wales and the Duke of York were both in a violent rage on this attack of the Queen, which charged them in plain words with being enemies to the King; and they were for sending strong letters or papers of remonstrance and justification to the King and to the Queen. The Duke of York came to Burke about it, who went to Carlton House, and was very much of the Prince’s mind for strong measures, and for an open and explicit explanation. But he advised the Prince to

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\* Sir G. Elliot, v. 288.

† Textual, for her son wrote her words down.

‡ Even the maids of honor, excepting Miss Brudenell, who had shown her loyalty, were punished, and told they would not be invited.—Auckland, “Correspondence.”

consult his friends first. It was accordingly agreed to assemble some of his friends the next morning, and I was sent for with the rest. The Duke of Portland, to whom Burke went overnight, was very much against any strong measures. I thought it more important to keep the King's house open to the Princes, and to avoid any rupture which might furnish an opportunity for excluding them, than to make their justification at present. It was agreed to support this opinion. It turned out, on the testimony of Colonel Goldsworthy, who was by when the King spoke on the matter to the Queen, that the good monarch said that, 'As a matter of course, his sons were to be considered as invited to everything.' So that the rest was an addition of the Queen's."

After many councils a letter of a rather conciliatory character was accordingly written by the Duke of York, as follows:

"MADAM,

"Having delivered, according to your Majesty's orders, your message to my brother, I lose no time in acquainting your Majesty, that, anxious as we are [and we trust have ever shown ourselves, both in our public and private conduct] to seize every opportunity of testifying our warmest and most dutiful affection and attention to his Majesty, we beg your Majesty to believe that we cannot allow any circumstance whatever to debar us from the happiness of paying our duty to the King [when he is so good as to permit it], and that we shall have the highest pleasure in attending his Majesty at the concert on Thursday."\*

The King, however, according to Mrs. Harcourt, had desired to see the list of divisions in the House of Commons, in order to exclude those who had deserted him in his affliction.† The Opposition declared that he was watched "like a prisoner, and never out of sight of one or other of the head keepers."

The fête was a grand demonstration. It was given in St. George's Hall, and attended by all the first people in the kingdom. The ladies all wore "garter blue," a party color. The Prince and the Duke of York, it was noticed, hardly spoke a word to any of the royal family; the Princess Royal declaring "that he had never been kind to her, but she did not care for that, so long as he was respectful to her parents."‡ The King was remarkably attentive and kind

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\* The sentences in brackets were added by Sir Gilbert Elliot.

† "Diary," p. 23.

‡ Ibid. p. 15.



to the Princes; the Queen quite the contrary, and, it is said, appeared sour and glum at the King's behavior to them. Before the place at which the Chancellor sat at supper there was some device in which his arms were introduced, with a motto alluding to the support given by him to the King. Before Pitt there was a Fame supporting Pitt's arms and the number 268, the first majority in the House of Commons, written in sugar-plums or sweetmeats. At the concert the music had most of it some allusion to politics. "All this is quite new at Court, and most excessively indecent, as the King is always expected to be of no party, and it is an unconstitutional thing that he should even express openly either favor or disfavor on account of any vote in Parliament. But it smells very strongly of the petticoat, or rather of breeches under petticoats." \* At this party there was high play, and Payne won £1000 at faro. This game was now in high fashion, and four ladies, namely, Lady Archer, Lady Elizabeth Luttrell, Mrs. Strutt, and Mrs. Hobart, kept banks at their houses, which was found to be a most profitable venture.

But the ball given by White's Club at the Pantheon was to offer yet another display of these animosities. The Prince, it was stated, sent round to his friends to desire that they would not attend it, though a number of tickets were sent to him and his brother. These the royal pair contemptuously sent to "Hookham's Library" to be sold to any one that would buy them! To meet this the stewards required that the recipient's name should be written on the tickets. They were then sold with the Duke's name attached. At this fête there were the most extravagant demonstrations of loyalty, the whole company singing "God save the Queen!" Dr. Willis was the observed of all, and literally "mobbed." He supped beside Mr. Pitt and the Duchess of Gordon, and seemed "all but mad and out of himself with transport." And now Brookes's Club followed, rather *malgré*, it may be assumed, with another fête on the 21st, and the Court ladies gave out that they would not attend it, as a rebuke to the Opposition ladies for abstaining from White's. The 23d of April, the day of the ceremonial of the King's going to St. Paul's to return thanks for his recovery, was not allowed to pass without angry feelings. It was really an affecting display from the delight and loyalty of the crowds, the genuine gratitude of the royal family, the sobbing Princesses, the composure of the so lately afflicted patient.

But our Princes, who were obliged to form part of the show,

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\* Sir G. Elliot, ii. 300.

according to an ardent courtier, Lord Bulkeley, "behaved in such an indecent manner as was quite shocking." It does not appear that they did more than "talk to each other during the whole time of the service"—an irreverence they probably displayed on other pious occasions. On the road to and from the Cathedral the demonstration naturally took the shape of rival demonstrations, and it was noted that near Carlton House the King was coldly received, and the Prince warmly; but in the City there was the loudest acclamations for the King, which was said to have put the Prince out of temper. On the return of the procession, when the guards were drawn up before the palace to salute the King and his family, who were at the windows, with a *feu de joie*, it was declared that the Prince had gone off at the head of a mob, his cook, Weltjie, leading the applause, with the hope of drawing away attention from the King.\* The truth was the Prince had hurried home to get on his uniform, and, taking the command of his regiment, proceeded to meet his father and escort him home. At the door he led him in with what was considered by some observers the most affectionate manner. Through all this every one must acquit the poor harassed King, whose condition required the most delicate soothing. The policy of an affectionate wife would surely have been to let the past and all that was connected with it be forgotten; but family quarrels, etc., were terribly agitating for a person in the King's condition. When, early in June, the Duke of York congratulated him on his good looks, and said every one was struck by them, he replied in private: "What does that signify when I feel myself that I am very ill?" He complained of weakness, and that riding agitated him so much that he was obliged to give it up. To his sons he was one day harsh, the next tender and affectionate. The conclusion was that he was kept in subjection by the Queen, and forced to behave in this fashion—indemnifying himself by exhibiting his affection to them.

It is not difficult to suggest a reason for this behavior; at least, it was not unnatural that the Opposition faction should do so. It seemed probable that the King would relapse, and that she would use the first opportunity for seizing either the regency or as much power as she could. For the mistakes that had been made during the last crisis in not securing greater power was now evident to her; or, if he continued in his present nervous condition, she might at least secure the chief direction. In either of these courses there was rather a selfish disregard of the interest of the hapless patient.

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\* "Court and Cabinets," ii. 153.

## CHAPTER XIX.

1789.

BUT all this bad feeling was now to culminate in the scandalous duel fought between two members of the respective factions: one, no other than the Duke of York, representing the Prince's side; the other, Colonel Lenox, the Champion of the Court. Sir Gilbert Elliot gives the fullest and most accurate account of this strange transaction.

“Mr. Lenox (he writes on May 30) had been amusing himself all this winter with abusing and insulting the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York in the most scurrilous and blackguard way, both behind their backs and sometimes to their faces. It was the more blackguard in Lenox as he lived a good deal with both the Princes, and was, indeed, for some time, hardly ever out of the Duke of York's house, whom he bored extremely. Lenox, you know, was graciously forced into the Duke of York's regiment, against the rules, or at least common practice, of the army, over all the officers' heads, and without so much as an intimation to the Duke, who was the colonel. This made a great noise in the army, and particularly in the Guards, and most particularly in the Coldstream regiment, which is the Duke of York's. The Duke remonstrated, and took the natural steps for a colonel in such a situation, but without effect, and always without any personal reflections on Lenox, but, on the contrary, with great personal civility towards him. When Lenox was fairly in possession, the Duke of York said to him that though he certainly disapproved of the measure by which he had come into the regiment as prejudicial to the service and offensive to himself as colonel, and had done what he thought his duty in opposing it, that yet he was very glad the thing had happened in the case of Mr. Lenox, whom, considering the thing merely in a personal view, he was very happy to have in his regiment. To this gentlemanlike and conciliatory speech Mr. Lenox answered that it was the King's pleasure he should be there, and that was enough for him. I men-



tion this to show the sort of man. Some time after this, Lenox was abusing the Princes and talking offensive language about them and their friends in the presence of the Duke of York at D'Aubigné's Club, when St. Leger said that it was very odd he always chose to say these things to persons who could not resent them. Why don't you say them to some of us who can answer you? This was the substance. I don't know the terms or the strength of the language in which St. Leger expressed himself. To this Lenox made no answer, and took no notice of it. The Duke of York, it seems, said afterward to somebody (I don't know who or on what occasion) that Lenox had submitted to language which a gentleman ought not to bear. Lenox, hearing of this, went to the Duke of York on the parade and asked him whether he had not said so, desiring an explanation. The Duke of York acknowledged having said so, but said that was not a proper place for explanation on such a subject. After the parade he went to the orderly-room, and there Lenox renewed the subject in the presence of the officers of the regiment, requiring the Duke of York to inform him what the words were to which he alluded, and who had spoken them. The Duke of York refused to tell him either, because it would be pointing out a quarrel to him, and said there was no occasion for it, as the words were spoken to Mr. Lenox himself, and he must therefore be as well acquainted with them as anybody. Lenox said this laid him under a great hardship, as he was not conscious of any language having been used which he ought to resent, and as the Duke of York refused to inform him of the person who had used it; adding that the Duke of York was his colonel and the King's son, which placed them on an unequal footing, and made it impossible for him to have satisfaction, as he might in another case. The Duke desired that he would waive those circumstances, and consider him on this occasion exactly as he would any other gentleman. This Lenox declared he could not do, and so they parted. The next thing Lenox did was to write a circular letter, dated May 18th, to all the members of the Club, desiring them to inform him if they had heard any language which he ought to resent.

“ ‘SIR,

“ ‘A report having been spread that the Duke of York had said, “Some words had been made use of to me, in a political conversation, that no gentleman ought to submit to,” I, on the first opportunity, spoke to his royal highness before the officers of the

Coldstream regiment, to which I have the honor to belong: his answer was, "That he heard them said to me at D'Aubigné's"; but he positively refused to tell me the expression, or the person who had used it. In this situation, being perfectly ignorant what his royal highness can allude to, and not being aware that any such an expression ever passed, I cannot find any better mode of clearing up this matter, than by writing a letter to every member of D'Aubigné's Club, desiring each of them to let me know if he can recollect any expression to have been used in his presence, which could bear the construction put upon it by his royal highness, and, in such case, by whom the expression was used. If any such expression should occur to your memory (as you must be conscious of the disagreeable situation in which I am placed), I trust and hope you will take the earliest opportunity of stating it to me. If no such expression occurs to your memory, I would not give you the trouble of an answer, which I should else hope to receive before this day se'nnight.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble Servant,

"C. LENOX."

"You will see it in the papers. He received no satisfaction from this measure. As he had heard it himself, nobody thought themselves bound to tell him what he ought to resent. Some of the answers were in a taunting and insulting style. St. Leger's was in substance that he kept no account of club conversation, but that if he had said anything to Mr. Lenox which he wished for satisfaction for, he was ready at all times to give it him.

"Colonel Lenox not having received any satisfactory answer to his requisition, sent a written message to the Duke, to this purport: 'That not being able to recollect any occasion on which words had been spoken to him at D'Aubigné's, to which a gentleman ought not to submit, he had taken the step which appeared to him most likely to gain information of the words to which his royal highness had alluded, and of the persons who had used them; that none of the members of the Club had given him information of any such insult being in their knowledge, and therefore he expected, in justice to his character, that his royal highness should contradict the report as publicly as he had asserted it.'

"After receiving these unsatisfactory answers, Lenox sent a challenge to the Duke of York by Lord Winchelsea; and you saw the result in the papers. The Duke of York had a very narrow

escape; and Mr. Lenox had so much an intention to kill him, that Lord Winchelsea's carriage, with post-horses, trunks, and imperials, was in waiting at hand during the duel."

The Duke (says another account), who was then residing at Carlton House, took the utmost care to keep the matter a secret from his brother the Prince of Wales, and the only person he consulted upon it was Lord Rawdon, who, painful and delicate as the commission was, could not, in point of honor, refuse to accept the dangerous office of second to his royal highness. The same caution was observed on the following morning, which was the 26th of May, when the Duke, to prevent inquiry, left his own hat at Carlton House, and took one belonging to a domestic. The two seconds issued the following statement, which contains the official account of the duel:

"In consequence of a dispute already known to the public, his Royal Highness the Duke of York, attended by Lord Rawdon, and Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox, accompanied by the Earl of Winchelsea, met at Wimbledon Common. The ground was measured at twelve paces, and both parties were to fire at a signal agreed upon. The signal being given, Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox fired, and the ball grazed his royal highness's curl. The Duke of York did not fire. Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox observed that his royal highness had not fired: Lord Rawdon said it was not the Duke's intention to fire; his royal highness had come out upon Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox's desire, to give him satisfaction, and had no animosity against him. Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox pressed that the Duke of York should fire, which was declined, upon a repetition of the reason. Lord Winchelsea then went up to the Duke of York, and expressed his hope that his royal highness would have no objection to say he considered Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox as a man of honor and courage. His royal highness replied that he should say nothing; he had come out to give Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox satisfaction, and did not mean to fire at him: if Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox was not satisfied, he might fire again. Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox said he could not possibly fire again at the Duke, as his royal highness did not mean to fire at him. On this both parties left the ground. The seconds think it proper to add that both parties behaved with the most perfect coolness and intrepidity.

"RAWDON.

"WINCHELSEA."



Two letters were sent off express to town, one to the Prince of Wales, and the other to the Duke of Cumberland, giving them an account of the proceedings. At the instant of his brother's return, the Prince set out for Windsor, lest rumor should have given his parents an incorrect and exaggerated narrative of the business.

"Jack Payne," Sir Gilbert Elliot resumes, "told me yesterday of the manner in which the business was received by the King and Queen. Observe, in the first place, that the second who carried the challenge, and went out with Lenox, is a Lord of the King's Bed-chamber, son of Lady Charlotte Finch, who is in the Queen's family. While the duel was going on, the Prince of Wales was walking about in the yard at Carlton House, in great agitation. The Duke of York brought the account himself, and only said, 'Brother, it is all over, and all is quite well; but I have no time to tell you particulars, for I must go to the tennis-court.' On which the Prince wished the tennis-court at the bottom of the sea, and made the Duke of York relate what had passed."

Though the Duke of York's conduct may appear to have been ungenerous in his refusal of explanations before and at the meeting, it must be considered that he was resenting the abuse of himself and his brother, which the Court champion indulged in. To those of the present generation this episode will seem amazing. Everything connected with it shows that it was owing to the enmity of the factions. It would hardly be supposed that this fury would have been directed against a young Prince of the Blood, and that a subject would have deliberately sought to take the life of one in so high a station. That Colonel Lenox was deliberately "set on" by the Court faction, as it was stated by the Opposition, is incredible; yet, from the subsequent adoption of the aggressor by the Court, it would almost seem to be true. Such was their passion that the Court at once took up his cause against the Prince. The Duke, it was admitted, behaved, according to the code of duelling, with much spirit and courage; and it was clearly believed he was acting as the champion of his brother's cause. Can it be wondered at that it was believed that the Court looked with favor on this attempt to take the life of the Duke, when we read of the extraordinary behavior of the Queen?

Once more the lively Sir Gilbert shall recount what gossip he picked up on the subject:

"As soon as the Prince of Wales had learnt the particulars, he set off for Kew with the Duke of Clarence, and sent up a message

to the King by Colonel Goldsworthy, that he wished to speak to the King immediately for five minutes, and that he wished the King to be alone. Colonel Goldsworthy delivered the message to the King, who said: 'Very well, very well; but I want just to go up to the Queen first.' The Prince was accordingly admitted to the King, Queen, and Princesses. He said he had something particular to say, and wished that the Princesses might not be present. They retired, and he then related to the King and Queen the previous circumstances which led to the duel, and turned about to the Queen and said, 'Madam, you know I acquainted you with these circumstances a week ago' (which he had done in the view of having the thing stopped by authority). The King said, 'Ay, indeed! I never heard a word of it before.' The Prince then related what had passed in the duel, and when he mentioned the circumstance of the ball having passed through the curls, the King gave a shudder and made a little noise expressive of terror, which was the only mark of sensibility on the occasion which he ventured to show. The Queen heard it all with perfect composure, and without the slightest expression of feeling or agitation. She stood looking out at window; and when the Prince had told the story, the way in which she expressed her tenderness on the occasion was to say immediately that she understood it was all the Duke of York's own fault, and that, according to her account of the matter, he had showed more anxiety to fight Mr. Lenox than Mr. Lenox had to fight him. The Prince of Wales on this answered that she must have been very much misinformed, and that if she considered the circumstances, he was sure she must allow her account was extremely improbable, because if a man was very desirous of fighting another, it was not likely that he should refrain voluntarily from firing at him, and that nobody was very anxious to go out merely for the pleasure of being fired at himself.

"This interview ended without anything being said by the King or Queen, either of approbation of his conduct or joy at his safety, or any other expression of feeling, or any notice of the Duke of York at all. The Duke of Clarence was not admitted. The day before yesterday the Duke of York went himself to the King and Queen. He saw the King first alone, who was excessively affected and showed the strongest marks of agitation and tenderness for him on this occasion; but what is remarkable is, that the door being ajar, and the Queen in the next room, the King stole gently to the door and shut it to, that he might not be seen or overheard in these

expressions of natural affection. When the Queen came in she took no notice at all of the transaction, good or bad."

Later he had the whole description of the scene from the Prince of Wales himself.

" June 2, 1789.

"The account I had from Jack Payne, which I sent you, is pretty right. She has never yet said once that she was glad the Duke of York was not killed; not once so much as that. When the Duke of York went to the King the first time after the duel, I told you of the King having behaved with great feeling and affection. The Queen, on the contrary, did not say one word to him on the subject; and the first and only thing she said was, 'Did you think Boodle's ball full last night?' At the French ambassador's ball she not only received Mr. Lenox very graciously, but afterwards, when there was no occasion for it, kissed her fan to him half the length of the room two or three times, taking pains to mark her favor as conspicuously as she could."

On May the 31st, when the Duke and Lady Charlotte Finch were with her, she did nothing but inquire about Lord Winchelsea, and how he was and what he was doing, affecting to a particular interest in him, which, considering he had been second to Colonel Lenox, was scarcely an agreeable topic for her son. What inflamed this rage was the fact that the Duke of Richmond, Colonel Lenox's father, had deserted the Opposition during the Regency debates. The son of Colonel Lenox, who still lives, relates that the Prince made a sneering remark to the effect that "the Lenoxes don't fight,"\* which was of course repeated. These bitter lines are found in the *Rolliad*:

When thy rash arm designed her favorite dead,  
The Christian triumphed and the mother fled.  
No rage indignant shook her pious frame,  
No partial doting swayed the saintlike dame;  
But spurned and scorned where honor's sons resort,  
Her friendship soothed thee in thy mother's court.

That this account of the mother's behavior was no partial one will be seen from the passages in the letter to the King, in which her eldest son bitterly complains of her conduct.† A more extraordi-

\* "Reminiscences," i. 7.

† Mrs. Harcourt, who was *à secretis* at the Court, well expresses the view



nary indictment of a queen by her son, and addressed to his father, could not be produced.

“The very extraordinary and, I believe, unparalleled event which has lately taken place between my brother, the Duke of York, and a private gentleman, an officer in his regiment, and a person nearly connected with one of your Majesty’s Cabinet ministers, furnishes me, unfortunately, with too much matter on this subject. I do not wish to trouble your Majesty with a particular examination of all the circumstances which conducted my brother into that transaction, in which, however, I am persuaded your Majesty will be happy, on consideration, to find that the Duke of York has distinguished himself as eminently for sound judgment and an honorable character, as for the spirit and personal courage which belongs to your Majesty’s blood. It is not the event itself, but some collateral circumstances attending it, which I would advert to.

“Whatever the nature of Mr. Lenox’s complaint was, it must be allowed that a challenge from an officer to his colonel is an unusual transaction, and one which is extremely opposite to the general notions of discipline and subordination in the army. It must be allowed that a challenge from a private man, one of your Majesty’s subjects, to a Prince of the Blood, and especially to one so nearly allied to the throne, is still more unusual; and if drawn into a practice, must be deemed productive of very important consequences to the tranquillity of the nation, and the security of the succession. The circumstance to which I would draw your Majesty’s attention is, that Mr. Lenox was publicly countenanced by your Majesty’s minister the very day on which the event took place; was received the next day in a very public assembly, and on many other occasions since, with every mark of graciousness and favor by the Queen; and is not yet known to have received any signification of your Majesty’s displeasure. I must also entreat your Majesty’s attention to another most remarkable circumstance: the challenge was delivered to your son; and his antagonist was attended to the field by a Lord of your Majesty’s Bedchamber—one who is not merely a political servant, but belongs to your Majesty’s family, and is immediately attending upon your person. His mother is in the family of the Queen; and he and his family have dwelt almost the whole of their

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taken of the duel there when she says “it was owing to the cruel insult offered to Colonel Lenox. The Duke of York’s whole conduct greatly lowered him among his friends.”—“Diary,” p. 26.

lives at your Court, in your Palace, and enjoying eminently your Majesty's and the Queen's constant favor and bounty.

"Thus circumstanced, Lord Winchelsea did not think it incumbent on him to resign his situation in your Majesty's family. Lord Winchelsea has not been dismissed from your Majesty's service, nor has he received any reprimand or other expressions of your Majesty's disapprobation, but still approaches your Majesty's person, and to the world must undoubtedly appear to enjoy at Court the same grace and favor as before this extraordinary transaction. I hope your Majesty will not believe me capable of insinuating that these or any other circumstances can ever convey to my mind the most remote suspicion that to attempt the life of the Duke of York, or to be voluntarily accessory in putting it in danger, or even to be forward in espousing the quarrels of his enemies, are things not displeasing to your Majesty, much less a road to favor. I do most solemnly protest that neither I nor any of my brothers have ever for a moment harbored a thought so undutiful, so monstrous, and, we know, so false and injurious to your Majesty. We are, on the contrary, firmly convinced, and it has been often our only consolation in the midst of our afflictions, of your Majesty's tender, affectionate, and indulgent love for us and all your children. We do assure your Majesty that this is our frequent theme, and that our hearts overflow with gratitude and duty whenever we reflect on your Majesty's kind and paternal disposition, which, we acknowledge with joy, was never manifested more signally than in the kindness with which we were happy enough to be received by your Majesty, when we were restored to your Majesty's presence on the joyful occasion of your late recovery. On the other hand we humbly and earnestly entreat your Majesty on our parts, not to believe those who tell you that we do not love you. Whoever they may be, they are your enemies as well as ours. But it is in proportion to our own affection for your Majesty, to our own confidence in your love, and to the value which we set upon it, that we may contemplate with pain and anxiety every circumstance which to others may seem to render those blessings questionable. Permit me, therefore, to observe to your Majesty, that the world is so framed, and judges so grossly the appearance of things such as they strike the eye, that undoubtedly, in this late transaction, a most ungracious impression must be made on the minds of many. They will not fail to remark that Mr. Lenox could have no difficulty in finding a second against the Duke of York out of his father's family.

“As soon as I had learnt the happy account of my brother’s safety, and had received the particulars of the affair from himself, I flew to Kew, in order to communicate to your Majesty the fortunate issue of a business which had well-nigh proved so fatal. Your Majesty received the account with all the tenderness, affection, and anxious sensibility which belong to your paternal goodness, and which the occasion could inspire in the breast of the kindest father. It is a matter, then, of deep affliction, as well, I am sure, as a circumstance of great and anxious alarm, that I should be compelled to contrast the deportment of the Queen on this occasion with that of your Majesty. Your Majesty knows that I had requested a private audience, and that my wish was to have communicated this event to your Majesty’s ear alone. I considered the transaction as of too delicate and of much too affecting a nature to be broken abruptly to the Queen; and it was therefore with regret that I found myself under the necessity of relating in her presence an affair, the very nature of which was agitating to a mother, and in which some circumstances were sufficiently critical and alarming to shake even the constancy of your Majesty, and to draw from you expressions of parental solicitude and even horror, which, while they did honor to your Majesty’s feelings, were surely to be more naturally looked for in a mother on such an occasion. Your Majesty is my witness, that during the whole relation the Queen did not utter a syllable either of alarm at the imminent danger which had threatened the life of my brother but an hour before, of joy and satisfaction at his safety, or of general tenderness and affection towards him, which might appear natural in moments thus afflicting. Nor were these the only testimonies of indifference that I was obliged to observe. For your Majesty must well remember that the first word the Queen pronounced, and the whole tenor of the only conversation she afterwards held, was a defence of Mr. Lenox’s conduct, strongly implying a censure on that of my brother.

“The Duke of York had himself the happiness of seeing your Majesty the next day, and enjoyed in that interview the inexpressible satisfaction of receiving from your Majesty every token of tenderness and sensibility which his situation could draw from the best and most affectionate parent. Your Majesty’s kindness has been the subject of our admiration and gratitude ever since, and the impression it has made on us can never be erased from our hearts. Your Majesty is again our witness that at this first meeting with the Duke of York, the Queen observed a total silence on the subject



which had thus affected your Majesty. This recent and interesting event was not even alluded to, and on such a day her Majesty condescended only to address my brother on the most indifferent topics. Since that period it is matter of public notoriety, and has no doubt been so of public observation, that Mr. Lenox has received the most distinguishing marks of her Majesty's approbation on every occasion on which they could be bestowed, and has been permitted, if not invited, to mix even in the personal society and amusements of your Majesty's family. This conduct I am confident he would not have dared to hold if your Majesty had been present, nor can the world suppose him to have hazarded what must have appeared even to himself, at least, so shocking an indecorum without being well assured that it would not have been disapproved of by the Queen."\*

Nor did the scandals end here. A ball was given at St. James's Palace on the King's birthday. Colonel Lenox was invited, and actually danced in the very set with the Prince of Wales and his brothers! There was, at least, a want of taste in this proceeding, and the Prince, no doubt glad of the opportunity, took a step which was a surprise for the company. As he was dancing down the country dance with his sister, and turning each couple, he came to Colonel Lenox and his partner. As the Princess was going to "turn" Colonel Lenox, the Prince stopped short, and, seizing her hand, abruptly led her out of the dance. The Duke of York, who came next, turned Colonel Lenox and danced on; but his brother, the Duke of Clarence, followed the example of the Prince of Wales. The Queen asked him—though she must have known the reason of his behavior—"was he tired?" He answered, "Not at all." She then supposed "he found it too hot." Irritated by this hypocrisy—for she must have known what was the cause of offence—he broke out with a reply that "in such company it was impossible not to find it too hot." "Then," said the Queen, "I suppose you mean that I should break up the ball?" to which the Prince replied that "it was the very best thing she could do." And accordingly she gave the signal for retiring.†

Some odd incidents were associated with this affair. Out of this rencontre another arose—between Colonel Lenox and Mr. Theophilus Swift, an Irish gentleman—occasioned by some strong lan-

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\* From the letter to the King, "Correspondence of Fox," ii. 346.

† The Prince, however, made a gracious apology to Lady Catherine Barnard, who was Colonel Lenox's partner.

guage which the latter had thought proper to make use of respecting the duel, in a publication addressed to the King. The parties met at Bayswater, and Mr. Swift was severely wounded.

The Bishop of Llandaff offered "his warmest congratulations" to the Duke on a late event; adding that, "As a Christian bishop, I cannot approve of any man's exposing his life on such an occasion. As a citizen, I must think that the life of one so near to the crown ought not to be hazarded like the life of an ordinary man; but, as a friend to the house of Brunswick, I cannot but rejoice in the personal safety, and in the personal gallantry, too, of so distinguished a branch of it."

Colonel Lenox's sister was so touched with the Duke's magnanimity that she begged to be allowed to have the curl that had been shot away! She was gratified; and from this period, we are told, "the purest friendship" between the parties arose. Even on his death-bed the royal personage bethought him of his early associations, and directed that another lock of his hair should be transmitted to the lady.

Mr. Raikes tells us that the Prince never forgave Lord Winchelsea for his share in the transaction; and, after the old King's death, he seldom or never appeared at Court. His duel with the Duke of Wellington, however, shows him to have been a weak personage. The Duke of York, in this transaction, as all through his life, showed himself superior to little resentments, and, Mr. Raikes adds, "had always a great esteem for his character, and though from their different modes of life they did not often meet, he never failed to express it. In those days, when his royal highness was in the habit of dining with me, I once asked Lord Winchelsea to meet him, and I was struck by the cordiality with which he greeted him."\*

"The charming manners," adds Lady Minto, in a very just view of the Prince's character, "which threw a glamour over the utter worthlessness of his moral character, were combined with considerable talents and acquirements, and could hardly have existed without them, for perfect good breeding would seem to be either the result of a combination of superior moral qualities—which we know the Prince had not—or of certain mental qualities, such as quickness of perception, readiness, and tact—and these he appears to have possessed in no ordinary degree. Sir Walter

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\* Raikes, "Journal," i. 468.

Scott remarked that it was impossible to form a fair judgment of the abilities of the man who introduced whatever subject he chose, discussed it just as long as he chose, and dismissed it when he chose; but the remark is only just if abilities of a high order are meant. To do the three things well which Scott enumerated would require, in the society of the men the Prince lived with, no small amount of general information, perception, and observation."

The following natural and affectionate letter, in reference to the illness of his brother, shows him in a pleasing light:

THE PRINCE OF WALES TO LORD LOUGHBOROUGH.

"York House, half-past 12 o'clock P.M., July 2nd, 1789.\*

"MY DEAR LORD,

"The excessive goodness and friendship I ever have experienced from you, makes me trespass, I assure you much against my wishes, once more upon you, hoping that you will forgive my absence this evening from a party which, I am certain from everything I have hitherto witnessed, must afford the greatest pleasure and delight to all whose minds are perfectly at ease, and who have nothing to occupy them but the hospitable and pleasing reception you give all your friends. But to tell you the truth, my dear Lord, I am very unfit for anything so gay or so agreeable. The anxiety I have undergone the whole of this day has worried me to death; and though, thank God, the physicians assure me that my brother is as well as can be, considering his complaint, yet I should feel miserable to leave him. Could I have the pleasure of seeing you in Bedford Square this night, I should wear the same countenance of pleasure which I am sensible that all those, who have not a sick-bed to attend, naturally must do at your house. I am sure, from what I know of you, that you will feel for me, and for once forgive me for the disappointment I occasion myself.

"I remain, my dear Lord,

"Ever most sincerely your Friend,

"GEORGE P."

Indeed, as we follow the embarrassing and disagreeable complications in which the Prince was now involved, and consider that

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\* Lord Campbell, vi. 213.



this was a young man, barely five-and-twenty, it is impossible not to be surprised at the part he took, and the position he maintained, among men like Fox, Sheridan, Burke, and many more. Through all his follies there was a certain character, which made itself felt.

After this hostile encounter, it was felt matters could not rest there; a bitter and unkind letter addressed by the King to his third son, in which he accused him of taking part with his brothers, brought things to a crisis. It was determined by the Princes that a formal statement of their grievances should be drawn up, and with it a complete vindication of their conduct, and laid before the King. This was to include an indictment of the Queen. The task was entrusted to Sir G. Elliot, who bestowed immense labor and pains upon it; and during its progress he had many opportunities of seeing and consulting the Prince of Wales, who impressed him in the most favorable manner.

“He was excessively pleased with it, expressing every now and then his approbation in a very warm and agreeable way. He made, at the same time, several very sensible observations, and suggested some alterations which I think perfectly judicious, and shall certainly adopt. I was very much struck with the appearance of judgment, as well as with the signs of good disposition and proper feeling, which he gave in this interview, and I will venture to say that few princes have had anything like the good or considerable qualities which both the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York possess.”

When the letter was completed, it was laid before a sort of council at Carlton House, and the question was formally debated whether it should be sent forward. The step was strongly opposed by the Duke of Portland and Lord Loughborough, on the ground that it amounted to burning their ships; that it forced upon the King the necessity of deciding between the Queen and her son; and there was little doubt which side he would take, under her inspiration or compulsion. The result, probably, would be that the Prince and his party would be forbidden the Court. The Prince himself and the Duke of Clarence, as well as Burke, were eager for taking action. Fox doubted. Before anything was determined, the Prince set off for Brighton, hurrying up as usual in a spasm and proposing to give all the papers to the Chancellor, to lay them before the King when an opportunity offered. It would seem that it was never presented, and it may be presumed to be the best vindication of the Prince that could be offered.

“SIR,

“Thinking it probable that I should have been honored with your commands to attend your Majesty on Wednesday last, I have unfortunately lost the opportunity of paying my duty to your Majesty before your departure from Weymouth. The accounts I have received of your Majesty’s health have given me the greatest satisfaction, and should it be your Majesty’s intention to return to Weymouth, I trust, Sir, there will be no impropriety in my then entreating your Majesty’s gracious attention to a point of the greatest moment to the peace of my own mind, and one in which I am convinced your Majesty’s feelings are equally interested: Your Majesty’s letter to my brother, the Duke of Clarence, in May last, was the first direct intimation I had ever received that my conduct and that of my brother the Duke of York, during your Majesty’s late lamented illness, had brought on us the heavy misfortune of your Majesty’s displeasure. I should be wholly unworthy the return of your Majesty’s confidence and good opinion, which will ever be the first objects of my life, if I could have read the passage I referred to in that letter without the deepest sorrow and regret for the effect produced on your Majesty’s mind; though at the same time I felt the firmest persuasion that your Majesty’s generosity and goodness would never permit that effect to remain, without affording us an opportunity of knowing what had been urged against us, of replying to our accusers, and of justifying ourselves, if the means of justification were in our power.

“Great, however, as my impatience and anxiety were on this subject, I felt it a superior consideration not to intrude any unpleasing or agitating discussions upon your Majesty’s attention, during an excursion devoted to the ease and amusement necessary for the re-establishment of your Majesty’s health. I determined to sacrifice my own feelings, and to wait with resignation till the fortunate opportunity should arrive, when your Majesty’s own paternal goodness would, I was convinced, lead you even to invite your sons to that fair hearing which your justice would not deny to the meanest individual of your subjects. In this painful interval I have employed myself in drawing up a full statement and account of my conduct during the period alluded to, and of the motives and circumstances which influenced me. When these shall be humbly submitted to your Majesty’s consideration, I may be possibly found to have erred in judgment, and to have acted on mistaken principles, but I have the most assured conviction that I shall not be found to have

been deficient in that duteous affection to your Majesty which nothing shall ever diminish. Anxious for everything that may contribute to the comfort and satisfaction of your Majesty's mind, I cannot omit this opportunity of lamenting those appearances of a less gracious disposition in the Queen towards my brothers and myself than we were accustomed to experience; and to assure your Majesty, that if by your affectionate interposition these most unpleasant sensations should be happily removed, it would be an event not less grateful to our minds than satisfactory to your Majesty's own benign disposition. I will not longer, etc. etc.

"G. P."

The most important portions may be given here:

I owe to your Majesty (it begins) at all times, an account of my actions; but I am most anxious to render that account of myself and my conduct during the unhappy period of your Majesty's illness; because while it was full of delicacy, embarrassment, and difficulty to me, it has been exposed in the same proportion to the malicious or interested misconstruction of others, whom I have reason to think enemies of my honor and welfare, as well as wholly indifferent to those of your Majesty.

My first object is to regain for myself, and my brother the Duke of York, your Majesty's good opinion and affection.

Permit me, first, to relate those circumstances which are of a private and domestic nature.

The severity of your Majesty's disorder having increased to an alarming degree, I repaired immediately to Windsor, and, disregarding every other object, applied myself wholly to the care of a health so valuable, and to the alleviation of your Majesty's sufferings. I provided what appeared to me the best means for your recovery; I observed the conduct of those who were intrusted with the immediate attendance on your Majesty; I referred the plan of management to your physicians, and superintended the due and punctual execution of their directions. In these anxious offices, I had the consolation of being supported by the constant, unwearied, and affectionate attendance and counsel of my brother, the Duke of York. It is with satisfaction I inform your Majesty that we desired and received the advice of the Lord Chancellor on every material step that we took. I reflected on the great personal confidence with which your Majesty had distinguished Lord Thurlow; and the nature as well as eminence of his office seemed to point him out as



a person who might be consulted with peculiar propriety in this most critical and delicate posture of affairs. In what manner I was able to discharge these weighty duties, it is not fit that I should be called upon to speak myself; I choose rather to refer your Majesty to the testimony of the Chancellor, and to that of your Majesty's attendants at that period, who were eye-witnesses of our conduct. This only I think it right to say, that from the hour on which the alarming violence of your Majesty's illness appeared to require the care which I have described, until the removal of your Majesty to Kew, neither myself nor the Duke of York was absent for a day from Windsor, nor suffered any consideration, even of health, much less any lighter avocation, to retain us an hour from your Majesty's chamber, and from the discharge of a duty so dear to us both.

Next to the care of your Majesty's person, that of your private and domestic affairs appeared to claim my attention. While your Majesty and the Queen continued to reside at Windsor, the money, jewels, papers, and other effects belonging to your Majesty, did not seem to require any particular caution for their security. But on the removal of your Majesty to Kew, I considered it as my duty to provide for the safety of those effects; and I determined at the same time to do so in such a manner as should be consistent with that scrupulous delicacy which suited the occasion, and which I felt to be becoming in a voluntary, although highly necessary, interference with the affairs of your Majesty not expressly authorized by your Majesty's orders.

In this view, after mentioning my intentions to the Lord Chancellor and receiving his approbation, I desired the attendance of Lord Brudenell, who is keeper of your Majesty's privy-purse, together with that of Lord Weymouth, whom I judged to be the person whose presence your Majesty would the most approve upon such an occasion. I directed them to take, from your Majesty's drawers at Windsor, the jewels and the money which were deposited there. An account of each was taken on the spot, and they were delivered to the custody of Lord Brudenell, whom I conceived to be the proper officer for that purpose. Lord Brudenell's receipt was taken at the same time, specifying both the jewels and the money which were committed to his charge, and he was directed to deposit these effects in his office, and be answerable for their safe custody, and for their production whenever your Majesty should require it.

The situation of the apartments at Windsor in which these effects

were lodged appeared to me by no means secure, and the suspicion which might get abroad of their value seemed to increase the risk. These circumstances determined me to use the precaution I have described for their security. Yet I felt it to be a duty of too delicate a nature to discharge in my own person, and I selected, to the best of my judgment for this service, those who I thought would be most acceptable to your Majesty on such an occasion. The whole was done in my own presence, but was performed solely by the hands of Lord Brudenell and Lord Weymouth. A difficulty occurred concerning your Majesty's papers which were deposited in the same place. It had been the opinion of the Lord Chancellor that, for greater security, they should be removed, and, after being properly docketed, should be deposited in some other place. But observing that they appeared to be arranged with great regularity and method, and being extremely unwilling that any paper of your Majesty's should undergo the slightest inspection, or that your Majesty should even have reason to suspect that they might have been seen by any one, I represented these circumstances to the Chancellor, and, with his consent, determined to leave them untouched by any hand whatever, exactly in the places and order in which your Majesty had deposited them. I did not conceive that papers were in the same danger as money or jewels; and I judged that it would be most acceptable to your Majesty to find your papers exactly as you had left them. Besides which, I felt an invincible repugnance to permitting, without your Majesty's order, even that degree of inspection which was necessary for preserving their arrangement, to any persons, however confidential I might know them to be with your Majesty. These were my motives for taking this resolution. The drawers were accordingly locked and the keys enclosed in a paper, which was sealed with Lord Weymouth's seal, as well as with others; and continued in this manner till it was restored to your Majesty by my brother, the Duke of York, as soon as your Majesty's recovery gave us reason to believe that you would wish to receive it.

I have not troubled your Majesty with the detail of these arrangements in order to claim any positive merit on the occasion. I did my duty, and no more. But as this has been the only occasion in my life in which I have felt an obligation to take on myself the direction of a pecuniary or any similar concern of your Majesty's, I trust only that my conduct in this instance has not been such as to deserve the reproach of personal unkindness towards your Ma-

jesty, much less such as to expose me to the dishonorable suspicion of infidelity in trusts of that nature, or to render any degrading and affronting caution more necessary against me than any other person.

With whatever consciousness of rectitude, and, therefore, with whatever satisfaction I may reflect on the discharge of my duty in this instance, yet I have ever since had strong reasons for regretting the necessity I was under to act in it. For it was the first occasion on which I had the misfortune to feel the Queen's displeasure, and to incur her anger.

The measures which I have described for securing your Majesty's effects against the attempts either of theft or curiosity, were no sooner known at Kew than her Majesty expressed the most marked disapprobation, and, to my extreme astonishment, condescended, at my next interview, to a species and warmth of reproaches, into which nothing could have surprised or betrayed her Majesty but a degree of passion, which, as I had never witnessed nor believed to exist in her Majesty before, so I accounted it the more remarkable on the present occasion, not conceiving in what manner the circumstances were capable of producing so extraordinary an effect.

Without ascribing to this cause the unfortunate indisposition which I have ever since experienced in the Queen's mind, I have to lament it, however, as the period from which I must date the first open demonstration of her anger; and I cannot but be sensible that I have never since recovered with her Majesty any share of that confidence or affection which I once considered it my principal happiness to possess so entirely.

Your Majesty's removal to Kew was directed by a Cabinet Council of your Ministers, who previously assembled at Windsor, and examined your physicians relative to that measure. As soon as that event had taken place, the care of your Majesty fell solely and exclusively into the hands of the Queen. From this period I suddenly found my access to your Majesty prohibited in such a manner that I was immediately excluded from the satisfaction of seeing your Majesty, and, indeed, almost deprived of the privilege to receive authentic information of your Majesty's health and situation.

I cannot describe to your Majesty, nor is it, indeed, easy to ascertain the precise means by which this exclusion of myself and of my brother—for it extended to us both—from all personal attendance of dutiful affection on your Majesty, was brought about. We had, indeed, a right, as your sons, and we felt it as such, to as free and



unreserved personal admission, and to as full, particular, and confidential information on such a subject as any other person whatever, until some provision should be made by a competent authority for our exclusion. But your Majesty must be sensible that many considerations, both of affectionate caution respecting your Majesty's health, and also of personal delicacy, belonging to the peculiar complexion of the times, rendered it impossible for us to assert and insist on this right, invaluable as we deemed it, when opposed by the various devices and pretensions with which the possession of your Majesty's person so abundantly furnished those who wished to remove us from your presence. The consequence was, that notwithstanding all the efforts which the circumstances would allow us to make, we came ultimately to be considered as total strangers in your Majesty's palace, and not only to be debarred from your presence, but from a knowledge even of your Majesty's condition. This exclusion was rendered the more mortifying and irksome to us by our knowledge that while we were debarred from your presence, many other persons who are neither connected with your Majesty by blood, nor, as we believe, attached to your Majesty by sincere affection, as we are, had free admission whenever they desired it.

It had been the practice of your physicians to send me every day a written account of your Majesty's health, and this communication was naturally somewhat more particular than the public account, communicated at St. James's to all the world. It was, in fact, the only distinction that was made between myself and the rest of your Majesty's subjects. Your Majesty cannot better learn the degree in which it was intended to exclude your sons from intercourse with your Majesty, and knowledge of your situation, than by hearing that an express order was delivered by authority to your Majesty's physicians to refrain from communicating to me any other account of your Majesty's health than that which was transmitted daily to the lord-in-waiting at St. James's for the information of the public.

I could not, Sir, but feel, in common with my brother, the Duke of York, both grief and mortification at being thus separated and severed, as it were, from your Majesty's person and family. I have had much reason to lament it since, for reasons which may perhaps throw some light on the motive of those who brought it about. For, from the first moment of your Majesty's joyful recovery, your Majesty's ear has, by the banishment of your sons, been exclusively possessed by those who have unfortunately felt either an interest or inclination to misrepresent our conduct, and hurt us in your opinion. I shall for-

ever account it the greatest calamity of my life, that in the first period of returning health, when your Majesty's mind was yet free from prejudice, your ear untainted by slander, and your heart—as it ever is, but most peculiarly so in those moments of softness which succeed affliction and disease—open to impressions of affection, tenderness, and indulgence, I and my brother, who both have ever loved you, and have never justly forfeited our title to your love, were held in exile from your presence, and condemned to silence, while our enemies were laboring, with every advantage of constant intercourse with your Majesty and the impossibility of being answered, to ruin us in your esteem.

In laying before your Majesty an account of those transactions which may be deemed of a public and political nature, it is with the utmost pain that I must recall to my own memory, and perhaps wound your Majesty's feelings, by alluding to the unhappy necessity which appeared to arise out of your severe malady for supplying, by a temporary Government, the lamented absence of your Majesty during the continuance of your illness. But I rely both on your Majesty's fortitude, and on the ascendancy which the love of justice has in your mind over every weakness of ordinary natures, for your generous approbation of my resolution to postpone the inferior considerations of sensibility and delicacy, to objects which I know your Majesty rates far higher—the honor of your son, the dignity of your family, and the true interests of your crown and people.

Supported by this reflection, I cannot hesitate to set before you a view of the new, anxious, and arduous situation in which your Majesty's disposition suddenly placed me, as well, indeed, as the legislature and the whole nation.

I am too thoroughly persuaded of the magnanimity as well as the justice of your Majesty's character to feel the smallest apprehension that any indisposition can arise in your Majesty's mind towards me, from the consideration that all men united, without a single exception, in the opinion that the temporary government ought to be placed in my hands. This appeared a necessary consequence of the relation which I bear to your Majesty, and I am sure your Majesty will consider it, as you justly may, as an acknowledgment made to the claim of your Majesty's blood; not sought by me nor bestowed by Parliament as a thing personal to myself, or as a claim of mine distinct from, much less adverse to, your Majesty's personal interests, or those of your crown.

Such were the circumstances which compelled me to take any part

whatever in the affairs of Government. But I cannot for a moment deny myself the satisfaction of acquainting your Majesty, and I hope it will remain strongly impressed on your Majesty's mind throughout, that this necessity was not declared by me, but was first announced to the world by your Majesty's ministers, who took the lead in proposing and bringing forward every step that has been made for accomplishing this purpose. While I was permitted to attend on your Majesty, my whole mind was engaged, and my whole time employed, in the more interesting cares of private and domestic duty; I refrained altogether, by system as well as inclination, from every object of a different nature. The only perfectly true and correct account that can be given of the part which I took respecting public measures and the affairs of Government is, that I industriously avoided taking any part at all; I remained from the beginning wholly passive and neutral, until the steps taken by your Majesty's ministers called me unavoidably from this retirement into action; and rendered it my indispensable duty to your Majesty, your people, and myself, to direct my most serious attention to the consideration of public affairs.

I must once more implore your Majesty to reflect attentively on this circumstance, and allow to it its due weight in the judgment you are to form of my conduct. It is far from my object in this address to defend the wisdom of all I did, or omitted to do, in this trying situation.

He then vindicates his share in the late political transactions:

I must be permitted to claim, with the greater confidence, the full effect of this determination on your Majesty's mind, as it was not adopted without opposition from one in whose opinion I might have been justified for acquiescing, and under the authority of which I might have sheltered an opposite conduct if I had been disposed to adopt it. I was urged, from an honorable opinion, I am sure, and one which was sincerely entertained by the person to whom I allude, to come forward much earlier in my own person to claim the Government, as falling to me of right during your Majesty's illness, and to take the lead out of the hands of your Majesty's ministers into my own. Such was the opinion of my uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, and he pressed it on me with all the earnestness which belonged to a sincere and fixed opinion on a subject of such moment.

The first public act in which I had any share was a declaration,



made at my request by my brother, the Duke of York, to the House of Lords, speaking in his place as a peer of Parliament, on the 15th of December.

It will be necessary to state in a very few words the subject which was then under consideration. Instead of proceeding to settle the mode in which the Government was to be exercised in your Majesty's name, your Majesty's ministers thought proper to propose that the two Houses of Parliament should first vote an abstract proposition declaratory of their rights on that occasion. This proceeding appearing to us both unnecessary and dangerous in itself, we could not help considering it, in the intention of those by whom it was proposed, as a measure of pure hostility to me. We were sure at least that its tendency was necessarily injurious, in the highest degree, to my reputation in the country. I was informed that it was not usual for Parliament to come to verbal declarations of their rights previous to exercising them, and that such a measure has only been resorted to in cases where the jealousy of Parliament has been excited by attempts from some adequate authority to dispute or to defeat the privilege which they have asserted. The declaration of the rights of Parliament on this occasion did undoubtedly convey to the world an insinuation that they had been attacked; and as there existed at the time no authority which could give weight or importance to such an attack but mine, the eyes of the world were naturally drawn towards me, and the nation was taught to believe that I had begun the public career to which I was unfortunately called, by some attempt or some claim inimical to the constitution and liberties of the country. I have, however, the satisfaction to assure your Majesty that the contrary was the case, and that I had never made, either directly or indirectly, any claim whatever. I know with certainty that no claim was ever offered to either House of Parliament by my authority, and I will venture to assure your Majesty that none was ever made or hinted at, in my name, without my authority. Much pains indeed were taken to misinterpret some sentiments expressed in debate by persons in whom I avow that I place confidence, and to treat them as propositions dangerous to the rights of Parliament. I cannot in general be supposed to know correctly what passes in debate in the House of Commons, but I have reasons on which I can depend, and which enable me confidently to assure your Majesty, not only that the sentiments alluded to were not such as they were, for obvious purposes, grossly misrepresented over the whole nation to be, but that they were rendered so clear and explicit

by frequent ample and satisfactory explanation that it was impossible even to misapprehend them; and that the scandalous and libellous perversion of detached words in debate, which were so diligently dispersed from one end of the kingdom to the other, could be the work only of a policy equally indifferent to truth, and adverse to your Majesty, your family, and the welfare and tranquillity of the nation.

In this view, and in this view alone, I authorized my brother, the Duke of York, to declare in my name to the House of Lords in substance that "I had never declared any opinion whatever concerning this important question, and that, so far from urging any claim on that occasion, I was too well acquainted with and revered too much those principles which had seated the house of Brunswick on the throne of these kingdoms, to form a wish for the exercise of any power which should not be sanctioned by that House, and the representatives of the people in Parliament assembled."

But I am well assured that your Majesty would not condemn the caution which led us to deprecate the agitation of that delicate question, and would surely not charge us on that account with any disregard for your Majesty's personal interests, or those which are most nearly personal to your Majesty—those of your family—if your Majesty had had an opportunity of being acquainted with the nature and tendency of propositions entertained, and even tendered to the nation, though unsuccessfully, indeed, at that critical and speculating period, by a person who stood the highest in authority and in your Majesty's confidence. These propositions were indeed neither adopted by the two Houses nor countenanced by the concurrence of any one opinion besides.

The sincere respect which I entertain for the acts of the two Houses of Parliament does not, therefore, preclude me from submitting to your Majesty whether some danger might not be reasonably and sincerely apprehended, both to the monarchy and to the constitution in all its points, from a discussion which could furnish an opportunity for promulgating from such a quarter an opinion which went to the total extinction, for the time being, of every existing principle of our Government; throwing open to arbitrary and undefined discretion every point of our constitution, both as to persons or powers; and well calculated, undoubtedly, to prepare—if such a project could anywhere have existed—a competition for the sovereign authority, throughout the British empire, to the exclusion of every one of your Majesty's blood.

In this light did the opinions, distinctly and repeatedly delivered by your Majesty's minister, Mr. Pitt, on this question of right appear to me, and I am not without grounds for supposing that they must have conveyed a similar impression to most other men; since all the support which Mr. Pitt is accustomed to find, and actually obtained throughout the strongest measures which he ventured to propose in this extraordinary crisis, could not, however, procure for him one assenting voice to the sentiments I have alluded to; and your Majesty's Attorney-General, who must no doubt be supposed in general to act in concurrence with your Majesty's minister, delivered, however, on this occasion, an opinion diametrically opposite to the doctrine of Mr. Pitt.

I owed it to your Majesty to preserve entire for your Majesty, when you should resume your government, the rights, powers, and dignity of your crown such as you had before enjoyed them; and I owed it also to your Majesty to fulfil the objects of your royal power by protecting your people from foreign danger, and providing for its internal tranquillity, prosperity, and happiness.

If these reasons might justify my apprehensions at being entrusted with the whole duties, but with only a portion of the power belonging to royal authority, your Majesty will see that it follows necessarily from the same principle that my difficulties, and therefore my uneasiness and alarm, should be still greater when I saw not only many powers cut off from the authority which I was to administer, but some of those very powers of which I was deprived erected into a distinct, separate, independent, and perhaps, therefore, adverse authority in the state; and those very arms which are intended for the defence of the crown and the service of regular government, disposed of in such a manner as to be capable of being employed in defeating and destroying them.

I could not, at the same time, but lament one consequence which appeared too likely to follow from the proposed arrangement, of placing a considerable department of power and influence in the hands of the Queen.

I had been accustomed to see her Majesty engaged solely in domestic cares and occupations, and while her Majesty's mind had been thus employed, I had experienced at her hands from my infancy the strongest and most invariable marks of parental tenderness and even of personal partiality and fondness. Her affection had always been one of the first joys and the principal pride of my life. It was not, therefore, without much solicitude and pain that



I perceived a scheme formed for creating between us a rival and separate interest, and endangering domestic harmony by political competition. I confess, Sir, it was with the most acute pain that I saw her Majesty set up by designing men as the head of a system, which I must frankly and without reserve say I could not ascribe to any solicitude for your Majesty's happiness, or connect by any rational principle with your substantial interest, to every one of which I thought it dangerous and adverse in the extreme; but which I considered as a device of private ambition, which aimed at the accomplishment of its own projects by contention with me and opposition to the very power it was constrained to establish in one degree or other in my hands.

I cannot, however, quit this subject without expressing to your Majesty the resentment I felt at seeing a system, which appeared to me destructive of every object which I know your Majesty, as a wise and good sovereign, as well as a father and chief of a family, must hold most dear and valuable, justified by a reference to the meanest and most unworthy feelings which were supposed to exist in your Majesty's mind, and which I felt to be a cruel slander on your Majesty's character. The separation of the whole of your Majesty's household, to an extent even which could not be at first avowed, but was covered under the equivocal and undefined sense of that word, from the dignity, the patronage, and influence of your Majesty's representative, was defended on a ground which I am sure your Majesty will feel to be injurious to your magnanimity and public spirit. It was contended that your Majesty's private and personal feelings might be wounded by the arrangements which, without a color of authority or probability, were assumed as a thing intended by me, if I had had the control of that department.

With this memorial (says Earl Russell) was written an introductory letter for the King's perusal, complaining in bitter terms of the Queen's treatment of her sons. This was also the composition of Sir Gilbert Elliot, but was not transmitted to the King. It was agreed that the introductory letter should be suppressed, and that a short letter, expressing in general terms the Prince's uneasiness under his father's displeasure, and stating that he had prepared a justification of his conduct to be submitted to the King, should be substituted for it. It seems not improbable that a letter published by Mr. Moore in his "*Life of Sheridan*," from a rough copy of Mr. Sheridan's, was the letter written on that occasion. It answers to the

description of the letter ordered to be written; but if so, it was not finished or transmitted to the King before the middle of August.

THE PRINCE OF WALES TO THE KING

“SIR,

“I find myself at last not only at liberty, but I think, invited by your Majesty to throw myself at your feet and implore of your justice and paternal goodness, at least an equitable, if not a partial and indulgent hearing to the most solemn and anxious address that was ever made by a son to a father.

“During the calamitous period of your Majesty’s late illness, I waited with impatience for that happy time when the recovery of your health might afford me an opportunity of appealing to your justice and affection, against the misrepresentations of those whose situations might enable them to preoccupy your Majesty’s first opinions.

“I had reason to believe that attempts would be made to prejudice me in your esteem, and God knows my apprehensions have been too well justified by the event. Urgent, however, as I felt this concern to be, I was unwilling to disturb the first hours of your returning health by any matter however important to myself, which might either fatigue your attention or agitate your spirits; I refrained accordingly from pressing any application on the subject, till I was given to understand, with a joy which was shared indeed by the whole nation, but chiefly felt by me, that your health was perfectly confirmed. Since that period I have sought every opportunity of engaging your Majesty’s attention to a subject which weighed so heavily on my mind. But in vain! Your Majesty has either been surrounded by persons whose presence rendered it improper to explain myself on delicate and confidential points; or if ever I have had the happiness to enjoy a few moments of your presence alone, I have on such occasions been expressly enjoined either by your Majesty or the Queen to abstain from all points of business whatever.

“I was not satisfied with seeking every opportunity to make a verbal explanation at your Majesty’s feet; the difficulties which opposed my personal communication with your Majesty induced me, amongst other reasons, to have recourse also to my pen; and I flattered myself that some moments of leisure and some periods of strength would be found for perusing the justification of a son whose accusers, I too well knew, had procured, or rather constantly possessed, the means to be heard. When I considered the interesting

nature of the subject, and still more the awe which I never fail to experience in your Majesty's presence, it was my wish to address your Majesty in writing, because it would both enable me to lay the matter before your Majesty in a more correct and satisfactory form, and would afford your Majesty an opportunity of bestowing on it a more deliberate consideration than any verbal conference could do alone.

"In this view I collected some papers, which I thought important toward informing your Majesty of the transactions in which the course of events had involved me, and I proposed to annex some observations explanatory of my conduct. I delivered the papers to the Queen, requesting her to communicate them to your Majesty when she should find a convenient opportunity. I was constrained to trouble her Majesty with this application, partly by the fear of intruding unseasonably on your Majesty after your long illness, and partly by the obstacles which I found perpetually in the way of a personal interview; as well indeed as the express injunctions I had received to refrain from addressing your Majesty on business.

"Having waited for some time with great anxiety the effect of this communication, and a public intimation having been given to Parliament of the joyful event of your Majesty's recovery, I addressed to the Queen the following letter:

"DEAR MADAM,

"I have this moment learned that Mr. Pitt has announced to the House of Commons that a communication is to be made to Parliament from his Majesty on Tuesday next.

"Your Majesty will, I am sure, have observed that, notwithstanding the impatience I must naturally feel to have a fit opportunity of submitting to his Majesty a faithful statement of my conduct and my sentiments on the conduct of others, I have abstained from every idea of intruding on his Majesty's attention until the opinion of those who can best judge shall point out the proper time for submitting matters of business and public importance to his consideration.

"The notice given to-day I conceive to ascertain this point; and as your Majesty was graciously pleased to assure me that the papers I lodged in your Majesty's hands should be communicated to his Majesty the moment it was fit for him to attend to public business, I request from your Majesty to be informed whether the present is the proper time to make that communication, and when in conse-



quence my brother and myself may attend his Majesty upon a subject so interesting to our feelings, and the duty we owe to his Majesty and the public.'

"This letter was written on the 5th of March; and the next day I received an answer from her Majesty, acquainting me, 'that she had taken an opportunity of mentioning to your Majesty that she was in possession of those papers, and must now leave it to your Majesty's own judgment when you would think it proper to peruse them.'

"On the day following I received another letter from the Queen, enclosing one from your Majesty to her, both of which I take the liberty of copying in this place:

THE QUEEN TO THE PRINCE OF WALES.

"Kew, March 7th, 1789.

"MY DEAREST SON,

"I have found an opportunity of communicating to the King your letter of the day before yesterday, to which he has given me the enclosed in answer; and as this paper contains his Majesty's sentiments upon the subject, I have nothing further to say, but hope that you are convinced of my having fulfilled your wishes, and that you will believe me sincerely,

"My dearest Son,

"Your very affectionate Mother and Friend,

"CHARLOTTE."

"This letter enclosed the following from your Majesty to the Queen:

THE KING TO THE QUEEN.

"Kew, March 6th, 1789, Friday evening.

"MY DEAREST CHARLOTTE,

"As I cannot but be deeply impressed by the consideration of how much you must have been afflicted by the long continuance of my illness, and the events that attended it, I cannot but wish to prevent your having any further trouble concerning it; and therefore desire you will acquaint both the Prince of Wales and Frederick, that, though I do not mean to decline giving that attention to public business which may be necessary, yet that I propose avoiding all discussions that may in their nature agitate me, and

consequently must for the present decline entering on any subjects that are not necessarily before me.

“ ‘I shall ever remain, my dearest Charlotte,

“ ‘Your most affectionate Husband,

“ ‘GEORGE R.’

“I found myself unhappily constrained to submit to this declaration of your Majesty’s pleasure, and I saw with grief every means of setting myself right in your opinion denied me. In this situation I could only resort to one sentiment capable of affording me either hope or consolation. I reflected on your Majesty’s habitual love and practice of justice, and on the tenderness and affection which I had experienced on many occasions at the hand of an indulgent father. I judged that the attempts of my enemies to deprive me of your love and good opinion must probably have been abortive; for I could not believe that your Majesty would either reject a reply to any accusation which you deemed worthy of attention, or would condemn your sons unheard on any charge, whether grave or frivolous. I confess, however, that the implicit confidence I should naturally have placed in this affection was much diminished, and very painful alarms were raised in my mind by many circumstances which I could not help observing. These were by degrees multiplied in such a manner as to leave me little doubt; and I now see at length my worst fears verified, and my misfortune too fully authenticated under your Majesty’s hand, by a clear declaration of displeasure, and an explicit condemnation of my conduct on the tenderest point, conveyed in writing to one of my brothers. Many of the circumstances which gave me reason to apprehend some prejudice in your Majesty’s mind against me, are of a nature which it is difficult or impossible to describe in words, or to render sensible to others by relation.

“I am sure your Majesty will not think it unnatural that these circumstances should sensibly afflict and alarm your sons, and we shall not be censured for drawing a rash conclusion, if we believe that her Majesty’s behavior could not have been such as I have described, unless there had existed in her mind some previous dissatisfaction and some general indisposition towards us, independent of this transaction, and sufficient to extinguish entirely the natural affection and tenderness of a mother. If we observe the common course of nature and consult the happy experience of all other families, we cannot help acknowledging that Providence seems to

have designed it as the part of a mother to feel and to express solicitude for the safety of her children; to absorb all other considerations in those of anxiety and tenderness at critical periods of a son's life; to plead his cause, even if it be doubtful; to heal all family differences, if such exist; to soften and conciliate toward her children the mind and opinion of their father, if it is in danger of being estranged: in examining their conduct to leave to others even the impartiality of a judge, but much more, the severe scrutiny of an adverse party, and above all, to leave to their rivals and enemies the care of fomenting the anger of their father, together with that of anticipating, and by that means, perhaps, procuring the condemnation of the world—an effect of her Majesty's unfortunate displeasure, which we have had too many occasions to feel and to lament.

“It is quite impossible, Sir, that we should behold with indifference a departure in our house alone, from that first and best law of nature which protects the harmony of other families, and which, reserving at least one indissoluble relation and one bond of affection exempt from decay, seems to have appointed maternal tenderness as the stronghold and the last sanctuary for domestic happiness, against those storms of adverse interests and rival passions which drive it from every other post.

“It is not, Sir, without a severe conflict, nor without the most acute pain, that we find at length power to express these sorrows to your Majesty. We are sensible of the sacred character and the religion as it were that surrounds and covers the subject of our complaint. Since we do not, and in our hearts cannot, acknowledge that we have merited, either by any part of our conduct, or by our most secret thoughts, the loss of the Queen's love, we feel that in lamenting that dreadful calamity we appear to be her accusers, and her accusers before your Majesty. We entreat you therefore to cast your eye for a moment on the afflicting alternative which is left to us. We cannot disguise to ourselves our true situation. The Queen's affection is estranged from us. We can neither be ignorant of nor forget a misfortune which we feel every day in a thousand shapes, both wounding our feelings and working our ruin. Her Majesty is alone possessed of your ear, and from the endearing relation which she bears to your Majesty, is naturally entitled to your confidence. In the Queen's indisposition toward us we see therefore the loss also of your Majesty's opinion and regard. Our characters and reputation in the world are not less endangered. Those who are known to approach most constantly her Majesty's person,



and to enjoy the greatest share of her confidence and favor, seem to have no other language in which to express their zeal and attachment for her Majesty, than the bitterest invectives against us, and no other business or occupation than to invent and circulate from one extremity of your dominions to the other, the most gross, false, and scandalous slanders on her sons. In the meanwhile we find ourselves constrained to a silence which our enemies and even the impartial part of the world may well enough attribute to a consciousness of guilt. What choice therefore is left to us, but either to forego voluntarily your Majesty's love and the good opinion of the world, or to tell your Majesty and the world, that without blame on our parts we are unhappy enough to have been deprived of a mother's affection, and to tender to your Majesty and the world the documents which we possess of our innocence?

"Yet, Sir, we might still be silent if even these reasons, powerful as they are, were the only grounds for our alarm, and if our fears were not at length too surely verified by the event. For if the occurrences which I have alluded to could leave us without anxiety concerning the unfortunate impressions which may too probably have been made on your Majesty's mind to our disadvantage, your Majesty must appear to have deprived us of hope on that subject by a letter which your Majesty has written to my brother the Duke of Clarence. I trust your Majesty does not yet think us capable of perusing that unequivocal and severe declaration of your displeasure, without the most poignant grief and the deepest mortification. The love which we bear to the Duke of Clarence, and the happiness which we enjoy in our mutual affection and harmony, is our sole consolation under the many humiliating and afflicting circumstances which we experience in other branches of our family. The loss of that blessing would be a heavy blow indeed; but how much would its severity be increased, by reflecting that it comes from the hand of a parent! We see, therefore, with anguish, and we confess, with wonder, your Majesty, under the persuasion of others, and contrary to your own nature, laboring to hurt us in the opinion of our brother, and to deprive us both of his affection and society. It is with inexpressible grief we perceive the imputation of some monstrous but undefined guilt in us made a ground for harshness and rebuke even to him. I trust your Majesty will not be offended at seeing us sensible to such afflictions, and that you will allow, at least, that we are distinctly called upon to vindicate our conduct by one passage in your Majesty's letter. You are

pleased to say, 'Though I choose to cast a veil over the unkindness I met with during my illness from the ill-advised conduct of my sons, yet I cannot but feel it, as well as the Parliament, and, indeed, the whole nation.'

"This, Sir, is the first explicit declaration you have made of these unfortunate and, I must presume to say on our parts, unmerited sentiments. Till now, we might flatter ourselves that, however prevalent in your palace such opinions might be, they had not yet reached your Majesty. Indeed, Sir, we cannot yet consent to banish entirely a hope, which is so indispensable to our happiness, and we would yet cling to a fond conjecture that your Majesty has rather yielded to the importunity of others, and condescended to adopt their suggestions, than spoken your own opinions, or consulted your own heart on this occasion. We have ever found your Majesty personally kind and good to us. We most solemnly and seriously call God to witness, that we have ever felt your goodness with gratitude, and repaid it with affection and reverence. We cannot, therefore, easily and rashly believe that your Majesty should become at once cruel and unjust. Yet your Majesty will admit, that so express a declaration of your displeasure leaves us no choice, and that if any consideration on earth should induce us to withhold a full and circumstantial account of our conduct in that critical and important period of our lives to which your censure is applied, we should subscribe to our own condemnation, and should merit indeed the pain, heavy as it is, of your anger and reproaches. Your Majesty cannot be offended if we do not account your present judgment final and irrevocable; for your Majesty knows that we have not been heard, and that an opportunity to defend ourselves, although it has been often sought by us, has hitherto been denied. It would be, therefore, injurious to your Majesty's character, as a just sovereign, to believe that your mind is not still open at least to a fair and equitable consideration of the subject. With this view, we humbly lay the following relation at your Majesty's feet.

"It is submitted first, as it ought, to your Majesty. But we are taught by your Majesty's words not to neglect the opinion of our country; and to that country which we love and honor, and whose good opinion is essential to our comfort and happiness, we consider ourselves bound also to address ourselves.

"I will not detain your Majesty longer from the perusal of a paper which I hope will restore us to your esteem, and regain for us the blessings of your wonted affection and confidence."

## CHAPTER XX.

1789.

THE most natural expression of the Prince's feelings at this time will be found in his letters to Lord Cornwallis, then in India. Here he delivers himself with a true *empressement*, and his utterances throw some light on the Duke of York's duel, as well as on the summary proceedings of the Court. The style of these curious productions will be noticed—the superabundance of assertion as well as of qualification: and it will be seen that this genial Prince loved a kind of florid exaggeration almost grotesque. Allusion has been before made to this Treves's father, a money-lender, whose definition of a gentleman, in answer to the Prince, was significant of his character as well as of the familiarity which the Prince tolerated—"A man with money in his pocket and that does not care a d——n for you or your father."

## THE PRINCE OF WALES TO LORD CORNWALLIS.

"Carlton House, May 30th, 1789.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I must begin by thanking you for the very kind and friendly letter I received from you by the last ship from the East Indies. It was so long since I had heard from you y<sup>t</sup> I began to think you had forgot all y<sup>r</sup> old friends in this part of the world. How things are changed, and what a checquered scene of Life I have been obliged to go thro' for the last six months! Ere this, I suppose, you will have heard of the King's Indisposition, and how the Minister not only attempted to destroy 'my Rights,' but to deprive every other individual of our family of the common liberties & rights of Englishmen. Supported I have been by some 'real and true friends,' at the head of whom your Friend, my Brother, stood foremost, w<sup>h</sup> has gained immortal Honor. Had you been here, my dear Lord, I doubt not y<sup>t</sup> we sh<sup>d</sup> have had the happiness of meeting with a similar support from you, tho' I am sorry to say that your members consulted the interests of the 'cause' of Pitt instead of the



Rights and Independence of the Constitution of the Country, as well as of the House of Brunswick. Everything has fallen into very different hands. The King is convalescent, that is to say, he certainly is better. Everything is thrown into the hands of the Queen. Every Friend y<sup>t</sup> supported me & the common cause of succession of the Family, if they had any place, have been dismissed, such as the Duke of Queensberry; and our little friend Lothian Queensberry has been dismissed by order of the Queen & Mr. Pitt from the Bedchamber. Lothian has left his regiment of Horse Guards; & they have had the Insolence to threaten the Duke of York with taking his Regiment of Foot Guards, and when they, at last, did not dare do that, they have brought officers into his Regiment, and committed towards him every species of Indignity to force him to resign, w<sup>h</sup> he has had prudence & coolness sufficient, as well as firmness enough, to resist. Not only these great officers, but numbers of a lower class, whose sole dependence in life and sustenance depended upon their places, have been disgracefully dismissed from their offices for the disinterested support of me & our Family. You will forgive me, my dear Lord, for thus expatiating upon a subject w<sup>h</sup> I w<sup>d</sup> not have done but to such a friend, as I consider you. I cannot but confess y<sup>t</sup> I feel for the dangerous situation in w<sup>h</sup> the Rights & Liberties of this Nation are at present, as well as the very critical position in w<sup>h</sup> every member of Our Family stands at present. Even the very precarious state of the King's health renders some People a little upon their guard, who are not driven to a state of Dispair, such as not only pervades the Minister himself, but his Adherents in General. I will not bore you any further at present, as I suppose you will have heard by many Letters of our critical situation in this country at the present Period, but trust you will attribute my prolixity to the intimacy of an old Friend.

“Before I conclude, I must thank you for the kind expressions you have made use of to me respecting my protégé, Mr. Treves. I confess I feel myself much interested in his welfare and success in Life, & nothing can make me more happy than thinking y<sup>t</sup> he will owe y<sup>t</sup> Success to you. I have just heard from a Friend at the India House y<sup>t</sup> the object of Treves' ambition, at present, is to be appointed to the Adaulet of Benares, w<sup>h</sup> is now held by a Black named Alü Carrow. Understanding that most of the Adaulets are now held by Europeans, and as I am informed it is the intention that the Europeans are to be so placed in future, in preference to the natives, I sh<sup>d</sup> be vastly happy if—without committing any

injustice—you c<sup>d</sup> place young Treves in y<sup>e</sup> situation, as I shall feel personally obliged to you for his promotion.

“I will not trespass any further upon you, but conclude with desiring you to believe me, my dear lord,

“Ever sincerely your Friend,

“GEORGE P.”

It may have been suspected that what lent acrimony to this struggle of the Prince's, which had now terminated in his complete defeat, was the sense of his situation, now well-nigh desperate. Though an arrangement had been so recently made for the settlement of his debts, he had now become once more frightfully involved, and on this occasion, at least, without hope of extrication by the Parliament. A sum of £20,000 had been granted for Carlton House; but an estimate was sent in for £55,200 for building and furniture, which, during the course of the next two years, had been paid. What greed the Prince and his friends showed in this matter will be evident from the furniture estimate, which in 1787 was fixed at £5500. Within two years a demand was sent in “for furniture and decorations ordered for the state apartments, to replace some of that for which the sums voted by Parliament in 1787 had hardly been expended; and he had contrived that a much larger sum should be laid out on that costly ‘Folly’ of Carlton House; while a large sum had just been paid, not for the completion, but for the progress of the building, which was intended at the time of the application to the House, and to furnish other apartments not then projected,” and this was modestly placed at a sum of £56,950.\* This, however, was summarily rejected by the Board. It certainly showed an incurable recklessness and even effrontery, and not the least prospect of reform.

Sunk, therefore, in debt and difficulties, and without prospect of extrication, in his desperation he resorted to the old favorite scheme for raising money abroad, from which he had been prudently dissuaded by his friends. This was the issuing bonds in the nature of “post-obits,” which were to be negotiated in foreign countries. This scandal was now to be talked of. In July this year Mr. Wilberforce had a very agreeable dinner with Lord Chatham, whom he found “very chatty and good-humored.” Among other

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\* His creditors seemed to have lost all respect for him, and stopped him in the street with their demands. The workmen employed at Carlton House addressed a petition for payment to the Prime Minister.

curious gossip, he told him that "a wretched dependant" of the Prince's had applied to a certain person—so confidential was his talk that the names are designated by numbers—to lend money on the joint bond of the Prince and his two brothers, double the sum to be paid when the King should die and any of the brothers come to the throne. This matter (says Huish) was perfected on the 16th of December, 1788, witnessed by Andrew Robinson and Charles Bicknell, and on the same day the money was paid.\*

This transaction had been set on foot during the King's illness, under the management of the cook Weltjie, "the wretched dependant," and a large operation was at first proposed to be carried out in Scotland and Ireland, under the direction of brokers. Weltjie introduced a Mr. Cator, of the Adelphi, and Mr. Jones, of Soho. The first provided £10,000, on the condition of his being paid treble the amount. About £30,000 was said to have been obtained in £100 bonds, repayable in twelve years. It was stated that no interest was ever obtained from the Princes, which is not improbable, as they never had money to pay it with, the

\* The form of these bonds runs as follows :

"KNOW ALL MEN by these presents that We, George Prince of Wales, Frederick Duke of York, and William Duke of Clarence, all living in the City of Westminster, in the County of Middlesex, are jointly and severally, justly and truly indebted to John Cator, of Beckenham, in the County of Kent, Esquire, and his executors, administrators, and assigns, in the penal sum of Sixty Thousand Pounds of good and lawful money of Great Britain, well and truly paid to us at or before the sealing of these presents. Sealed with our seals this 16th day of December, in the 29th year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George III., by the Grace of God, King, Defender of the Faith, Anno Domini 1788.

"The condition of the above-named obligation is such, that if the above bounden George Prince of Wales, Frederick Duke of York, and William Henry Duke of Clarence, or any or either of them, or any other of their heirs, executors, or administrators, shall well and truly pay unto the above-named John Cator, his executors, administrators, or assigns, the full sum of Thirty Thousand Pounds of lawful money of Great Britain, within the space or time of six calendar months next after any one or either of us, the said George Prince of Wales, Frederick Duke of York, and William Henry Duke of Clarence, shall come to and ascend the throne of England, together with lawful interest on the same, to be computed from the day that such event shall happen, up and home to the time of paying off this obligation, then, and in such case, the same shall become null and void; otherwise to be and remain in full force and virtue.

"GEORGE Prince of Wales, L. S.

"FREDERICK, L. S.

"WILLIAM HENRY, L. S."



lenders paying it for a couple of years, when they became bankrupt.\* But little relief, however, was obtained in this direction; for as the King recovered the security grew less and less valuable. It was then conceived that money might be raised abroad, and a sort of financial operation was accordingly set on foot in Holland. Mr. Abraham Goldsmidt, a financier, undertook the speculation, which was arranged at the Hague; though it would seem to have been started under the auspices of the Dukes of Portland and Northumberland, who at all times took an interest in settling his affairs. They had heard of the first loan, and the "usurious terms" which were offered. They had, no doubt, felt that he should be saved from the unbecoming proceedings of the "post-obits," and determined to arrange for his extrication on the usual and legitimate terms of good security and fair interest. Accordingly it was determined to raise a sum of about £350,000 on the security of the Duchy of Cornwall and Bishopric of Osnaburg, with payments by drawings and a sinking fund, and the whole to be paid off in twenty-five years. The two Dukes, Lords Southampton, Rawdon, and others, were to be trustees to receive the interest. The Duke of Portland had interviews with one Van der Meulen, who came from Holland, and the loan seems to have been regularly subscribed at Antwerp by the house of Werbrouck and De Wolf, and a Frenchman, De Beaume, the three royal brothers being joined in the security.

This affair, like most of the transactions in which the Prince was concerned, was unfortunately to be attended with accusation of breach of faith, repudiation, etc. Over £100,000 is said to have been received in cash and jewels, but no interest was paid. The King presently heard of it, and was indignant at the unworthy mode in which his third son—a mere youth—had been drawn into such serious obligations. The whole was treated as an attempt to extort money; pleas were set up of "no value" being received, and the law officers discovered, or affected to discover, that the security of the Duchy could not be pledged. Though this matter has been hotly controverted on both sides, it seems that the events that followed this loan were of the most disastrous kind, and at least led

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\* Lord Kingsborough told Mrs. Harcourt one night at the Queen's Lodge, that the Prince had been offering £10,000 and an Irish peerage, after the King's death, for every £5000, though even on these terms he could get little. —"Mrs. Harcourt's Diary," p. 46.

to unpleasant suspicions, the reckless Princes, like other spend-thrifts, seeming to look on those that lent to them as enemies, to whom any fate, for treatment, was good enough. That industrious *chiffonnier*, Huish, whose garbage seems always to contain a certain amount of facts, has collected much about this curious affair.

“The plan,” he says, “proposed by De Beaume, to raise a sum of money on the Continent for the use of the Princes, was very similar to that which was negotiated by the Boas in Holland. Mr. Bicknell was directed to prepare a bond for their execution for £100,000, payable to De Beaume, and vesting in him the power to divide it into £1000 each by printed copies of the bond, which, under the signature of De Beaume, with the amount and number certified by a notary public, should be as binding on the Princes as if executed by themselves. The original bond was deposited, in trust, in the bank of Ransom, Morlands, and Hammersley; while an attested copy was immediately delivered to De Beaume, and the bankers’ acknowledgment of holding such a security was given as De Beaume’s authority and credentials, as the agent of the three illustrious Princes, who, in this instance, seem to have taken every precaution to secure themselves against imposition.

“De Beaume went to Paris as the agent of the Prince of Wales, and established himself there in that capacity. The French Revolution then wore a very serious aspect, and many of the French wished to leave their country till better times. As by remitting bills to England they sustained a very heavy loss, the securities of the British Princes were eagerly purchased from De Beaume by those who wished to emigrate, because those securities were not only more portable than specie, but they were purchased without being subject to the fluctuations of the course of exchange, and at the time were considered as the best negotiable securities in the market. The unfortunate French who purchased them and came hither, thought themselves perfectly safe in this country; but as they could not get any money paid on them, they were involved in great difficulty, and consequently became very urgent and clamorous.

“The Duke of Portland was then Secretary of State for the Home Department, and to him came many complaints from Carlton House against such of the emigrants as were most troublesome and unjust in demanding their money. They were sent out of the country, as in the former instance, and landed on the Continent. Twenty-six foreigners, who were creditors of the Princes, and who

had placed the utmost reliance on the honor and faith of a British Prince, were sent out of England, though no charge was preferred against them. It is, however, an accredited fact, that the Prince of Wales, on several occasions and to various persons, did deny the receipt of any consideration for the bond of De Beaume.

“The trustees delivered up the bond, which was cancelled at Burlington House, in the presence of the Duke of Portland, on the 16th of November, 1790. This remittance had been made by De Beaume in diamonds, through the bank of Perregaux at Paris, to the bank of Ransom, Morland, and Hammersley, on account of the Princes. The diamonds thus remitted were to the amount of £38,653 10s. We have the bills of parcels of these diamonds now before us—they were disposed of by his bankers for the benefit of the Prince: on what ground of common justice, then, could the Prince declare that he had received no consideration whatever for the bond?

“De Beaume and his confederates were denounced as treasonable in the face of it for declaring George III. to be King of Great Britain, *France*, and Ireland. The prisoners were tried, condemned, and executed within twenty-four hours.

“Thus, in one day, perished Richard, Chaudot, Mestrier, Niette, De Beaume, and Aubert, either for negotiating the Prince’s securities or for purchasing shares of them, as was also the case with Viette, a rich jeweller, who had purchased a hundred shares of the bond from De Beaume.

“The next victim who bled on the scaffold for having been the purchaser of twenty shares of the Prince’s bond, was Charles Vaucher, a banker in Paris, who quitted France with a large fortune in 1792. He fixed his residence in England, where he married an English lady. Having demanded payment of the interest on his shares of the Prince’s bond, he was referred to the bank of Ransom & Co., when he was advised, if he wished to remain in England, never again to apply for his money; for, if he did, he would be sent out of the country, as many in his situation had already been. This threat did not deter him; he repeated his application, and was equally unsuccessful. He laid his case before Mr. Shepherd (afterwards Sir S. Shepherd), Solicitor-General, who decided that his claim upon the Prince was just and legal; and at the close of the opinion which that eminent lawyer gave are the following remarkable words: ‘If any action is brought with this case, it will require the clearest proof of the facts, and that there is no collusion



between De Beaume and Vaucher, because, as a bill has been passed for the payment of his royal highness's debts, subjecting them to the examination of commissioners, it will be a strong argument against the justice of a demand that has been withheld from such examination: however, there is nothing in the bill which prevents a creditor of his royal highness from suing, if he chooses, in preference to going before the commissioners.'

"In this opinion the learned counsel seems to have anticipated the very objection that was raised by the commissioners, and the grounds on which they contested the validity of the claim. The Prince inserted it not in his schedule of debts, he disclaimed it *in toto*; and, therefore, as the Prince disavowed it, the commissioners could not be called upon to allow it; and the only redress which Vaucher could hope to obtain was by an appeal to the laws of the country. A copy of the opinion of Mr. Shepherd was sent, with a polite note, to the Prince of Wales, hoping his royal highness would render all legal measures unnecessary, by ordering the interest to be paid. The interest was not paid: the application was renewed to his royal highness, adding that, if no satisfactory answer were returned, such measures would be adopted as would compel his royal highness to pay the amount. On the 6th of October an official order was given for him to quit England in four days. Having other pecuniary matters to arrange, he petitioned the Duke of Portland to allow him to remain until the issue of his claims had been determined. On the 11th of October a warrant was signed by the Duke of Portland, directing William Ross and George Higgins, two of the King's messengers, to take Mr. Vaucher into custody till he should be sent out of the country. On the 15th he was taken into custody, and on the 20th he was carried to Harwich, to be sent thence to Rotterdam, where he arrived on the 23rd of the same month. Not long after his arrival on the Continent, he was apprehended, taken to Paris, and thrown into prison, where he remained until the 22nd of December, 1795, on which day he was tried on the same charges as De Beaume, was found guilty, and guillotined.

"Our limits will not allow us to enter at full into the cases of Mr. D. Lovell, the editor of *The Statesman*, and that of Mr. Auriol; but proof is on record that, with the diamonds remitted by De Beaume, and the money advanced by Auriol, the sum received by the Prince amounted to between £60,000 and £70,000 sterling."

The transaction, indeed, caused a great sensation abroad; and a

number of pamphlets, setting out the grievances of the bondholders and those interested, were published on the Continent.\*

From this account † has been omitted all speculations or libellous insinuations and statements. But, after making due allowance, it seems but too probable that high-handed proceedings were adopted towards the unfortunate foreign bondholders. The defence urged for the Princes was—that spurious bonds had got into circulation; that “no consideration” had passed. The scandal caused by these transactions was great.

So late as 1829 claims were being made under this loan, and some of the mysterious journeys to the Continent of Sir William Knighton were connected with the arrangement of this affair.

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\* The following advertisement appeared in the Dutch papers of 1796: “September 2. Notice. The bearers of shares in the following loans, negotiated by Abraham and Simeon Boas, at the Hague, to wit, &c., 350,000 florins for the three English princes, namely, George Prince of Wales, Frederick Duke of York, and William Henry Duke of Clarence, made in 1789, &c., are entreated to apply before the 1st of September next, from nine in the morning till one in the afternoon, to the notary, Corneille van Homrich at Amsterdam; the notaries, Huggen en Tendall, at the Hague; where are deposited, for the purpose of being signed, the respective acts of procuration and qualification upon Messrs. Wills and Company, merchants, at Amsterdam, appointed to withdraw from the hands of the registrar of the Court of Holland the original letters of mortgage in the said negotiations (which letters were removed from the custody of Abraham and Simon Boas, to be there kept), to deposit them with the notary, Van Homrich, and to prevent, by this measure, any loss upon the said negotiations, to attend to the concerns of the subscribers, and to promote the payment of their interest, and the reimbursement of their capitals.” —Wallace, “Life and Reign,” i. 224.

† Two pamphlets were published at Antwerp in 1791, describing the negotiations, giving the names of trustees’ security, etc. The amount was over three millions and a half of guelders. It gives the date of the Prince’s signing the power of attorney, his two bonds, an account of Van der Meulen’s interviews with the Duke of Portland, the counsel’s opinion as to the power of mortgage, which was signed by Lowten, Adam, and Baldwin. The unfortunate Colonel Frederick, son of Theodore, King of Corsica, was employed as an agent in this transaction. Mr. Cyrus Redding investigated the whole transaction, and found in the *Moniteur* of the time the debates on the unfortunate bondholders.

## CHAPTER XXI.

1790—1791.

THROUGH all these affairs, the King's illness, the debates on the Regency, and the quarrels with the Queen, there was one name often mentioned, and which exercised an important influence—that of Mrs. Fitzherbert, at whose house we hear of many secret consultations being held, “Jack Payne” and Sheridan being the chief councillors. She would have been less than woman had she not been excited by the prospect now opening, and it was currently reported that, had the Prince succeeded to the Regency, she was to have been created a Duchess. But the hold any adviser had over the Prince's mind was at all times uncertain, and it seems extraordinary how she contrived to retain her influence on one so unsteady. We may fairly impute it to respect for her and the honesty of her motives. One of his friends wrote: “I fear there is in the Prince this feature of his father—that he loves closets within cabinets, and cupboards within closets; that he will have secret advisers besides his ostensible ones, and still more invisible ones behind his secret advisers—that he will be faithful to none of them, and a most uncomfortable master to those ministers who would really serve him.” These are the words of the sagacious and amiable Sir Gilbert Elliot, and severe as is the character it is not overdrawn. The reader will keep it before him during the course of this history, and find that it explains many of his proceedings.

Nor was Mrs. Fitzherbert without her troubles during this critical period. All this time the irrepressible Rolle was struggling to bring forward the question of her marriage. Horne Tooke had also some time before published his remarkable pamphlet, in which he had persistently styled her “Your Royal Highness.” But she still maintained her hostility to Mr. Fox. Sir Philip Francis, indeed, tells us that she often told him that she so abhorred Fox, and never would be reconciled to him, “notwithstanding many advances and earnest submissions on his part, of which, at his request, I was more than once the bearer. She said that by his unauthor-



ized declarations in the House of Commons he had rolled her in the kennel like a street-walker; that he knew that every word he said was a lie, and so on, in a torrent of virulence which it was in vain for me to encounter, so I gave the point up and made my retreat as well and as fast as I could. On the other hand, Horne Tooke flattered her in his own way—but whether by direct access to her or not I cannot say—that she was Princess of Wales, that she must be acknowledged. All this he maintained for the mere purpose of doing mischief, and to gratify his own rancors. The Prince ought to have sent to the House this message, supposing the thing to have been absolutely necessary, by his own Chancellor, or some principal officer of his household; or, at all events, Fox, if he *would* or *must* be the carrier of such a declaration, ought to have taken it in writing, on no other condition, and answering for nothing himself. All that can be said for his imprudence is, that at that time he did not know the Prince, who soon after disavowed him, at least to the lady. At that time there was not a well-informed man in London who was not convinced that, in 1785, the rites and ceremonies of marriage between the Prince and Mrs. Fitzherbert had taken place according to the rules established in both Churches, and I am as sure of the fact as if I had been present.”

It was, however, now so fully understood that the statement made in the House was a fiction, that her position had not been affected by it. It was remarked that certain great and exclusive ladies received her, not merely with friendliness, but with formal honors. Testimony to this belief of the marriage is found in a conversation held between Mrs. Harcourt and the Duke of Gloucester, in this very year of the King's recovery, when he told her that “the *marriage* between the P. and Mrs. Fitz. was without much love on either side. He had his amusements elsewhere, but he had much consideration for her. She was sometimes jealous and discontented; her temper violent, though apparently so quiet. He hoped,” he went on to say, “the Prince would remain in her hands, as she was no political intriguer, and probably, if they parted, he would fall into worse hands.”\* This, the tone of the Court, seems to define her situation, which was looked on as analogous to that of a German “left-handed” marriage.†

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\* “Diary,” p. 41.

† A pamphleteering parson named Withers assailed her in a series of libels, from which she had to seek the protection of the law. Her assailant was punished with fine and imprisonment.

The Prince at this time found himself obliged to prosecute the proprietor of *The Times* newspaper—then not nearly so important an organ as it has become—Mr. Walter, for writing that he and his brother had entered the King's apartment and purposely disturbed him, and for libellous reflections. The offender was sentenced to two years' imprisonment and the pillory. This part of his punishment was remitted, and his term of imprisonment reduced to sixteen months.\*

It may be conceived that if the Prince were in such straits, Mrs. Fitzherbert had her share of difficulties. She herself had expensive tastes, and had brought her jointure into the common stock. It must be said, the Prince in many of his straits came to her rescue with due loyalty and generosity. Thus, one morning at her house in Park Lane, when he was with her, the bailiff arrived with a warrant for her arrest for a sum of £1825. There were no means of discharging this debt, though the Prince tried every resource. He at last sent for Parker, a well-known pawnbroker of Fleet Street, the same who was connected with the transaction in which the Duchess of Devonshire's jewels were concerned, and tried to raise the money on some of the lady's jewels. Owing to some difficulties this could not be contrived, and the Prince sent for his own jewels from Carlton House, which were pledged for the day, until the Prince could raise the sum from some Jews in St. Mary Axe.† Jewellers, indeed, figure largely in these transactions.

About this time he had made a most important change, as it seemed to him, viz., in selecting a new jeweller. Gray, of Sackville Street, having presumed to require "a settlement," had been discarded, and now Jefferey, of Piccadilly, was selected for the profitless, or certainly precarious, office of purveying ornaments to his royal highness. How important the function may be conceived, when this tradesman solemnly states that for many years not a single day passed without his spending some time at Carlton House, when articles of his profession were offered for selection.

One morning Jefferey received a visit from Mr. Weltjie, begging for a loan of £1600 on the part of the Prince to extricate Mrs. Fitz-

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\* "Yet the statement was quite true," says Mrs. Harcourt, "and the remission was against the Duke of York's wishes, who was very violent. Jack Payne was Walter's greatest enemy."

† Huish states that he had this story from the pawnbroker himself. The substance, though vulgarly dressed up with additional "facts" from the writer's imagination, seems to be true.

nerbert, desiring to have it placed to the Prince's account. Mr. Jefferey found the cash, and attended on the following morning to announce that the debt was paid. Full of gratitude the Prince brought Mrs. Fitzherbert to his shop, to return her thanks in person. The money was repaid in three months. This was the beginning of many such transactions with this accommodating jeweller, and also, as will be seen later, of much discreditable disputes.

We next find the Prince at Frogmore, where he was "hardly civil to any one, tho' he seemed to pay more court to the King. He did not speak to L<sup>d</sup> Harcourt, to whom he had been very civil always during the King's late illness, until he was the first to tell him that the King w<sup>d</sup> certainly recover—a characteristic touch. The Queen & Princesses this evening (that of September 20) were evidently afraid of him." \* In October, at the Hunt, "the King made General Harcourt converse the whole time, as if to keep off the Prince, who does not speak to the General since the illness." † A general reconciliation with his family seemed therefore hopeless, and, indeed, the tone adopted by the Prince even in indifferent matters was not likely to encourage harmony. Thus the King, ever partial to music, was fond of giving Sunday evening parties, where he offered his guests the rational entertainment of good music and conversation. The Bishops, however, conceiving that this was "contrary to the spirit of the Sabbath," respectfully remonstrated, and with success. But it becoming known that his son also celebrated the Sunday with music and with more joviality than was becoming the day, he took the injudicious step not of speaking to the Prince, but of warning the nobility that he disapproved of their attendance at such performances. As was to be expected, the command was laughed at by all those who were not of the royal household, or not dependent on royalty for a pension; but at Carlton House and other places it became a standing joke, and with some of the party it was their regular custom to send to the Bishops who might be resident in London a polite invitation to a Sunday evening conversazione. There was, as usual, an edifying state of things and in the worst taste, and the blame must be not a little distributed.

It was during this year, too, that the Prince paid a visit to one who, without injustice, might be styled a notorious "rake," viz., Lord Sandwich. "Jemmy Twitcher," as he was called, belonged

\* "Mrs. Harcourt's Diary," p. 36.

† Ibid.



to an old generation of rakes, and had been little heard of since Miss Ray's tragic end. The attraction would seem to have been the musical tastes of his host and the harmonious fare offered. His lordship had the odd taste to choose for his favorite instrument the drum; and at his own concerts, when a full band was engaged, he always performed on that instrument. As Peter Pindar wrote: "He beats old Ashbridge on the kettledrum."

On this occasion, Madame Mara sang, and his royal highness "assisted on the violoncello." Generally there was a theatrical performance—"Fool à la Mode," "High Life Below Stairs," or some favorite piece; while the evening wound up with catches and glees, in all of which the Prince was fond of taking a part. He had an excellent and a cultured voice, a greater distinction than in our own time, when the study of music has been so diffused. He remained a week at this agreeable house, and on going away expressed his delight at the way he had been entertained.

In a glee, his royal highness could supply "the basso" with more good will than delicacy. On one of the evenings at the Pavilion (one of Sir P. Francis's daughters reports) his royal highness, after dinner, having proposed music, and being actively engaged in performing, with Mrs. Francis and some other persons, the pretty hunting trio of "Azioli," of which the burden is "*Ritornereмо a Clori*"—— But the story is amusing, and bears such a favorable testimony to the Prince's good humor, that the lady must be allowed to tell it herself.

"It is well known that, to an excessive love of music, he added much real taste as an amateur, and some power as a performer; but his execution was not particularly good, and Mr. Francis, Sir Philip's son, with whom he frequently sang, was sometimes comically struck by the loudness of his voice, and his peculiar manner. On one of the above-mentioned evenings at the Pavilion, his royal highness, after dinner, having proposed music, and being actually engaged in performing with Mr. Francis and some other person the pretty hunting trio of 'Azioli,' of which the burden is, '*Ritornereмо a Clori, al tramontar del dì*,' Mr. Francis suddenly found the full face of the Prince, somewhat heated by the eagerness of his performance, in immediate contact with his own; and this circumstance, combined with that of the loud bass tones in which his royal highness was singing the words '*Ritornereмо a Clori*,' striking him in some ludicrous point of view, he became absolutely unable to resist the effect on his nerves, and burst out laughing. The Prince

evidently perceived that his own singing had produced the unseasonable laughter, but instead of showing displeasure at a rudeness which, however involuntary, would have been resented by many far less illustrious persons, he only called the offender to order with the words, 'Come, come, Philip!' his countenance betraying at the same time a strong inclination to join in the laugh himself; and the trio proceeded to a conclusion. Sir Philip (adds his daughter), by his original humor and great powers of conversation, was often the life of the Pavilion, though his temperate habits made the excesses occasionally committed at the Prince's table distasteful to him; and his royal host, perceiving him ready to drop asleep when the revels were long protracted, would say, 'We must carry grandpapa away to bed.'"

The same ready good humor is shown in a pleasant scene which took place at the Pavilion. Cricket was often played on the lawn, and the dinner which followed was served in a marquee. On one of those occasions, the Duke of York and Sheridan fell into dispute on some point of the game. Sheridan at length angrily told the Duke "that he was not to be talked out of his opinion there or anywhere else, and that at play all men were on a par." The Duke was evidently about to make some peculiarly indignant reply, when the Prince stood up and addressed them both.

"The narrator of the circumstance, a person of rank, who was present, himself one of the most attractive public speakers of the day, has often declared that he never, on any occasion, saw any individual under the circumstances acquit himself with more ability. The speech was of some length—ten or fifteen minutes; it was alternately playful and grave, expressed with perfect self-possession, and touching on the occurrences of the game, the characters of both disputants, and the conversation at the table, with the happiest delicacy and dexterity. Among other points the Prince made a laughing apology for Sheridan's unlucky use of the phrase 'on a par,' by bidding his brother remember that the impressions of school were not easily effaced, that Dr. Parr had inflicted learning upon Sheridan, and that, like the lover in 'The Wonder,' who mixes his mistress's name with everything, and calls to his valet, 'Roast me these Violantes,' the name of Parr was uppermost in Sheridan's sleep: he then ran into a succession of sportive quotations of the word *par*, in the style of *Ludere par impar, equitare in arundine longâ*, until the speech was concluded in general gayety, and the dispute was thought of no more." \*

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\* Dr. Croly, "Life of George IV."

During this season, too, he had witnessed some more private theatricals, performed before him at Richmond House, with the following distinguished caste. The piece was Murphy's "Way to Keep Him:"

Lovemore.....	Lord DERBY.
Sir Brilliant Fashion.....	Hon. Mr. EDGECUMBE.
Sir Bashful Constant.....	Major ARABIN.
William.....	Sir HARRY ENGLEFIELD.
Sideboard.....	Mr. CAMPBELL.
Widow Belmour.....	Hon. Mrs. HOBART.
Mrs. Lovemore.....	Hon. Mrs. DAMER.
Lady Constant.....	Miss CAMPBELL.
Muslin.....	Mrs. BRUCE.

The prologue was written by Mr. Conway, and spoken by the Hon. Mrs. Hobart.\*

In February, 1788, the Prince had been initiated into Freemasonry, at the Star and Garter, Pall Mall. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland as Grand Master, the Duke of Norfolk, the Duke of Manchester, and several other noblemen attended the ceremony.

Meanwhile the King's condition seemed to improve, and the fêtes still given in honor of his restoration continued to testify the affection borne him. The Spanish Ambassador's fête, given at Ranelagh, was one of the most magnificent of those galas, and was said to have cost £12,000. It was a fair specimen of all that money and labor could do in those days. A description may be quoted.

"The entrance into the rotunda (we are told) was formed into a shrubbery; the lower boxes represented a Spanish camp, and the gallery formed a temple of Flora. The Queen's box was of crimson satin, lined with white satin hung in festoons, and richly fringed with gold, at the top of which was a regal crown. The orchestra was a magnificent pavilion of white and gold, lined with green embroidered satin, in which was a table of eighteen covers for the royal family. Opposite the Queen's box was a small stage, on which a Spanish dance was performed by children, which had a pleasing effect. In another arch of the centre were beautiful mov-

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\* "Afterwards Countess of Berkshire, who, according to the fashion of the times, presided at a faro-table which was frequented by the Prince of Wales, and where on some evenings she gave her dramatic readings, in which she was assisted by that sprightly and witty barrister, the present Mr. Jekyll."—*Huish*,



ing transparencies; and in a third was a lottery of watches, gold trinkets, medals, etc., consisting of six hundred prizes, the number of ladies invited. The great prize, a gold watch richly ornamented with diamonds, fell to the lot of Miss Eliza Sturt. Her Majesty drew an etwée-case, with a beautiful medallion of the King. An Ode, the words by Colonel Arabin, was sung; after which a red curtain drew up, and about thirty girls and boys, in Spanish dresses, entertained the company with Spanish dances. Her Majesty and the royal family then retired to the back part of their box, to view the fireworks from the garden. There were about twenty sailing-boats on the water, illuminated with lamps, which moved backwards and forwards, letting off sky-rockets. The fireworks were very grand, and well conducted."

All these entertainments were so many affronts to the Princes. At the Spanish minister's fête members of the party were said to have been excluded; and the Princes showed their feelings by quitting the room almost as soon as they entered it. At the French Ambassador's fête they noticed that the Queen "bowed graciously to Colonel Lenox," on which the royal brethren at once took their departure. The Princesses, whose position at such places must have been awkward, merely made their appearance and then went away, and during the dance the Princesses had to be led out by noblemen. A journey to the seaside, with visits to various great houses, was prescribed for the King, as well as some stay at his favorite Weymouth. The Princes set out on a progress of their own into Yorkshire and other places. It was hoped that the Prince of Wales would have waited on his father; but he despatched the Duke of York in his place with a letter, in the composition of which Sheridan and Fox, then staying at Brighton, had been concerned.

The Prince, as usual, preferred to hurry post from Brighton without stop, had stayed only a single day, and thence returned, sleeping in his chaise. He played a match of cricket there, then set off with his brother for the York races, where both were received by Lord Fitzwilliam at Wentworth. It was hardly surprising that the Duke, who had only just recovered from the measles, should have fallen sick again at York. For these wild courses a heavy price was to be paid later, in the sufferings that attend a life of excess.\*

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\* On this tour or progress he was attended in all state by the Dukes of Bedford, Ancaster, and Queensberry, Lords Carlisle, Derby, Rawdon, and others.

At Lord Fitzwilliam's a unique and truly magnificent display was contrived. The whole county round was bidden to the park, where all were entertained, and it was calculated that no less than twenty thousand persons were feasted: two hundred of the Yorkshire belles and Yorkshire "quality" sat at the table with the Prince.

As if to encourage him further in his reckless course of life, there now arrived in town his friend, the Duke of Orleans—having left Paris on the eve of the Revolution. At Boulogne he had been seized and detained by the fishermen, and was only allowed to depart after infinite difficulty. A house had been taken for him in town. The Prince put off a visit he was about paying to Holkham to "Coke of Norfolk," to entertain the Duke. The Prince and his brother were at their favorite jeweller's, when they encountered their French friends. But there presently arose a coldness between them, when the behavior of the French Prince to King Louis XVI. became known; the Duke of York declined meeting him at entertainments; while it was remarked that at the Prince of Wales's ball given to Prince Galitzin the Duke of Orleans was not present.

The summer had been spent at Brighton with more than usual frivolity. Mr. Fox was on a visit with him, and both repaired to Lewes races, where the Prince was welcomed by the High Sheriff,

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He won a stake at the York races, and received the freedom of the city. No wonder that Mr. Burke wrote to Fox—this was in August, 1789—"Things went off well in Yorkshire. I wish the Prince had staid a few days longer, to show himself to the manufacturing towns, which are the headquarters of the enemy. It is very probable that he might have dislodged them. However, as it was, the Northern excursion has been of use."

In returning to town he met with an accident: "About two miles north of Newark, a cart crossing the road struck the axle of the Prince's coach and overturned it. It was on the verge of a slope, and the carriage fell a considerable way, turned over twice, and was shivered to pieces. There were in the coach along with him, Lord Clermont, Colonel St. Leger, and Colonel Lake. The Prince suffered a slight contusion in the shoulder, and his wrist was sprained. Being undermost in the first fall, by the next roll of the carriage he was brought uppermost, when, with great presence of mind, he disengaged himself, and was the first to rescue and disengage his fellow-travellers. Lord Clermont was the most hurt. The accident happened at ten o'clock at night, and it was clear moonlight. The carriage was his royal highness's own travelling-coach, with hired horses and postilions; and the mischance was occasioned by the wilfulness of the postilions, who drove to clear the cart with their common precipitation."

attended by "the whole population as javelin men;" a most grotesque spectacle. Here, too, were seen three ladies, distinguished by their rather eccentric equipages—the Duchess of Rutland, Lady Lade, and Mrs. Fitzherbert—each in a carriage drawn by four gray ponies.\*

In January, 1790, we find the gay Prince, as previously stated, at Lord Barrymore's, at Wargrave, where he remained three days, and was entertained with plays and a masked ball. But this disorderly celebration was to be further marked by accident, an unfortunate coachman being flung from his box in a collision and killed on the spot. Then followed in the same month a magnificent ball at Carlton House, to about two hundred of the chief personages. It was a private entertainment, being given in honor of Prince Galitzin, who "wished to see an English country dance." At the close of the night he was introduced to English gaming. Captain Payne was said to have won a thousand guineas at faro. But presently the public must have been a little surprised to learn that, after the bitter animosity that reigned between the Prince and his father, a reconciliation had taken place between them. This was believed to have been brought about by Lord Thurlow, with whom the Prince had continued to be exceedingly intimate, taking delight in his rough jests and coarse abuse of the people they both disliked. "You, sir," Lord Thurlow would tell him in his rough way, "will never be popular; your father is, because he is faithful to that ugly woman, your mother." It was noted that the Prince now received and invited persons without distinction of party. Reconciliation with the Queen presently followed, brought about, it was said, through the agency of the Dukes of Leeds and Richmond, though the Princess Royal had been unwearied in her efforts to attain this end. This happy event took place in March, 1791. "A gentleman, who lives at the east end of St. James's Park," wrote Mr. Walpole, "has been sent by a lady who has a large house at the west end, and they have kissed and are friends, which he notified by toasting her health in a bumper at a club the other day."† It would seem that the feelings of the Prince had not

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\* Lady Lade was scarcely company for the other ladies, but she enjoyed the Prince's patronage, which, however, did not avail to protect her. For when on the night of the race ball she stood up for the dance, her appearance was greeted with loud murmurs, and a voice from the crowd called out, "Lady Lade's carriage stops the way!" on which she retired.

† "Letters," ix. 299.



gone with this becoming act, and that he still nourished a sense of injury.

He was still carrying on a correspondence with his friend, Lord Cornwallis, in an effusive vein, and which that nobleman received in almost dry fashion, as some unreasonable request for a place or patronage was always presented. The style should be noted.

THE PRINCE OF WALES TO LORD CORNWALLIS.

“Carlton House, April 16th, 1790.

“MY DEAR LORD,

“It is so long since I had the pleasure of hearing from You y<sup>t</sup> I am quite afraid You have forgot Your old Friends on this side of the Water, therefore think it high time to assure You y<sup>t</sup> there are a few of us who have had the pleasure of passing many pleasant & happy Hours in y<sup>r</sup> Society, whoever are most happy in hearing, be it ever such short Letters, y<sup>t</sup> You are well and situated to y<sup>r</sup> Satisfaction. By this time You must have heard of the treatment—the shameful, unjust treatment—our little worthy Friend Lothian has experienced from the Minister. I would expatiate more upon this subject, was it not so perfectly of a piece with everything y<sup>r</sup> had been inflicted, not only upon other individuals, but upon every relative and relation of the King’s Family who acted from principles of disinterested honor, y<sup>t</sup> had it not happened, one might have been astonished y<sup>t</sup> for once, the natural mean, paltry, and revengeful disposition of the Minister did not demonstrate itself in the odious and impressive light, which now it has in every instance in w<sup>h</sup> either could or dared give it vent. I will not, my dear Lord, intrude further upon y<sup>r</sup> time, as I know how much it must naturally, from y<sup>r</sup> situation, be taken up; however, before I conclude, I must just mention to You how much I wish to recommend to y<sup>r</sup> protection Young Mr. Watts, who is, I believe, in the Company’s service. I understood y<sup>t</sup> his wish is, if possible, to get equal Rank in the Regulars, to y<sup>t</sup> which he has in the Company’s troops. I do not know whether this is an easy matter to be done or not. I must leave it entirely to you, my dear Lord, to y<sup>r</sup> better judgment and knowledge of the possibility of effecting these matters; however, I only hope y<sup>t</sup> sh<sup>d</sup> this plan not be possible to be arranged, you will employ the Young Man in some other line to w<sup>h</sup> You may deem he has abilities. Pray excuse hurry and scrawl, and believe me, my dear Lord,

“Ever most truly Y<sup>r</sup> Friend,

“G. P.”

“Carlton House, May 11th, 1791.

“MY DEAR LORD,

“Allow me to return you my thanks for the Letter I last week received from you. We had, about a fortnight before, received the accounts of Colonel Floyd’s affair, & regretted much that so much bravery had not been crowned with more success, at least with a more signal victory. My Brother is gone, upon the report of War, to attend the Prussian Army, in case there sh<sup>d</sup> be any service to be seen, and sh<sup>d</sup> there not, then to return to England when the grand Reviews are over. As to Topics, there are so few except the French Revolution and the prospect of a War with Russia, with both of w<sup>h</sup> you must be so much better informed about by other persons than I can pretend to do with mine, y<sup>t</sup> I will not even take up your time with mentioning the subject. I have had the pleasure of seeing lately a great deal of my old friend Singleton, whom I had not seen hardly since he has had the honor of being related to your Lordship; & having taken a house in Hampshire about fifteen miles from mine, he now & then rides over in order to meet my Hounds, when they throw off within a distance of ten or a dozen miles from him; & all I can say is, I flatter myself, when he has the honor to be as well known by your Lordship as he is by me, he will gain the same place in y<sup>r</sup> esteem y<sup>t</sup> I confess he long has done in mine. Before I conclude, allow me to mention y<sup>t</sup> the Young Man who will have the honor of delivering this Letter to y<sup>r</sup> L<sup>d</sup>ship is a young man whose Brother, thro’ the interest of my friend Lushington, I have got the permission of the Company to be a Free Merchant. I formerly recommended him to You, & his name is Coleman, and I flatter myself he will always merit y<sup>r</sup> support & approbation by his industry and diligence. The young man himself is coming out as a Cadet, & I can only add y<sup>t</sup> any attention & assistance you are so good as to show him on my account, I shall attribute to the source of that friendship w<sup>h</sup> I hope I shall always experience from you.

“I am, My Dear Lord, Most Sincerely Yours,

“G. P.”

Lord Cornwallis’s answers to this and other rambling effusions offer a curious contrast. They are rather cold and stiff, and even seem to rebuke the want of propriety in abusing the King to the King’s officer. He wrote “that he felt the strongest disinclination to enter on that unpleasant topic of the Regency.” No one could

love or admire his royal highness more, but "he was a determined friend to the liberties of his country and the prerogatives of the Crown," and had he been in the country he would have felt it his duty to have opposed the Duke of York. For one of the Prince's *protégés* he would have to displace an old judge. This could not be done. Neither could he say whether, during his term of office, he would be able to do anything for him. He complained to Lord Southampton of persons actually not in the Company being sent out by the Prince. Mr. Colebrook had arrived in this way with all his family "on the chance." Lord Cornwallis plainly told him he could do nothing for him. He said that he had been advised to come by Sir T. Macpherson, the Prince's friend.\*

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\* "Cornwallis Cor.," *passim*.



## CHAPTER XXII.

1791.

It can scarcely be understood how passionate and successful a follower of racing was the Prince of Wales. Nothing, indeed, more completely disposes of the conventional idea of his character that he was a frivolous being without talents and engrossed in pleasure. To be successful in this sport requires, as is well known, qualities of judgment, sagacity, and calculation, with the power of analyzing experience and turning it to profit. No one of his time had so genuine a love for horses, and no one had "a finer eye for them," says the author of "*Post and Paddock*." Hacks and hunters he never seemed tired of trying, and the dealers, like the jewellers, were always welcome. At Carlton House, Mat Milton's refrain, "Throw your thigh over him, your Highness, and you'll find him to be the sweetest goer you ever mounted," was invariably responded to. Hunting to a man who latterly weighed more than twenty-three stone was, of course, out of the question, but when he was able to don his blue coat with gilt buttons and top-boots and buckskins, he cared very little what Milton or any other dealer chose to ask for a clever hack. It used to be a saying at Brighton that, heavy as he was, he rode so well that he never soiled his nankeens.\* He used to hunt with Mr. Villebois's hounds in Hampshire, and the plumes still appear on the Club button.

It was during this period (1788 to 1791) that he was most partial to hunting, though it was admitted that he was never what was called a forward rider. As we have seen, he had hunted in Hampshire. We are told "Colonel Leigh was then in high favor; and George Sharpe was for some short time his huntsman, although before long superseded by a man named Granston, who was dismissed only by death from the service of the Prince. His hounds showed as fair a proportion of sport as could be expected from the

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\* "*Post and Paddock*," p. 108.

flints and woods of Hampshire ; the country, however, does not, and never did, rank high even in the list of provincials ; and other *agrémens*, besides the facility of hunting, had no doubt their weight in detaining his royal master as a resident. No party bickerings, no sporting squabbles were at any time heard ; and the whole country resembled one large and happily united family, of which their distinguished visitor was looked up to and adored as the august and beloved head. Often, no doubt, amidst the domestic troubles of his after-days, did the Prince look back with a sad satisfaction and sorrow on the quiet privacy and tranquil enjoyment of the regretted sojourn [at the Grange, which, then or later, belonged to Lord Ashburton. His hounds came from Goodwood, where they had long formed the kennel of the grandfather of the present Duke of Richmond ; and amongst his horses were not a few thorough-bred ones, who had distinguished themselves on the turf, yet were notwithstanding equal to his weight. Amongst these were Curriele, Asparagus, Totteridge, and Torbay." In 1790, however, we find him at Critchill, the seat of Mr. Sturt, and where recently the present heir-apparent was entertained. Here he entered thoroughly into the enjoyment of rustic life, and kept himself rather secluded.

Mr. Chafin—a quaint hunting divine—describes in an admirable sporting book, now forgotten, but which has the flavor of the "History of Selborne," how the Prince called on him. One morning he was surprised to receive a visit from his royal highness, who was in great excitement, desiring an information to be taken for robbery, and that a search-warrant be granted to him. "He insisted," says the clergyman, naïvely, "on my administering the oath to him, which I reluctantly did ; and then described how his groom's box had been broken open and a watch and other valuables stolen." He suspected certain persons, and chose to come himself lest the alarm should be taken. He sat by Mr. Chafin while the warrant was being filled up, and it was a circumstance of great satisfaction to him that the goods were found where he had suspected them to be." \*

Another hunting parson, the Rev. W. Butler, and a friend of Mr. Chafin's, used to describe a rencontre with the Prince. Returning home after a blank day in the Vale he was joined by a gentleman who, entering into conversation, began to ask questions about the

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\* "Cranbourne Chace." A book after Lamb's own heart which should be reprinted.

neighbors, and more particularly about one gentleman, who, he had heard, could despatch three bottles of port at a sitting. This the clergyman thought little of, and declared he could be "as drunk as a Prince." As he rode away the Prince declared that this was the first time he had learned that a person of that rank was to be taken as the standard of inebriety. Mr. Butler presently discovered who his companion had been. Many years afterwards, when the Prince was Regent, he was advised to go to Court, and when his name was announced the Prince was heard to mutter: "I shan't forget the Rev. William Butler!" Some time afterwards he, unsolicited, presented him with a Crown living.

"Jack" Radford was his groom, having come to him from "Old Q.," in whose service he had filled the curious function of waiting in Piccadilly, mounted on a fleet pony, to ride after any one whom the decayed old Duke espied passing by. This familiar was often heard to declare, that horses were the sole subject of the Prince's thoughts, even of his dreams. If he fancied a racer he would buy him at any price, as when Lord Darlington had bid 1100 guineas for an animal at Lord H. Fitzroy's sale, he was told it was no use going on, as the King had instructed Mr. Delmé Ratcliffe to secure the mare at any price. "Indeed he was most liberal with money, as long as he did not see it. Cheques he would sign away to any amount; even £300 for 'Pea-green Haynes's dressing-box. But when he had a fifty-pound note in his pocket it was a bitter pang to him to spend £5 of it." \*

To Newmarket he was particularly partial, and his colors were always to be found there. The scene at the races, when the Prince and the men on the turf visited, is pleasantly described by a lively, witty lady (Miss Berry), and reveals more the idea of a foreign race-course than the crowded tumultuous scene an English race now presents.

"Newmarket Heath is entered by a turnpike at what is called the Devil's Ditch, a high mound, with a deep ditch of turf below, extending for several miles, of which no account is given, and which is in fact a curious antiquity. The inn is almost opposite what are called the Rooms, where men only meet, and which have rather a handsome entrance of three arcades from the street, and in this street Tattersall was selling horses by auction, and all the young men whose faces one knows in London were walking about,

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\* "Post and Paddock," p. 109.



as well as all the fathers of the turf, such as Sir Frank Standish, Sir Charles Bunbury, etc., etc. It had the oddest effect possible to see so many figures one hardly ever sees out of London walking about in a sort of village-town, for Newmarket is no more, with the exception of some good houses. About one o'clock all these men mounted their horses, and proceeded towards the Heath, half a mile from the town. We followed them in the carriage, with many other carriages, and Lord Hardwicke on horseback. The scene of so many horsemen and a good many people on foot, all trooping the same way, very gay and pretty. When they got upon the Heath, it is so vast that they seemed only like small groups upon it. It was said to be a day of little sport. But four races were run: two subscriptions, for each of which six horses started; and two matches. But the style in which all this is managed here, the rapidity with which one race follows another, though on different courses—that is, on different parts of the Heath—the scene at the betting-post, one of which belongs to each course, and is the only permanent thing upon it, for the ropes are immediately moved, and the winning-post (a little machine upon wheels) is moved from one to the other. All this was new and entertaining to me. Between each race all the men and all the carriages are collected at the betting-posts. Just before the horses start, the carriages take their places near the ropes, and the crowd on horseback disperse from the post. As soon as the horses are past, all the men follow them to the rubbing-house to see them rubbed down, and their clothes put on. The rubbing-house, stables, etc., etc., are little insignificant buildings, which occupy no space and take off nothing from the extreme bareness of the Heath. Stand there is none. The ladies are all in their carriages. There were more than I expected to see there. The fashionable custom of Newmarket is, to have the plainest carriage and liveries possible, and the gentlemen all to be mounted upon shabby-looking ribs of horses. The races were over between three and four."

At the very outset of his career, in 1788, he had won the Derby. From this time until 1792, when he first retired from the turf, he was so fortunate, Lord William Lennox tells us, as to win a hundred and eighty-five races, including eighteen King's Plate, with a valuable stake now and then of three or four thousand guineas. Adding the prizes together he will be found to have won about £30,000; but the cost of his stud was stated to have been some £30,000 a year.

"His first race was won at Newmarket, with Anvil, for a stake of £60; and his stud, which then consisted of four or five horses, gradually amounted to forty-one in 1791. From 1800 to 1807 he won a hundred and seven races, and in the latter year he was most fortunate, winning twenty-six races. According to Lord W. Lennox's calculations, he won altogether about three hundred and thirteen races in twenty years." \*

His favorite jockey was "Sam Chifney," of whom and of whose family many traditions linger at Newmarket, but who is best known from his connection with the Escape transaction. This unfortunate incident we shall now describe.

"This well-known horse was bred by the Prince himself, and, when his stud was sold off in 1787, was purchased by Mr. Francis.† In 1789 the Prince bought him back for the sum of £1500.

"On the 20th of October, 1791, Escape, then reckoned the best horse upon the turf, was beaten at Newmarket by two horses of inferior reputation. The odds now changed against him, and it was the general opinion of the sporting world that he would lose the match he had to run the next day. Accordingly bets were made

\* "In order," says Mr. Huish, "that a correct opinion may be formed of the success of his royal highness during the year 1791, we subjoin the following list of winners belonging to him:

"Mademoiselle, by Diomed, 660 guineas at Newmarket.

"Devi Sing, by Eclipse, 150 guineas and £50 at Lewes.

"Don Quixote, by Eclipse, 100 guineas and £50 at Newmarket.

"Pegasus, by Eclipse, the King's Plate at Newmarket, and 140 guineas at Stockbridge.

"Serpent, by Eclipse, 80 guineas at Brighton, 60 guineas and the Ladies' Plate at Lewes.

"Amelia, by Highflyer, the Third Class of the Filly Stakes, 1000 guineas, and 300 guineas at Newmarket and the Prince's Stakes at Ascot.

"Escape, by Highflyer, 250 guineas, 1000 guineas, 140 guineas, and 55 guineas at Newmarket.

"Traveller, by Highflyer, 400 guineas at Newmarket.

"St. David, by Saltram, the Second Class of the Prince's Stakes, at Newmarket.

"Creeper, by Tandem, 50 guineas at Newmarket, 60 guineas at Burford, and the King's Plates at Lichfield and Burford.

"Baronet, by Vertumnus, the Oatlands Stakes at Ascot, and the King's Plates at Winchester, Lewes, Canterbury, and Newmarket.

"Clementina, by Vertumnus, £50 at Swaffham, and 200 guineas at Newmarket."

† One night the horse thrust his foot through the woodwork of his stall, and was extricated without injury, and to the astonishment of the trainer, who could only exclaim, "What an escape!" which at once suggested the name.

to a large amount, and with great odds, that Escape would lose; but contrary to the opinion, and much to the disappointment of the knowing ones, Escape won his race."

Chifney, who rode Escape on these two days, published a pamphlet, a short time before his death, entitled, "*Genius Genuine*, by Samuel Chifney, of Newmarket; containing a full account of the Prince's horse Escape, running at Newmarket on the 20th and 21st days of October, 1791"—in which he very satisfactorily accounted for Escape's losing his first and winning his second race. On the first day's race, Escape, he said, for want of proper exercise, was not in a fit condition to run; that the exercise had opened his pores, and enabled him to perform better on the second day. But this was far from satisfactory to the gentlemen of the turf, and a rumor was propagated that Escape had run unfairly on the first day's race. It was reported that his royal highness got the grooms out of the way, and had given the horse a pail of water just before he had to run, and of course the horse was winded and easily beaten.

"As I came from scale," says Chifney, "I was told that Mr. W. Lake (brother to Lord Viscount Lake, and the gentleman who had the management of the Prince of Wales's running horses) had been saying something improper to his royal highness concerning Escape's winning; I made it, therefore, my business to go immediately to his royal highness, who was riding with a gentleman near to the Great Stand House, and he immediately accosted me in the following words: 'Sam Chifney, as soon as Escape's race was over, Mr. Lake came up to me, and said, "I give your Royal Highness joy; but I am sorry the horse has won, I would sooner have given a hundred guineas." I told Mr. Lake that I did not understand him—that he must explain himself.' I then answered his royal highness, saying, 'Yes, your Royal Highness; it is very necessary that he should explain himself.' This is all that passed on the subject to-day.

"On the morning after the race, his royal highness sent for me into his dressing-room, and then ordered me to be shown into an adjoining room, where he thus accosted me: 'Sam Chifney, I have sent for you on some very unpleasant business. I am told, Sam Chifney, that you won six or seven hundred pounds upon the race on the day before yesterday, when you rode Escape, and were beaten upon him.' I replied, that I believed his royal highness had not such an opinion of me.



“His royal highness continued: ‘I am told, Sam Chifney, that you won six or seven hundred pounds upon the race yesterday, when you rode Escape, and won upon him; and I am told that Vauxhall Clark’—clerk of the stables to the Prince of Wales—‘won all the money for you.’ I answered, ‘May I not offend by asking who it was that dared to tell your Royal Highness so?’

“His royal highness replied, ‘Sam Chifney, I wish to know whether you have any objection to take your affidavit, naming all the bets you had upon the race, every way, when you rode Escape, and was beaten upon him on the day before yesterday?’ I acknowledged my readiness to do it, if it would give his royal highness any satisfaction.

“His royal highness said, ‘Sam Chifney, your doing it will give yourself satisfaction, it will give the public satisfaction, it will give me satisfaction. You will specify in your affidavit all the bets you had upon both days’ races, when that you rode Escape on the day before yesterday, and was beaten upon him; and yesterday when that you rode Escape and won upon him; naming all the bets you had upon both those races, and to take your affidavit as such. I hope, Sam Chifney, you do not misunderstand me.’ I answered that I did perfectly understand, and that I would take care to do as his royal highness had ordered me.

“His royal highness said, ‘Sam Chifney, I wish to know if you have any objection against being examined by the Jockey Club, and in any way that they are pleased to think proper.’ To which I most fully and freely consented. His royal highness said: ‘I am told, Sam Chifney, that you were arrested at Ascot Heath for three hundred pounds, and that Vauxhall Clark paid the money for you.’ I replied that this was the first word I had ever heard upon the subject. His royal highness said: ‘Sam Chifney, I wish to know if you have any objection to make an affidavit that you were not arrested at Ascot Heath, and that Vauxhall Clark did not pay three hundred pounds for you?’ I replied to his royal highness: ‘I am very willing to do it.’

“On the same morning (22nd of October, 1791), his royal highness called me across the betting-ring. I instantly obeyed his commands, and his royal highness put me between himself and Sir Charles Bunbury, and then rode out upon the Heath. After his royal highness and Sir Charles had talked upon the subject, his royal highness said, ‘Sam Chifney, I think you told me that you were willing to be examined by the stewards of the Jockey Club

in any way they should think proper?' I said, 'Your Royal Highness, I am proud to meet any man upon the subject.' His royal highness then addressed himself to Sir Charles Bunbury. 'There, Sir Charles, you hear him say that he is proud to meet any man upon the subject. Now, Sir Charles, I beg of you to take every pains you possibly can so as to make yourself perfectly satisfied; and then enclose me Sam Chifney's affidavits, and apprise me how the business ends, as I am going to Brighton to-night.' His royal highness left Sir Charles and rode near the betting-ring, where, after he had stood a little while, he said, 'Sam Chifney, this business should be explained.' I answered, 'Your Royal Highness, I don't know how to explain it.' His royal highness then rode off the turf to town, before the day's sport was finished, and I immediately went home. Soon after this I received from Mr. Weatherby, clerk to the Jockey Club, copies of affidavits which I swore before the Rev. Dr. Frampton, naming that I had no bet upon the race when I rode Escape on the 20th of October, 1791, and that I had twenty guineas, and no more, betted upon Escape on the following day, when I rode him on the 21st of October, 1791, and that I had the same desire of winning upon Escape when I rode him on the 20th of October, 1791, as I had when I rode him on the following day, the 21st of October, 1791; and further, that I had never been arrested on Ascot Heath, and that Mr. Vauxhall Clark never did pay any money for me. When I had sworn these affidavits, they were signed by the Rev. Dr. Frampton, and I immediately returned them to Mr. Weatherby.

"I was then had up before the stewards of the Jockey Club, who were Sir Charles Bunbury, Bart., Ralph Dutton, Esq., and Thomas Panton, Esq.

"Sir Charles Bunbury asked me some few questions: What bets I had upon the first day's race when I rode Escape on the 20th of October, 1791; and what bets I had upon the race when I rode Escape on the following day, when he won, and who made my bets for me? I answered that I had no bets upon the first day's race; that I betted twenty guineas upon Escape the next day, and no more; and that Vauxhall Clark betted for me. Sir Charles Bunbury then proceeded to ask me what was my motive for waiting with Escape on the first day.

"I told Sir Charles Bunbury that he was a wrong judge of his man.

"Sir Charles Bunbury now stopped, and looked about apparently dissatisfied.

“Mr. Dutton said, ‘I think Chifney spoke very fairly.’

“Mr. Panton immediately said, ‘Yes, very fairly.’

“Sir Charles Bunbury did not ask me any more questions.

“I then said to Sir Charles and the two other gentlemen that my motive for waiting with Escape was because I knew he could run very fast; I likewise knew Skylark could run fast, though a jade, for I had ridden against him most of the races he had run. I was now dismissed, and this is everything that passed with me from and to the Prince of Wales, Mr. W. Lake, and the Jockey Club, on this subject at Newmarket.

“Some weeks after this, and I well remember that it was after the Duke of York’s coming from abroad with the duchess, Sir John Lade wrote to me at Newmarket for me to attend on the Prince immediately. I went to Carlton House directly, and the Prince of Wales told me that Sir Charles Bunbury came to him and told him that if he suffered Chifney to ride his horses no gentleman would start against him. His royal highness said, he told Sir Charles Bunbury that if he or any other person could make it appear that Sam Chifney had done wrong, then he would never speak to him again; and without that he would not sacrifice him to any person. His royal highness then said he should leave the turf, as he could not be guilty of that ingratitude to let his horses go over for the forfeits, after being told that no gentleman would start against him, but that he should pay the forfeits, and leave the turf. His royal highness then said he could see the meaning of it. ‘They think you, Sam Chifney, a good rider, and they think you have won a race or two for me that you had no business to have won; and that there are others who wish to have you, and others who think you too good for me, as they know you will not see me robbed.’ His royal highness then told me he should always be glad to see me, and for my own sake to let him see me often; and that if he ever kept horses again, I should train and manage them. After this I was ordered to attend on his royal highness at Sir John Lade’s, in Piccadilly, which I did; and in the presence of Sir John Lade and Mr. Phillips, his royal highness put his hand upon his bosom and said that he believed Sam Chifney had been to him very honest, and wished me to understand that the two hundred guineas a year he gave me was for his life, saying, ‘I cannot give it for your life, I can only give it for my own life.’ I bowed to his royal highness, and said I was well satisfied.”

In 1802, Chifney adds, that at the Brighton and Lewes race time,



as the Prince of Wales was walking on the Steyne, having hold of a gentleman's arm, he approached and told his royal highness that they cried out very much for him at Newmarket. His royal highness said: "Sam Chifney, there has never been a proper apology made; and they used me and you very ill; they are a bad people; I'll not set my foot on the ground any more." \*

1 This unpleasant affair seems to have arisen from the disappointment of Lake, one of his own suite, who behaved very faithlessly to his master. Having lost on the race he started the objection. In another account the Prince is described as being deeply wounded by the speech, and replied: "I did not expect this from you." † Colonel St. Leger told Lord Malmesbury that Lake was the whole cause of the Newmarket affair, and that he had behaved very ill towards the Prince. ‡ This, however, terminated his connection with Newmarket, which nothing would ever induce him to visit again. In 1805 a meeting of the members of the Jockey Club was held at Brighton during the races. The result was the following resolution, unanimously carried: "May it please your Royal Highness, the members of the Jockey Club, deeply regretting your absence from Newmarket, earnestly entreat the affair may be buried in oblivion, and sincerely hope that the different meetings may again be honored by your Royal Highness's condescending attendance." This document was submitted to the Prince, who received it graciously, and, in his reply, signified his intention of assenting to it, but never carried his intention into effect. To Ascot, however, he was to the last partial. When in later years he was induced by an earnest and affectionate appeal from his racing friends to renew his connection with them, he gave a Jockey Club dinner, which was marked by graceful freedom, speechifying, and conviviality.

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\* Huish, i. 275.

† "Life and Times of George IV.," i. 226.

‡ "Diaries," ii. 452.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

1790—1793.

DURING this time the wild Duke of York kept pace with his brother—gambling, playing tennis with blacklegs, and squandering recklessly. “We are not popular,” wrote Lord Southampton, “less so than our elder brother; yet there is always a stronghold with the father.” His state was truly pitiable, and the only resource that offered for extrication was marriage.

It was unfortunate that the King and his family should have always pressed this notable remedy on all their dissipated children, making it take the odious shape of a condition precedent to any relief from their difficulties. During the Duke’s long absence in Germany he had opportunities of seeing the Princess Frederica, Princess Royal of Prussia, and since his return had corresponded with her. An alliance was now arranged; his brother, the Prince of Wales, entered very cordially into the idea, and was considered to have “behaved very well.” “He has put in,” says Sir G. Elliot, “a saving clause for himself, in case he chooses to marry, which he thinks probable, if he sees his brother happy with his wife, and told the King that had he permitted him to go abroad at the time he asked leave to do so, he meant to have looked out for a princess who would have suited him, as he was too domestic to bear the thoughts of marrying a woman he did not like.”\*

We who have heard his conversation with Lord Malmesbury at the time alluded, know how far this was from the truth, though it was no doubt spoken in good faith; an instance of that self-delusion in which he was wont to indulge.

It would appear he formed a plan of meeting his brother abroad at Coblenz, but this was given up. Like all his schemes, it seems to have been an incoherent idea arising out of his difficulties. He had actually dispatched Lord Malmesbury to his brother with a proposal that he should raise a loan at Berlin. The spectacle of a prince coming to wed a foreign bride, and using the opportunity

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\* “Life and Letters of Sir G. Elliot,” i. 293.

of his visit to raise money among her countrymen, was not a dignified one; and in this view Lord Malmesbury was employed on a sort of mission of which he gave an account to the Duke of Portland, who seems to have favored the scheme.\*

The wedded pair were welcomed by the Prince "with that unaffected grace for which he was always pre-eminently distinguished." The next proceeding was a re-marriage before the King,† on account of a legal quibble arising out of the royal marriage, matters having been so awkwardly arranged that the marriage had taken place at Berlin on the day after the King's consent had passed the Great Seal; but the Act required that it should be set out in the license and register, which, of course, could not appear at Berlin.

On the King and Queen's visit to the royal couple, some odd ceremonies were noted: "The royal party were led to the lower apartment, fronting the park, where tea was served, and the following ceremony observed: the Prince of Wales, in the first place, was to attend on the King and hand to him the tea, which was brought to the door by the servants, then taken by the servants of the Duke's establishment, who handed the trays to the Prince of Wales, and his royal highness then attended upon his Majesty. The Duke of York received other tea-trays through the same channels, and handed them to the Duchess of York, who was to wait on the Queen." Another of the royal brothers was not treated so handsomely.

The story of the unfortunate Prince Edward is perhaps not well known. Few royal princes passed so wretched a life. Like his brothers, he had been dispatched out of his native country when eighteen, under charge of a military pedant, named Baron Wangenheim, with an allowance of £1000 a year, which the latter was to control. Coming to Geneva his allowance was increased to £6000 a year; but it is said that only a guinea and a half per week was paid to him by his instructor. Incurring debts, and disgusted by the treatment he was receiving, he left Geneva without leave and hurried to England, where he arrived in 1790. The anger of the King was excessive: he refused to see him. In vain the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York implored indulgence for him; and after a fortnight's delay the only communication he received was a peremptory order that he should embark for Gibraltar at a day's notice. A hurried and ungracious interview with his father was vouchsafed

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\* Lord Malmesbury, "Diaries," p. 438,

† Huish, i, 302,



him, and £500 given to the captain of the ship for his wants. The rest of his life was made wretched by struggles with pecuniary embarrassments, of which he was to have the family share. He was sent about to various places in the colonies, and did not return to England until the year 1799, when he was heavily in debt. He had now been created Duke of Kent. In 1802 he was appointed Governor of Gibraltar, where his attempts to reform the habits of the garrison led to a mutiny, the object of which was to put the Prince on board a vessel and send him back to England. All the capricious changes of place to which he had been exposed entailed no less than seven equipments at a cost of some £50,000, which he had never been paid for, and which the Government refused to pay. By the year 1807 his debts amounted to the respectable sum of £108,200. Nothing, however, would be done for him by any party or Government, as he was a respectable and long-suffering creature.

It is curious that his brother William ("the sailor prince"), who had been sent to sea, should have ventured on similar insubordination, and which was as sternly dealt with. In 1786 he had been given the command of the *Pegasus*, a ship of twenty-eight guns, and had earned the high praise of Nelson, a man not likely to pay compliments. In a letter to Captain Locker, he writes: "In his professional line, he is superior to nearly two-thirds, I am sure, of the list, and in attention to orders, and respect to his superior officer, I hardly know his equal. His royal highness keeps up strict discipline in his ship, and without paying him any compliment, she is one of the finest-ordered frigates I have seen."

When his ship was ordered to Quebec he did not relish being imprisoned in the St. Lawrence river for a whole winter, and without ceremony or orders, brought her home. Anchoring at Cork, he sent a sort of justificatory letter to the Duke of Richmond, who had been Lord-Lieutenant. He was just dead. The Prince at once received orders to go to Plymouth. The King and his Council assembled, and the insubordinate, when about to set off for London, received peremptory orders to remain with his ship. The Admiralty, after deliberation, required him to serve his proper period at that port, and at its expiration he was ordered away to the West Indies. Such was the spirit in which the service was administered.

There was yet another son, whose adventures abroad were to excite the displeasure of his father.

The history of the private marriages of the four brothers really makes up four little romances—romances like so many other romances, owing to restriction and “tyranny.”

In the year 1792, Prince Frederick Augustus, sixth son of the King of England, was on his travels in Italy. He was then only nineteen, and, according to precedent, was under care of a governor. His health had been so delicate from his birth, that the air of England was found too severe for his system, and he had scarcely lived there at all. He was, indeed, almost virtually a German; for he was born at Hanover and educated in Germany. Rome was then, as indeed it was through the last century, one of the gayest of capitals—full of princes, dukes, wits, and adventurers; and among the English “persons of quality” found there during the winter of 1792 was the Countess of Dunmore and her family, which was a large one. The Earl was governor of one of the American provinces, and was absent at his duties. One of the daughters was Lady Augusta Murray, a young lady of great attractions, by whom the Prince, who mixed a great deal in English society, was quite fascinated.

“The well-known accomplishments of my wife,” wrote the Duke later, “caught my peculiar attention. After four months’ intimacy, by which I got more particularly acquainted with all her endearing qualities, I offered her my hand unknown to her family, being certain beforehand of the objections Lady Dunmore would have made me, had she been informed of my intentions. The candor and generosity my wife showed on this occasion, by refusing the proposal and showing me the personal disadvantages I should draw on myself, instead of checking my endeavors, served only to add new fuel to a passion which already no earthly power could make me resign.”

This warm attachment, thus inaugurated, was of course evident to Lady Dunmore; but she could hardly have conceived that it would have had such a termination. Unknown to her, the lovers proceeded, according to the old-fashioned canons which then obtained, to bind themselves by solemn written engagements; and the royal *innamorato* insisted on drawing up and signing the following singular document, which he presented to his flame:

“On my knees before God our Creator, I, Augustus Frederick, promise thee, Augusta Murray, and swear upon the Bible, as I hope for salvation in the world to come, that I will take thee, Augusta

Murray, for my wife, for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love and to cherish, till death us do part, to love but thee only, and none other; and may God forget me if I ever forget thee! The Lord's name be praised; so bless me, so bless me, O God! And with my handwriting do I, Augustus Frederick, this sign, March 21st, 1793, at Rome, and put my seal to it and my name.

“L.S.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS FREDERICK.”

There was a clergyman of the English Church then in Rome named Gunn; and this gentleman was indiscreet enough to listen to the Prince's proposal that he should marry them. Knowing the despotic character of the King, who exercised a family authority that was quite German, it was surprising that a British subject could have been found daring enough to take part in such an adventure. Moreover, the severe Marriage Act, passed only a few years before with a most discreditable obsequiousness, was in itself intended as a menace. Notwithstanding all this, the clergyman entertained the proposal. The lady was said to be six or seven years older than the Prince, which was perhaps the only awkward element in the case—for her, at least; otherwise, her manner of meeting his proposals was very natural and engaging. The Prince stated that he would press the clergyman to consent by urging that his honor was involved, an idea which the lady thus combats:

“Then, my treasure, you say you will talk of honor to him. There is no honor in the case; if there is, I will not marry you. I love you, and I have reason to hope and believe you love me; but honor in the sense you take it is out of the question. I cannot bear to owe my happiness to anything but affection; and all promises, though sacred in our eyes and those of Heaven, shall not oblige you to do anything towards me that can in the least prejudice your future interests. As for honor, with the meaning Mr. Gunn will annex to it, I am ashamed to fancy it; he will imagine I have been your mistress, and that humanity, commonly termed honor, now induces you to pity me, and so veil my follies by an honorable marriage. My own beloved Prince, forgive me if I am warm upon this. I wish you to feel you owe me nothing; and whatever I owe you, I wish to owe to your love and to your good opinion, but to no other principle. Tell Mr. Gunn, my own Augustus, that you love me, that you are resolved to marry me, that you have pledged your



sacred word; tell him, if you please, that upon the Bible you have sworn it, that I have done the same, and nothing shall ever divide us; but don't let him imagine that I have been vile. Do this, my only love, but pray take care of the character of your wife, of your

"AUGUSTA."

The Prince wrote back: "Do, my dearest Augusta, trust me; I will never abuse the confidence you put in me, and more and more will endeavor to deserve it. I only wait for your orders to speak to Mr. Gunn; say only that you wish me to do it, and I will hasten to get a positive answer. See, my soul, it only depends upon *you* to speak; *thy* Augustus thou wilt find at all times ready to serve *you*. He thinks, he dreams of nothing but to make thee happy. Can he not succeed in this, all his hopes are gone; life will be nothing to him; he will pass the days in one constant melancholy, wishing them soon to conclude, and finding every one longer than the other. Indeed, my Augusta, that cannot be the case; my solemn oath is given, and that can never be recalled. I am yours, my soul, ever yours."

About ten days passed over, and nothing was done. The lover, on April 4th, 1793, wrote the following frantic appeal, which no fair one thus piteously entreated could resist:

"Will you allow me to come to you this evening? It is my only hope. O, let me come, and we will send for Mr. Gunn! Everything but this is hateful to me. More than forty-eight hours have I passed without the smallest nourishment. O, let me not live so! Death is certainly better than this; which, if in forty-eight hours it has not taken place, must follow; for, by all that is holy, till when I am married, I will eat nothing; and if I am not to be married, the promise shall die with me! I am resolute. Nothing in the world shall alter my determination. If Gunn will not marry me, I will die. . . . I will be conducted in everything by you; but I must be married or die. I would rather see none of my family than be deprived of you. You alone can make me; you alone shall this evening. I will sooner drop than give you up. Good God, how I feel! and my love to be doubted sincere and warm. The Lord knows the truth of it; and, as I say, if in forty-eight hours I am not married, I am no more. O Augusta, my soul, let us try; let me come; I am capable of everything; I fear nothing; and Mr. Gunn, seeing our resolution, will agree. I am half dead.

Good God, what will become of me? I shall go mad, most undoubtedly."

To which Lady Augusta sent the following reply:

"My treasure, my dearest life and love, how can I refuse you? And yet dare I trust to the happiness your letter promises me? You shall come if you wish it; you shall do as you like; my whole soul rejoices in the assurances of your love, and to your exertions I will trust. I will send to —; but I fear the badness of the night will prevent his coming. My mother has ordered her carriage at past seven, and will not, I fear, be out before the half-hour after. To be yours to-night seems a dream that I cannot make out. The whole day have I been plunged in misery, and now to awake to joy is a felicity that is beyond my ideas of bliss. I doubt its success; but do as you will; I am what you will; your will must be mine; and no will can ever be dearer to me, more mine, than that of my Augustus, my lover, my all."

The clergyman came, and, unknown to Lady Dunmore, they were married.

Only three months later, Lady Dunmore learned the truth that her son-in-law was a royal prince. They came to England towards the winter, and there the Prince heard that, apart from any bearing of the Royal Marriage Act, the fact of the marriage being in the Roman jurisdiction might invalidate it, or be used to invalidate it. He at once determined to have the ceremony repeated; and the congregation at the now fashionable church of St. George's, Hanover Square, must have heard the banns given out of two private persons unadorned with titles.

When the King heard of it, steps were taken to have the marriage set aside, and the Royal Marriage Act was introduced. The hardship and absurdity of the measure were also put forward; for the descendants of George II. might amount to over a thousand in time, according to the horseshoe progression, and "where were husbands or wives to be procured for them?" It was therefore a virtual prohibition from marriage, and "a perpetual restraint." And a ridiculous inconsistency, taken in connection with this view of the matter, was that the House had just been discussing the Thirty-nine Articles, and had affirmed them; one of which was that all Christians had a right to marry. Frequent allusions were made to the Star Chamber; and Mr. Dowdeswell made a telling

point when he asked: "Why a man should not be thought fit to marry before twenty-five, when he was thought fit to reign at eighteen?"

This last point, indeed, redeemed the bill; for the limitation up to twenty-five years of age, under which the King's consent was necessary, virtually made him guardian during a long minority. After that age, if the King still refused his consent, the Prince might give notice to the Privy Council; and if, after a year's interval, the Parliament did not object, the marriage might take place. Now, this portion the King was evidently induced to adopt from the belief that Parliament would always be as eager to indorse the royal wishes as it was then. But a royal prince may now marry whom he please, and the House of Commons would find it contrary to its temper and constitution to dream of interfering.

It is curious, therefore, that this Royal Marriage Act should be so little understood, or that a false idea of its repressive powers should be abroad. It has long been believed, for instance, that certain august personages connected with the royal family (to use the verbiage of *The Court Newsman*) have been prevented contracting or declaring their marriage, owing to the pronounced veto of a still more august personage. It will be seen that these personages, being past five-and-twenty, could have safely consulted their own inclinations.

But the real hardship of the Royal Marriage Act lay in the penalty—viz. the nullity and voidableness of the marriage. The idea of dissolving an honorable contract between those "whom God has joined" on the mere whim of a parent seems wholly unworthy of a *soi-disant* religious country. At the present day, however, it may be doubted whether the nation would tolerate the dissolution of such an unequal marriage, but still one of affection, even if the sovereign was inclined to exert the powers given by Act of Parliament.

These considerations applied with great force to the case of the Duke of Sussex. When we come to consider who was Lady Augusta Murray, the old King might have had more reverence for one of more illustrious pedigree than he could boast. Through her mother, who was a Stewart, she could trace back in the straightest line to the Hamiltons, Dukes of Chatelherault, and, with a step beyond, to James II., King of Scotland. On her father's side, she could trace back through the Stanleys to the daughter of Henry VII. of England. Farther, through the Stanleys a descent was



established from William I., Prince of Orange, and Louis, Duke of Montpensier. And finally, through the same line, from Charles VII. of France. With such a pedigree the young Scotch lady might have challenged comparison with many a princess in Europe.

The Court of Arches, by a formal process, declared both the marriage in England and that of Rome null and void. It was confidently asserted at the time that the Prince wrote a letter to his father, begging permission to relinquish his contingent rights in the succession, and to sink into the character of a private gentleman, rather than be separated from his beloved Augusta. This could not be granted; but, in 1806, the King's license was given to the lady, to assume the name of d'Ameland, which was in some degree a recognition of her affinity to the royal family, and, though illegitimate by the law of England, the son was to succeed, in failure of male issue of the King and the Duke of Cumberland, to the crown of Hanover.

The marriage having been dissolved, so far as the law of the land was concerned, the Prince vehemently protested his resolution not to accept this decision; and though his health did not allow him to live much with her in England, and an "estrangement" took place later, he always manfully maintained the troth he had plighted to his wife, the Lady Augusta Murray. There were two children of the marriage—Sir Augustus d'Este and a daughter, both now dead. The former made unwearied efforts to procure some recognition of his claims, obtaining legal opinions, and petitioning; but of course with no result, the King being inflexible. The well-known Sir Thomas Wilde, afterwards Lord Truro, married the daughter of this unlucky marriage. In the year 1830, the heroine of the romance died, and the royal Prince, after a short interval, married an Irish lady—Lady Cecilia Buggin, or rather Underwood; who, after the death of her royal husband, was created Duchess of Inverness.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

1793.

RETURNING now to the Prince of Wales, this question of his marriage seemed to become more pressing as his affairs became more desperate. He and his brother were pursuing their old courses with even greater recklessness. His friend, Sir J. Harris, now Lord Malmesbury, having arrived in town from the Continent, on Sunday, June 3, was called into council on the following day. To him he unburthened his wretched and hopeless state—thus graphically described by his friend:

“Saw Prince of Wales early the 4th; he was very well pleased with what I had done at Berlin, thanked me for it, etc.; stated his affairs to me as more distressed than ever. Several executions had been in his house—Lord Rawdon had saved him from one—that his debts amounted to three hundred and seventy thousand pounds. He said he was trying, through the Chancellor, to prevail on the King to apply to Parliament to increase his income.

“On the Wednesday following I was with him again, by appointment. He repeated the same again, said that if the King would raise his revenue to a hundred thousand pounds a year, he would appropriate thirty-five thousand of it to pay the interest of his debts, and establish a sinking fund. That if this could not be done, he must break up his establishment, reduce his income to ten thousand pounds a year, and go abroad. He made a merit of having given up the turf, and blamed the Duke of York for remaining on it. He said (which I well knew before) that his racing-stable cost him upwards of thirty thousand pounds yearly. He was very anxious, and, as is usual on these occasions, nervous and agitated. He said (on my asking him the question) that he did not stand so well with the King as he did some months ago, but that he was better than ever with the Queen—that she had advised him to press the King, through the Chancellor, to propose to Mr. Pitt to bring an increase of the Prince’s income before Parliament, and that if this was done, she would use her influence to promote it.

"I strongly recommended his pressing the Queen. He suggested the idea of going to Mr. Pitt directly through the Chancellor, etc. I doubted both the consent of the Chancellor to such a step at the moment he was going out, and his influence and weight if he did consent to it. I took the liberty of disapproving his going abroad on any terms. . . . I saw the Duke of York on the 4th of June, and the Duchess at their own house. He mentioned with concern and uneasiness the division in the party. He considered it as a breaking-up of its strength, and he was apprehensive of the consequences to the country at large. He condemned Fox, and reprobated in the strongest terms the conduct of Grey, Lambton, and the Reformers. He said the King of Prussia had for a long time not written either to him or to the Duchess, or even answered their letters, without his being able to assign a cause. He said he stood very well at St. James's.

"I saw the Prince again on the 7th June, at Carlton House, as before. He repeated the same things, and added that, if he could not obtain some assurance from the King that he would apply to Parliament in the next Session of Parliament, before this ended, that he should be ruined, and must go abroad. I combated again this idea; but he appeared to have a wish and some whim about going abroad I could not discover. He talked coldly and unaffectionately about the Duke and Duchess of York, and very slightly of the Duke of Clarence. He asked me whether I approved his having spoken on the Proclamation—that is, in favor of Government—in the manner he had, and held very right language on the subject. I told him I was sorry his lawyers, Erskine and Pigot, went a different way from him; that this was unbecoming. He said he once had thought of dismissing them, but that, on considering it, he was inclined to believe that such a marked measure would only give them consequence, and do more harm than good, by bringing the subject into more frequent conversation."

Colonel St. Leger came to Lord Malmesbury on the 8th June. "He said the Prince was more attached to Mrs. Fitzherbert than ever. She dislikes the Duchess of York, because the Duchess will not treat her *en belle-sœur*—it is that is the cause of the coolness between the two brothers. He confirmed the total ruin of the Prince, and said the Duke's affairs were in a very bad way. He had returned to England with the highest reputation, and might have done what he pleased with the King, who doted on him; that he very idly has resumed several of his old habits—he plays at



Brookes's, goes to Newmarket, and loses, and neglects St. James's; that he behaves vastly well to the Duchess, and is happy. Anthony St. Leger confirmed all that his brother said about Mrs. Fitzherbert. He blamed her excessively, and said she was the cause of the two brothers being ill together."

We are not, therefore, surprised to learn that the step of appealing to the King was decided upon: and Lord Southampton, who was growing accustomed to such tasks, drew up a statement which was presented to the King. His Majesty was obdurate. Again came the ostentatiously theatrical retrenchment: five hundred horses sold, servants discharged, Carlton House shut up, and trustees appointed. Lords Thurlow and Radnor undertook this office. He was to live as a Cornish country gentleman; the strictest economy was to be observed, and his modest revenue was to be limited to £11,000 a year.\*

The truth was the King was triumphant and highly popular. It was now that the events on the Continent had brought about the well-known division among the Liberals; the Duke of Portland, Burke, and the purer Whigs breaking off from Mr. Fox, the more Radical wing of the party. This revolt was natural in the face of the bloody excesses which were being perpetrated by revolutionary mobs. Burke's "dagger-scene" and his quarrel with Fox were the melodramatic elements of the episode,† and it may be conceived that Reformers and Radicals were in ill odor. The Prince, who had found out that Liberal politics and an empty purse went together, and that the Tories had at least the power of granting supplies, had besides little sympathy with the extreme doctrines of Mr. Fox and his friends. And it is only fair to him to bear in mind—when we come to consider his later better-known "treatment of the Whigs," that these had set him the example of gravitating to the other side. He had signified his cordial approval of the Government "proclamation," though his friend Mr. Fox disapproved of it. We do not find him taking part in the open negotiations with the Whigs that followed, but here is opened a rather curious chapter of politics. In the advances that were made by

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\* Auckland, "Correspondence," ii. 463.

† This weapon, which when thrown on the floor of the House excited ridicule rather than terror, had been brought to Sir T. Bland Burgess, the Under Secretary, by a Birmingham maker, who had received it as a pattern for a large order. Burke borrowed it for his exhibition. Lord Eldon had another of these pattern daggers.—Twiss, "Life of Lord Eldon," i. 218.

the Liberals to the Government, the Duke of Leeds, in the August of the year 1792, was employed as negotiator, and with no less a person than the King himself. He tells the story in his interesting unpublished "*Memoranda.*"\* Walking on the terrace at Windsor, where the King was, he asked his Majesty for a private interview, having arranged this proceeding with Lord Malmesbury, having also, as he told his Majesty, "the concurrence" of Fox and the Duke of Portland. The King, however, was exceedingly cold as to the first-named statesman, and did not mention him more than once during the whole interview, "if even that." The Duke suggested that several interviews had taken place between Lord Loughborough and Mr. Dundas, at one of which Mr. Pitt had been present, "fair evidence (he urged) that ministers were not indisposed to an arrangement." "To my great surprise the King answered that he had not heard anything upon the subject for a long time; that Mr. Pitt had indeed some months ago mentioned something like an opening on the part of the Duke of Portland and his friends, to which his Majesty had answered, 'Anything complimentary to them, but no power!'" "This brief, but copious answer," adds the Duke of Leeds, "explains the offer of the Garter to the Duke of Portland, and of a marquise to Lord Fitzwilliam." The King then asked who was to be the First Lord of the Treasury under this combination, and was answered, "One who had the confidence of both parties." His Majesty said that was very hard on Mr. Pitt, who had been so long in office, and added significantly, that people, from eagerly wishing an object to succeed, often deceived themselves by thinking it much nearer its accomplishment than in truth it was.

A few days later the negotiator tried Mr. Pitt, whom he thought "not quite at his ease." He opened his proposals, saying that Mr. Fox and the Duke of Portland concurred in what he was offering. Mr. Pitt listened attentively to all I said, and answered "that there had been no thoughts of any alteration in the Government, that circumstances did not call for it, nor did the people wish it, and that no new arrangement, either by a change or coalition, had ever been in contemplation!" The Duke of Leeds then alluded to the interviews with Mr. Dundas and Lord Loughborough, suggesting that he (Mr. Pitt) had been present. Mr. Pitt said that it was true, but such meetings had not in view any changes of ministry.

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\* Preserved in the British Museum.

This is one of the most extraordinary pieces of secret history, and requires the clearest explanation from any biographer of Pitt, as any one who follows Lord Malmesbury's minute account of the negotiations—the offer by Dundas of four Cabinet places, etc.—will admit.\*

If it be well established, as we find it stated in the Duke of Leeds's memoranda, that Mr. Fox had been so unpatriotic as to send his friend Adair to St. Petersburg to counteract the negotiations there, it would be difficult for any loyal person to act with him. Mr. Moore states "that on the secession of the leading Whigs in 1792 the Prince had also separated himself from Mr. Fox, and had no further intercourse with him or any of his party—except, occasionally, Mr. Sheridan—till so late, I believe, as the year 1798." Thus it will be found that on two important occasions prior to his final withdrawal from the party in 1810, the Prince seized opportunities of showing his want of sympathy with their principles. And in 1793, when Lord Loughborough accepted the chancellorship of the party to which he had been opposed, the Prince wrote a letter to the hesitating Duke of Portland, and sent a message to the Grenvilles declaring his intention of joining the Government.†

To the Duchess of Devonshire he later addressed the following letter, referring the differences between sections of the Liberals as to supporting Government, written in a sort of after-dinner excitement, and under the idea that he had made all friends. It is undated.

#### THE PRINCE OF WALES TO THE DUCHESS OF DEVONSHIRE.

"Carlton House, Friday Night.

"How little you know me, ever dear duchess, and how much have you misconceived the object of this day's dinner, which has succeeded beyond my most sanguine expectations! It has almost, if not entirely, annihilated every coolness that has for a short time past appeared to exist between the Duke of Norfolk and his old friends, and brought Erskine back also. Ask only the Duke of Leinster and Guilford what passed. I believe you never heard a stronger eulogium pronounced from the lips of man than I this day

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\* Lord Malmesbury, "Diaries," ii. 458.

† In a letter to the Duke of York, pronounced to be "proper" and "explicit."—"Court and Cabinets," ii. 237.



pronounced upon Fox, in complete refutation of all the absurd doctrines and foolish distinctions which they have grounded their late conduct upon. This was most honorably, distinctly, and zealously supported by Sheridan, by which they were completely driven to the wall, and positively pledged themselves hereafter to follow no other line of politics than that which Fox and myself would hold out to them; and this with a certain degree of contrition expressed by them at their ever having ventured to express a doubt respecting either Charles or myself. Harry Howard, who never has varied in his sentiments, was overjoyed, and said he never knew anything so well done or so well timed; and that he should to-night retire to his bed the happiest of men, as his mind was now at ease, which it had not been for some time past. In short, what fell from both Sheridan as well as myself was received with rapture by the company; and I consider this as one of the luckiest and most useful days I have spent. As to particulars I must ask your patience till to-morrow, when I will relate every incident, with which I am confident you will be most completely satisfied. Pray, my ever dear duchess, whenever you bestow a thought upon me, have rather a better opinion of my steadiness and firmness. I really think, without being very romantic, I may claim this of you; at the same time I am most grateful to you for your candor, and the affectionate warmth, if I may be allowed so to call it, which dictates the contents of your letter: you may depend upon its being seen by no one but myself. Depend upon my coming to you to-morrow. I am delighted with your goodness to me, and ever,

“Most devotedly yours,

“G. P.”

The Duke of York's departure for the disastrous expedition to the Netherlands furnishes us with a sketch of the heir-apparent as he appears about this time:

“The King was on the parade with the Prince of Wales, the Dukes of York, Clarence, Gloucester, and Prince William of Gloucester; the King, I think, in the character of an equestrian statue on a fierce white charger, a sufficient gigg, but looking so pleased that one liked to see him. The Grenadiers, when they began their march, sang ‘God save the King!’ of their own accord as they passed by him, which overcame him a good deal. The Prince of Wales was in his new Light Horse uniform, which is very handsome and theatrical, and, I dare say, delighted him; but it displayed an

amount of bulk which entertained Mundy and me, and probably all beholders. The Duke of York is gone with them to Holland. I hear the Duchess is much affected, as she really likes him." \*

But there was something more in this display than a mere taste for uniforms, for after the first disaster, when a relief of ten thousand men was being sent out to the Duke, and Lord Moira, late Lord Rawdon, was given the command, the Prince eagerly pressed that he might be allowed to go with his friend and serve under him. This was, of course, refused; but he was presently to be engrossed with a more important affair—the question of his own marriage. Almost every step in his long life, rashly and improvidently taken, seemed destined to lead to a train of inconveniences and misfortune, and not one was more fruitful in this direction than this.

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\* "Court and Cabinets," ii. 119.

## CHAPTER XXV.

1794.

MANY causes, and above all, his overwhelming money difficulties, were now forcing him into a sort of *cul-de-sac*, whence there seemed no method of extrication, save one. Any change would be welcome, and various minor causes seemed to favor the King's wishes in this regard. The first step in the transaction was a letter in which the King communicated to his minister that the Prince had, of himself, offered to make the sacrifice. He wrote from Weymouth, on August 24th, 1794: "Agreeable to what I mentioned to Mr. Pitt before I came here, I have this morning seen the Prince of Wales, who has acquainted me with his having broken off all connection with Mrs. Fitzherbert, and his desire of entering into a more creditable line of life by marrying; expressing at the same time that his wish is that my niece, the Princess of Brunswick, may be the person. Undoubtedly she is the person who naturally must be most agreeable to me. I expressed my approbation of the idea, provided his plan was to lead a life that would make him appear respectable, and consequently render the Princess happy. He assured me that he perfectly coincided with me in opinion. I then said that till Parliament assembled no arrangement could be taken, except my sounding my sister, that no idea of any other marriage may be encouraged.

"G. R." \*

In spite of these protestations, it was notorious that at this time he had come under the influence of a lady about the Court, Lady Jersey. She was known as the "beautiful Miss Twysden," and the daughter of an Irish dignitary, the Lord Bishop of Raphoe. She was of mature age, like another lady of quality whom our Prince admired later. It was stated also that she had been a friend of Mrs. Fitzherbert's, and for a time, as will be seen, was destined to have a truly *funeste* control over the Prince.

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\* Lord Stanhope, "Life of Pitt," ii. 20 (Appendix).



The mode in which this change of feeling was signified to the unhappy lady with whom he had gone through the form of marriage, was characteristic. He had written to her from Brighton in his usual affectionate strain, and spoke of a dinner engagement at the Duke of Clarence's for the following day, where they were to meet. At the dinner a note was put into her hand, which gave her the first intimation that she had lost her ascendancy. Speaking of the matter to Lord Stourton, she seemed to attribute this step to Lady Jersey, who was then also at Brighton. In consequence, Mrs. Fitzherbert did not go to Brighton as usual, and also gave up her house; while Lord Jersey was appointed Master of the Horse to the Prince.

It has been often stated that it was upon a favorable report of the Duke of York, who had been sent to Brunswick, that the Princess had been selected. At the time of the arrangement he was in Holland, with his army; but he had already seen the Princess, and his report was most unfavorable. He augured ill of the match, and seems to have incurred the bitter enmity of the family. There was, besides, no good feeling between the Duchess of York and the members of the Brunswick family. The Princess Caroline, indeed, told Lord Malmesbury that she believed she had impressed the Duke of Clarence favorably.

Some five-and-twenty years later Lord Liverpool assured Lord Holland that he had been told by George III. how one day his son came to him, on his return from hunting, and said abruptly that "he wished to marry." In reply, the King said he would send off a confidential agent to report on the merits of the various Protestant Princesses. The Prince declared that this had been done. The King then recommended that the most careful inquiries should be made as to her person and manners, and his son declared this also had been done. Lord Holland adds confirmation of the report that the later Queen of Prussia had been named, who was infinitely the superior of the Brunswick Princess in youth, beauty, and every merit. Perhaps these were found objections by those who guided him, and who wished a public and legal marriage, to secure the downfall of Mrs. Fitzherbert. All well-informed persons report that the choice was directed by Lady Jersey and Lady Harcourt. The faction always gave out that he had been promised the sum of £100,000 a year, with payment of his debts, though the ministers later violated their engagement. It was for the gain of the German people, no less than for her own, that the beautiful and interesting

Princess of Mecklenburg had not been selected; nor is it quite so certain that after all it would have benefited the Prince of Wales.

Lady Charlotte Campbell records some curious gossip of the notorious Mrs. Clarke, who had been told by the Duke of York "that it had been at one time proposed that he should marry her (the Princess Caroline), and for that purpose he had been previously to see how the land lay at the Court of Brunswick; the result of which was that he did not like the Princess." A writer in "The Quarterly Review" (vol. lxxv. p. 421) states that he heard the same reason given for the dislike of the Brunswick family to the Duke. It occurred to Lord Malmesbury at Brunswick that it was the Duke of Clarence who had first suggested her. The King, however, told Mr. Pitt "that she was the person who must naturally be the most agreeable to him. She was, moreover, his niece." \* Lord Malmesbury was abroad at this time, and was promptly directed to repair to Brunswick and make a formal proposal for the hand of the Princess.

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\* "Diaries," iii. 179.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

1794—1795.

ON a Thursday at the end of November, 1794, the little Court was excited by the news that an envoy had arrived to arrange a marriage treaty between the Prince of Wales and Princess Caroline, according to the elaborate formularies then in favor. The Englishman was one of the most *spirituel* and versatile of diplomatists, even his remarkable appearance—his abundant hair and brilliant eyes—exciting attention. This, however, was not the main object of his mission, which was to persuade the vacillating Duke to take the command of the forces in Holland. He was received with great honors, and installed in the palace with servants, carriages, and guards at his disposal. Almost at once he was presented to the Princess, who was embarrassed. He, too, must have had misgivings at the meeting, for the future bride appeared to be a rather ungraceful, hard-featured young woman, redeemed, however, by a certain air of coarse good-humor. Her eyes, however, were expressive, “her bust good,” and her shoulders what the French call “impertinent.” \* This absence of feminine refinement struck other English observers.† She could not conceal her delight at the brilliant prospect before her.

Then commenced the regular formal festivities of a petty German Court—great dinners, “ombre with the Duchess and her *grand maître*,” whist with the Landgravine, a masquerade at the Opera House—during all which time the diplomatist was narrowly observing all that was going on, and studying the character of the young lady. On December the 3rd, his credentials having arrived from England, the state carriages came to take him to Court to make formal demand of the Princess’s hand. All parties were nervous, the Duchess quite overcome, the Princess much affected, but making her answers distinctly and firmly. This ceremony was cele-

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\* For the account of this mission, see Lord Malmesbury’s “Diaries,” iii. 151.

† Huish, “Memoirs of Caroline,” i. 13.





CAROLINE, WIFE OF GEORGE IV.



brated by Court and general congratulations, presentations of gold snuff-boxes, immense dinners, and the inevitable whist. From this moment she was greeted as Princess of Wales. On the following day the contract was signed, and a very unhappy chapter in English history had commenced.

By this time the shrewd envoy had learned enough of the Princess herself to see that she was unsuited to the destined position and to the person who was to be her husband. Nearly all the petty German Courts were then distinguished by a sort of Philistinism, both in morals and manners; the young Princesses being brought up in a kind of natural religion, whose principles were sufficiently convenient and flexible to allow them to adopt the creed of any husband that might be selected for them. There were little conventional restraints for married life. He must indeed have learned many strange stories of the youthful days of the Princess which he was too discreet to report, and which, indeed, as he said in answer to the reproaches of the Prince, it did not fall within his mission to report.

She was now nearly twenty-seven years old; but the sneer of one of the Court ladies, Madame Waggenheim—who said to Lord Malmesbury at the opera, “that, old as she was, her education was not yet completed”—seemed to be founded on truth.\* Beyond an acquaintance with the harpsichord, she could not be called accomplished; a friend of Mr. Addington’s, M. Le Mesurier, who dined in her company, noted that she never spoke and was visibly kept under restraint. And the Duchess of Wurtemberg, writing to Lady Elgin, gives a strange picture of the domestic tyranny under which she was brought up—bullied by her mother and governesses.† As to morality and religion, the scandal of her father’s behavior must have been of fatal import. Her mother had little or no influence with her child, who had small respect for her, and “was inattentive to her when she dared.” It was scarcely surprising, therefore, that various escapades should have been reported of her girlish days. One of these stories was long after told to Mrs. Charles Kemble by one who had been an officer in the Duke’s body-guard. She was at that time about sixteen, and her parents had refused to allow her to attend a ball. During the night they

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\* She both wrote and spelled badly, as her father owned to Lord Malmesbury.

† Lady Rose Weigall, “Princess Charlotte,” p. 4.



were summoned back to the palace by the news of her being alarmingly ill, the whole Court following, and the officer with the rest. While waiting in the ante-chamber he heard her screams; and on her parents coming to her bedside she informed them that the time was past for concealment, that she was being *accouchée*, and begged that a proper doctor might be sent for. This astounding declaration was heard by the whole Court. When the doctor came she jumped up, owned that the whole was a trick, and asked: "Would they again attempt to prevent her going to a ball?"\* Making due allowance for exaggeration, this trait is quite in keeping with the admitted recklessness of her later career. It was also found necessary to keep a strict watch on her acts to prevent her making advances to persons of low degree. As was to be expected, some arrangements for marriage with a German prince had been contemplated; but these had failed, owing to the uncertainty of temper of the Princess; and she was now, as we have shown, not far from her thirtieth year, when this unlooked for and advantageous alliance offered.

The Duchess, her mother, was, on the whole, a good-natured coarse woman, of sense and of agreeable manners. The mother of Archbishop Trench, one of the most engaging and interesting women of her day, who was at the Brunswick Court about five years before, was delighted with her "ease, good-humor and familiarity, and winning condescension." She was struck, too, with the simple, almost homely, fashions of the royal circle—ladies sitting round, working, knitting stockings.† Such was the bride of the Prince of Wales and her family!

Meantime the versatile diplomatist was busy making himself acquainted with the character of the young Princess. But from all sides he was receiving ominous warnings; and the whole Court, it is clear, were nervous as to what her behavior would be in her new situation. All impressed on him that she was to be "kept strictly" and with a tight rein, and the envoy was almost implored to advise her to be cautious, and avoid her besetting sin of being too familiar with every one and of "saying everything that came into her head." "She was not *bête*," said her father to him, "but she had no judgment." Again and again he came back to the subject: "She could not go alone," he said; "she must be guided and directed."

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\* "Diaries of a Lady of Quality," p. 186.

† "Remains of Mrs. Trench."

He excused her on the score of the free style of speech of her mother in every company, which was a bad example. Less profitable, however, was his own. Strangers remarked that his manner to the Duchess was very cold, and that hers was embarrassed, and soon discovered that one Mdle. Hertzfeldt, a lady of rank, was installed at the palace as mistress *en titre*, and had actually had her recognized place at all the Court festivities. What could be hoped of a daughter in presence of such a scandal? The lady now alluded to who engaged the Duke's favor was also one of those who gave useful advice to the envoy, who courted her assiduously. It was absolutely necessary, she said to him confidentially, that the Princess should be watched and kept in retirement. "She is not corrupted; she had never done anything really bad, but she had no command of her words; she confides in every one, and when she is surrounded in London with clever intriguers, everything she says will be reported and distorted." This lady was certainly sagacious, and her words were strongly prophetic. She also hinted at the indiscreetness of the Duchess, who made no secret of her dislike to Queen Charlotte and other members of the royal family. These prejudices her daughter would take with her to England.\* This dislike extended to the Duke and Duchess of York.

Thus encouraged and assured that his advice would be of the greatest assistance, Lord Malmesbury proceeded to lecture, as it might be called, the Princess seriously. His efforts were received favorably. Sitting next her at supper, he would advise her to avoid familiarity, to have no confidants, to avoid giving any opinion, and above all be very attentive to the Queen. To his surprise she asked him about the Prince's attachments; nor was she disturbed at learning that one of his "favorites" was to be placed about her, as lady-in-waiting. "She says it is wished here that her brother William should marry the Princess Sophia of Gloucester; I advise her not to meddle in it. She talks about the Duke of Clarence, whom she prefers to the Duke of York; and it struck me to-day for the first time that he originally put her into the Prince's head, and that with a view to plague the Duke and Duchess of York, whom

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\* This, it is plain, was one of the discordant elements in this unfortunate marriage. There was a rooted dislike between the female members of the two families. The Duchess complained to Lord Malmesbury that the Queen grudged her some jewels, and had asked back a diamond ring, the King's present,

he hates, and whom the Prince no longer likes; well knowing that the Princess Caroline and Duchess of York dislike each other, and that this match would be particularly unpleasant to her and the Duke. I praise the Duke of York to her, and speak with great applause of the behavior of the Duchess, who by her discretion and conduct has conciliated to herself the good-will of the whole nation. I did this to pique her, and to make her anxious to do the same. She has no fond, no fixed character, a light and flighty mind, but meaning well and well-disposed; and my eternal theme to her is, to think before she speaks, to recollect herself. She says she wishes to be loved by the people; this, I assure her, can only be obtained by making herself respected and rare—that the sentiment of being loved by the people is a mistaken one.”

In a letter written to a German lady in England, dated the 28th of November, she wrote:

“You are aware, my friend, of my destiny. I am about entering into a matrimonial alliance with my first-cousin, George, Prince of Wales. His generosity I regard, and his letters bespeak a mind well cultivated and refined. My uncle is a good man, and I love him very much, but I feel that I shall never be inexpressibly happy. Estranged from my connections, my associations, my friends, all that I hold dear and valuable, I am about entering on a permanent connection. I fear for the consequences. Yet I esteem and respect my intended husband, and I hope for great kindness and attention. But, ah me! I say sometimes, I cannot now love him with ardor. I am indifferent to my marriage, but not averse to it; I think I shall be happy, but I fear my joy will not be enthusiastic. The man of my choice I am debarred from possessing, and I resign myself to my destiny. I am attentively studying the English language; I am acquainted with it, but I wish to speak it with fluency. I shall strive to render my husband happy, and to interest him in my favor, since the Fates will have it that I am to be Princess of Wales.”

Meanwhile expresses were passing between London and the little Court, and all the arrangements were nearly completed. Before Lord Malmesbury had been at Brunswick a week, a messenger had arrived from the Prince of Wales with a letter pressing him “vehemently” to set out with the Princess at once. The messenger was also bearer of the Prince’s portrait, in which he was highly flattered



and represented as arrayed in becoming regimentals. Up to this moment the Princess had an idea of him only from description.\*

Thus wrote the eager suitor:

THE PRINCE OF WALES TO LORD MALMESBURY.

“Carlton House, 23rd November, 1794.

“MY DEAR LORD,

“I have sent Major Hislop back again to Brunswick, which I judged to be an advisable measure on many accounts, as more particularly, I think, he may prove, from his knowledge of the country, a very useful *avant-courier* to you and your fair charge in your journey to the water’s side. I have charged him with letters for the Duke, Duchess, and Princess, which I will beg of you to present to their different destinations, with every proper expressions on my part, and to which no one can give so agreeable a *tournure* as yourself. I have likewise desired Major Hislop to give you an ample and thorough account of the steps I have taken towards the expediting everything on this side of the water, as well as with my brother the Duke of York, to whom I have written also by Hislop; and as to what is now necessary to forward the completing everything at Brunswick, I must leave that to you, hoping that you will make every exertion possible to put the Princess in possession of her own home as near the 20th of the ensuing month as possible, for everything that can create delay at the present moment is bad on every account, but particularly so to the public, whose expectations have now been raised for some months, and would be quite outrageous, were it possible for them to perceive any impediment arising to what they have had their attention drawn to for so long a time, besides the suspense, and the naturally unpleasant feelings attendant upon suspense, which I myself must be subject to, and the very honorable, fair, and handsome manner in which the Duke and Duchess have both conducted themselves to me in this transaction; their having also in their last letters, both to the King and me, said that the Princess was ready to set off instantly; in short, all these reasons make it necessary for me, my dear Lord, to desire you to press your departure from Brunswick at as short a date as possible from the receipt of this letter. I have written fully to the Duchess upon the subject, and I doubt not but she will acquaint you with the contents of her letters, as I desire that you will have the goodness to do so by her, by showing her, or acquainting her nearly of the purport of this letter.

"I should think the travelling through Holland still practicable and safe, and if so, certainly preferable on every account; but, if not, we then must have recourse to the Elbe, which is certainly a very disagreeable alternative; however, whichever way the Princess is to come, I am clear it should be determined upon instantly by you. I wish most certainly, if possible, that she should pass through Holland, if it is still upon the cards, therefore desire you to determine if you can upon that. We cannot tell on this side the water as well as you can, or rather as Hislop can, after his communication with the Duke of York; and you will then be able, when you have seen the Major, and know what has passed between him and the Duke, to fix your plan immediately, and so immediately put it into execution. According to our calculation, Hislop ought to be at Brunswick the 8th; I therefore trust that by the 16th I shall from you, my dear Lord, receive an account of your having fixed the day of your departure, and not only of the probability, but indeed of the certainty of your being many miles on your journey. There are some other particular circumstances which might not be so proper or so safe to commit to paper, which I have entrusted Major Hislop with, and which he will communicate by word of mouth to you. I will not detain you, my dear Lord, any longer, except to assure you how happy I was in having this opportunity of testifying the very sincere regard I entertain for you, as well as those sentiments with which I remain, etc.

"GEORGE P."

This singular communication was characteristic of the writer's loose train of thought, and belonged to those illusions which he indulged in. Neither he nor Lord Malmesbury had anything to do with the arrangements for bringing over the Princess. These were all controlled by the King, and depended on the safety of the route, the position of the protecting force, and other matters, which required the gravest consideration. Lord Malmesbury was much embarrassed by this pressure, as he was "tied down by the most precise instructions." He wrote to the minister—the Duke of Portland—a complaint of this treatment, explaining that he was there "under the King's command, and could only act by his special order."

The Prince had also added some private instructions which he did not venture to commit to paper, and which were no doubt beyond his province. All this the envoy quietly put aside in his reply to him, with assurance that "not an hour should be lost" as

soon as he learned what place had been fixed on for embarking at. It will be said indulgently that it was but the ardor of the bridegroom eager to see his bride. This feeling, however, could have amounted to little more than curiosity. It might be that he was thinking of the price which was to be paid on completion of his contract; and, as it turned out, the subject of his debts was brought before the House a fortnight after the marriage. This is, indeed, further proved by his ungraciously refusing to allow a lady, whom the Princess had selected as a sort of confidential reader, to be brought over.

At last, on Monday, December 29th, the party started, amid firing of cannon and the shouts of the crowd. "She must be ruled by fear—even by terror," were almost the last encouraging words addressed to the envoy. Her mother was to go with her as far as the sea. The Duke was much affected at parting, and begged the English nobleman to watch over her. With such awkward forebodings the luckless Princess commenced her journey to the land to which she was to bring so much confusion and scandal. The whole of this preliminary leaves a most unpleasant impression, and it is impossible to have followed the conversations, so carefully reported, without seeing that all the later events followed in the most natural order, and almost as of course.

The fleet had been ordered to the Texel, and it was proposed that the party should journey through Holland. On the road, however, it was heard that the French had made such progress that it was impossible to think of reaching the coast. The party therefore, after staying at Osnabruck—the seat of the Duke of York's bishopric—determined to wait events at Hanover. These obstacles caused a long and tedious delay; and, as it proved, they were three months on the road.

The effect of this comparative emancipation on the character of the Princess was seen almost at once. Her mentor was every day more and more surprised by some new and disagreeable revelation; though it must be owned his tone to her was too much of the schoolmaster. But there were other matters which shocked him inexpressibly. It would have been worth while seeing his face, when a page brought down her highness's tooth, which had just been drawn, for him to look at; "nasty and indelicate," he writes with disgust.

Lord Malmesbury's notes and observations on the journey are significant enough. We shall let him speak for himself.



“*January 2nd.*—I persuade the Princess Caroline to be munificent towards some poor *émigrés* dying of hunger, and through want—she disposed to be, but not knowing how to set about it. I tell her, liberality and generosity is an enjoyment, not a severe virtue. She gives a louis for some lottery tickets; I give ten, and say the Princess ordered me. She surprised; I said I was sure she did not mean to give for the ticket its precise value, and that I forestalled her intention. Next day a French *émigré*, with a pretty child, draws near the table; the Princess Caroline immediately, of her own accord, puts ten louis in a paper and gives it to the child; the Duchess observes it, and inquires of me—I was dining between them—what it was. I tell her a demand on her purse. She, embarrassed, ‘*Je n’ai que mes beaux doubles louis de Brunswick,*’ I answered, ‘*Qu’ils deviendront plus beaux entre les mains de cet enfant que dans ta poche.*’ She ashamed, and gives three of them. In the evening, Princess Caroline, to whom these sort of virtues were never preached, on my praising the coin of the money at Brunswick, offers me very seriously eight or ten double louis, saying, ‘*Cela ne me fait rien—je ne m’en soucie pas—je vous prie de la prendre.*’ I mention these facts to show her character; it could not distinguish between giving as a benevolence, and flinging away the money like a child.

“*January 4th.*—Princess Caroline very *gauche* at cards—speaks without thinking—gets too easy—calls the ladies (she never saw) ‘*Mon cœur, ma chère, ma petite.*’ I notice this, and reprove it strongly. The Princess, for the first time, disposed to take it amiss; I do not pretend to observe it. Duchess wants to return to Brunswick, and leave us to go on by ourselves; this I oppose, and suppose it is impossible. ‘*If I am taken,*’ says she, ‘*I am sure the King will be angry.*’ ‘*He will be very sorry,*’ I reply; ‘*but your Royal Highness must not leave your daughter till she is in the hands of her attendants.*’ She argues, but I will not give way, and she does.

“*January 18th.*—Princess Caroline very missish at supper. I much fear these habits are irrecoverably rooted in her—she is naturally curious, and a gossip—she is quick and observing, and she has a silly pride of finding out everything; she thinks herself particularly acute in discovering likings, and this leads her at times to the most improper remarks and conversation. I am determined to take an opportunity of correcting, *coûte qu’il coûte.*

“*January 10th, 1795.*—On summing up Princess Caroline’s char-

acter to-day, it came out to my mind to be, that she has quick parts, without a sound or distinguishing understanding; that she has a ready conception, but no judgment; caught by the first impression, led by the first impulse; turned away by appearances or *enjouement*; loving to talk, and prone to confide and make missish friendships that last twenty-four hours. Some natural, but no acquired morality, and no strong innate notions of its value and necessity; warm feelings, and nothing to counterbalance them; great good humor, and much good nature; no appearance of caprice; rather quick and *vive*, but not a grain of rancor. From her habits, from the life she was allowed and even compelled to live, forced to dissemble; fond of gossiping, and this strengthened greatly by the example of her good mother, who is all curiosity and inquisitiveness, and who has no notion of not gratifying this desire at any price. In short, the Princess, in the hands of a steady and sensible man, would probably turn out well; but where it is likely she will find faults perfectly analogous to her own she will fail. She has no governing powers, although her mind is physically strong. She has her father's courage, but it is to her, as to him, of no avail. He wants mental decision, she character and tact.

“*February 18th.*—Argument with the Princess about her toilette. She piques herself on dressing quick; I disapprove this. She maintains her point; I, however, desire Madame Busche to explain to her that the Prince is very delicate, and that he expects a long and very careful *toilette de propreté*, of which he has no idea. On the contrary, she neglects it sadly, and is offensive from this neglect. Madame Busche executes her commission well, and the Princess comes out the next day well washed all over.

“*March 6th.*—I had conversations with the Princess Caroline on the toilette, on cleanliness, and on delicacy of speaking. On these points I endeavored, as far as was possible for a man, to inculcate the necessity of great and nice attention to every part of dress, as well as to what was hid as to what was seen. (I knew she wore coarse petticoats, coarse shifts, and thread stockings, and these never well washed, or changed often enough.) I observed that a long toilette was necessary, and gave her no credit for boasting that hers was a short one. What I could not say myself on this point, I got said through women—through Madame Busche, and afterwards through Mrs. Harcourt. It is remarkable how, on this point, her education has been neglected, and how much her mother, although an Englishwoman, was inattentive to it.”

## THE PRINCE OF WALES TO LORD MALMESBURY.

"Carlton House, 21st Feb., 1795.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I do myself the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of three letters I received on the 19th from your Lordship—two dated the 15th and 18th January, the other I suppose written on a subsequent day, but bearing no date. Accept my best thanks for every step that you have taken, as, to the best of my judgment, nothing can have been more consistent in point of prudence and propriety, and, indeed, more consonant to my wishes than your conduct appears to me to have been throughout this very tedious and trying embassy. The accounts you are so good as to give me of the temper and resignation with which the Princess is so good as to bear with the interruptions in her journey, is more than I fancy any one would venture to say for me from hence, as I assure you, all the mismanagement, procrastinations, and difficulties that I have met with in the conduct of this business on this side of the water have totally put patience (a virtue you well know that our family in general are not much endowed with) out of the question. On account of the unfortunate position of affairs on the Continent, I have judged it necessary, in order to bring the Princess over in the most expeditious, as well as the safest mode, to contrive she should be in a manner smuggled over into this country; this meets entirely with His Majesty's approbation, and the plan to be pursued is this. The yachts, as well as the ladies and gentlemen who were to have had the honor of attending the Princess, to remain under expectation of receiving sailing orders hourly. The convoy destined originally to attend upon the Princess, to proceed to sea with the rest of the fleet and transports going to fetch the remains of our army from the Continent. By which means they will endeavor to make Stade, having detached themselves from the rest of the fleet at a certain latitude. Finding themselves there, to take you and your charge aboard, before it is suspected even on this side of the water that such a plan is in agitation. Not thinking it proper that the Princess should come without a lady, Mrs. Harcourt is ordered to attend her; and her own ladies, Lady Jersey and Mrs. Aston, who were to have sailed in the yachts to have fetched her over, will be ready to receive her at the water-side on her landing, together with Clermont and the rest of her suite. The general and universal mortification occasioned by the fleet's being obliged to put back, made us



doubly anxious by every means that human foresight can devise to prevent a similar unpleasant *contretemps* happening again; and we therefore think, in addition to this motive, that by retaining the yachts and attendants here, we shall prevent entirely our enemies from having the smallest intimation of our having in present and immediate contemplation the scheme of the Princess's crossing.

"I hope you will make this plan acceptable to the Princess as well as the Duchess, as you must be well acquainted with my impatience; and I beg you will assure them both that there is no sort of respect, state, and attention, that shall not be shown the Princess, the moment she sets her foot on our dear little island. I am convinced you will heartily concur with me in my anxious endeavors through this, or even any other means, to bring your voyage to as expeditious and happy a termination as possible. I write to the Duchess of Brunswick by the same courier, which letters you will have the goodness to deliver into her hands yourself. I cannot help once more reiterating my thanks to you, my dear Lord, for your judgment and caution through all these late occurrences, etc.

I remain with great truth, etc.,

"GEORGE P.

"P.S.—Pray say everything that is kind from me to Hislop."

At last news arrives of the fleet being off Stade. The Duchess parted from her daughter in much affliction, and then started for home. At this stage their guide arrives at the conclusion that "the Princess's heart is very, very light."

One of the ladies selected to attend her, Mrs. Harcourt, had met the Princess at Hanover; the other, Lady Jersey, was to meet her on landing in England. The first had driven into the town attended by two horsemen. The other lady, presuming on her influence, had come down to Rochester, and tried to force herself on board the yacht, scandalizing that not too sensitive "Jack Payne," who was in command. For his proper refusal Mr. Payne fell into disgrace with his royal master, and did not recover his favor for several years.\* A crowd of English of distinction, with some of the *émigrés*, were eager to secure a passage home. On Saturday, at seven o'clock, the Princess embarked on board the *Jupiter*, fifty-gun ship, and by Wednesday the squadron was off Yarmouth. A thick fog here set in, and it was not until noon on

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\* "Life of Sir G. Elliot," iii. 47.

Saturday that they dropped anchor off Gravesend. The Princess won the hearts of the officers by her unflagging good-humor, and even extorted praise from her mentor. On Sunday morning the royal party was transferred to one of the royal yachts, and after a pleasant sail, reached Greenwich at twelve o'clock, where vast crowds were assembled to greet her. There was a delay of more than an hour at the governor's, owing to the royal carriages not having arrived from London; and it turned out that this was owing to her lady-in-waiting not being ready. When she did arrive, she conducted herself with a strange arrogance, found fault with the Princess's dress in such terms that Lord Malmesbury had to speak rather sharply to her. The poor stranger, who was becomingly dressed in a muslin gown and blue satin petticoat, with a black beaver hat and blue and black feathers, was required to doff her attire in a room of the governor's house, and put on a white satin gown and an elegant turban cap, which Lady Jersey had brought from town.

The procession, consisting of two coaches and six, and escorted by a detachment of the Prince's own regiment, Cornet Brummell being one of the officers, then started for London, and was attended with but moderate greeting and applause. The poor friendless creature was virtually alone, being refused any one of her own countryfolk, who might have advised and guided her.

About half-past two they reached St. James's Palace, the rooms of the Duke of Cumberland in Cleveland Row being given up to her. Then the windows were opened and the Princess showed herself to the crowd. Lord Malmesbury at once went for the Prince—a dramatic crisis indeed. The next few minutes were to reveal what was to be the issue of this fatal experiment. The Prince came immediately, and it was noticed by the crowd outside that he was agitated. "I accordingly," says Lord Malmesbury, "to the established etiquette, introduced (no one else being in the room) the Princess Caroline to him. She, very properly, in consequence of my saying it was the right mode of proceeding, attempted to kneel to him. He raised her gracefully enough, and embraced her, said barely one word, turned round, retired to a distant part of the apartment, and, calling to me, said: 'Harris, I am not well: pray get me a glass of brandy.' I said: 'Sir, had you not better have a glass of water?' Upon which he, much out of humor, said, *with an oath*: 'No; I will go directly to the Queen.' And away he went."

No wonder after this strange reception the Princess, bewildered

and confused, should have exclaimed: "Mon Dieu! is he always like that?" Then added: "I find him *very fat*, and not at all like the picture sent me." Lord Malmesbury tried to mend matters as best he could, after a lame fashion—"His royal highness was a good deal affected and flurried at this first meeting." The Princess, not likely to be imposed on by such an excuse, proceeded to make other uncomplimentary remarks, embarrassing her companion a good deal, when he was hastily summoned away to wait on the King. This propitious introduction to her new life is significant of the future treatment she was to experience.

The Prince went straight to the Queen and the King, strangely enough began to talk on foreign politics with Lord Malmesbury, carelessly putting a single question as to what another father would have considered a most interesting subject. "Is she good-humored?" he asked. The other answered that he had never seen her otherwise, even when severely tried. "I am glad of it," said the King, significantly. Thus already there was a hostile party formed against her, and on the very night of her arrival she must have learned that her husband already almost disliked her, that her cousins the Duke and Duchess of York were hostile, that her lady of honor was her enemy, and placed near her to be a spy, that the other attendant was unacceptable to her, while her new parents were indifferent.

There was a small dinner that evening, consisting only of the travelling party and the Prince, and at which the Vice-Chamberlain did the honors. Here the behavior of the Princess was most unfortunate, "flippant, rattling, affecting wit;" and the guests were amazed to hear her throwing out railleries on the Prince's well-known *penchant*. The Prince showed by his looks how disgusted he was. "This, unfortunately," says Lord Malmesbury, "fixed his dislike, which, when left to himself, the Princess had not the talent to remove, but, by still observing the same giddy manners and coarse sarcasm, increased till it became positive hatred." This was deplorable enough, and there must have been more of recklessness than of want of feeling; and she explains it piteously in her own account: "The first moment I saw my *futur* and Lady Jersey together I knew how it all was, and I said to myself, 'Oh, very well!' I took my *partie*. . . . One of the civil things his royal highness did just at first was to find fault with my shoes, and, as I was very young and lively in those days, I told him to make me a better pair and bring them to me. I brought letters from all the princes and princesses to him from all the petty courts, and I tossed them to



him, and said, 'There! that's to prove I'm not an impostor!'"\* The envoy, with all his diplomacy, could not see what is here revealed, that this lightness of behavior was the assumed indifference of a woman hurt in her pride—"Oh, very well! I took my *partie*."

In the same spirit the Princess now actually made a confidante of her lady-in-waiting, and is said to have calmly confided to her that she had been attached to another person. This, it was presumed, was reported to the Prince, who on the next day showed a marked coldness. Another speech was also reported. Hair-powder was then going out of fashion, but the Prince still adhered to his custom, and the Princess declared to the same confidante, "that he looked like a sergeant-major with his ears powdered." Such personal remarks—his upon her shoes, hers upon his wig—were not likely to produce agreeable feelings.

After this dinner was over, arrived the King and Queen and other members of the royal family to welcome the Princess, who was presented in due form. The King was cordial and even affectionate, but the Queen's coldness was remarked.† Then she was left in the old Palace, in charge of Mrs. Aston, and thus the exciting day ended.

Three days later, on Wednesday, April 8th, 1795, the marriage was performed with customary state and magnificence, and, according to the favorite phrase, with great demonstrations of joy; and the public seem to have been well contented with her appearance, her good-humored and intelligent air, and taste in dress. The ceremony took place at night, and was performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. In the chapel the Prince gave his hat, with its rich diamond button and loop, to Lord Harcourt to hold, and then made him a present of it. The Duke of Leeds says, in his memoranda: "I could not help remarking how little conversation passed between the Prince and Princess during the procession, and the coolness and indifference apparent in the manner of the Prince. I was afterwards informed that he appeared much agitated on entering the chapel, and that during the ceremony he was perpetually looking at his favorite, Lady Jersey."

He then explains that the hat thus presented was decorated with a magnificent diamond star and buckle. Lady Harcourt was known to be the most intimate friend of Lady Jersey.

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\* "Memoirs of Lady C. Bury," i. 17.      † Huish, "Memoirs of George IV.,"

During the ceremony a strange incident was noticed. The Prince, who seemed dazed or bewildered, rose impatiently from his knees before the ceremony was half over. The Archbishop stopped, but the old King stepped forward and recalled his son to his situation. He also took the part of "prompter" through the whole ceremony, and in the hall later "shook his son's hand with a force that brought tears to his eyes."

As the newly married pair drove from the chapel their first falling out took place. The Prince had remarked, on hearing the mob shout, that "many were interested in their happiness," at the same time taking her hand. She pettishly snatched hers away, put out at something in her reception; on which he became angry and sullen.\* Such was the course of this ill-omened day.

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\* Lady C. Campbell, "Diary."

## CHAPTER XXVII.

1795—1797

Two days after the marriage the "happy pair" returned to Windsor, where they remained a few days. They then repaired to the Prince's rural residence at Kempshott. It seems incredible what the bride had to encounter here during her honeymoon. There was but one lady, and that one her lady-in-waiting, and the men were the "blackguard companions of the Prince, who were constantly drunk, and sleeping and snoring in boots on the sofa."\* It is not surprising to learn that within two or three weeks of the marriage a sort of separation took place between the ill-starred pair. However, some decency of appearance was to be kept up. There was a visit in state to Covent Garden Theatre, where the Princess was, as it were, presented to the public for the first time; while in May a dancing fête was given at Frogmore to the "happy pair," where the ladies all appeared in white, with "Prince of Wales" plumes, and the gentlemen in blue and gold.

They were then established at Carlton House. It at once became evident that all the good advice, so laboriously impressed on the Princess, had wrought little effect; for, at the various dinner-parties given during the first two or three weeks after the marriage, she behaved so flippantly and talked so lightly that her husband called Lord Malmesbury aside and asked him "what he thought of this sort of manners;" on which he could only repeat her father's words—that, if she were not kept strictly, she would give way to this extravagance. Then the Prince reproached him with not warning him in time; to which the reply was given that he had acted under instructions from the King to conclude the marriage, and that such matters did not enter into his commission. It was hardly surprising that this blunt declaration should displease or leave a rankle in his mind.

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\* Sir G. Elliot, iii. 14. He was shown the correspondence and written complaints on these matters.



It must be owned that his position had been an embarrassing one, for though he owned that he would have felt it his duty to mention any notorious or glaring defect, or such as would render the union unseemly, mere levity would not have been sufficient ground to disturb the negotiation. But the truth is, after these signs and tokens, it was scarcely surprising that the negotiator should now begin to augur the worst. "It is impossible," he says, "to foresee or conceive any comfort from this connection, in which I lament very much having taken any share, however passive it was."

The Princess, who was not nearly so volatile as Lord Malmesbury would make out, for some time bore with the treatment very patiently. She said that her father had told her to observe everything, but say nothing. Indeed, her whole course in this trying situation was at first marked by a certain amiability and prudence; and her best claim to indulgence is that she was driven into the opposite defects by a long series of outrages. She saw her lady-in-waiting invited to the Queen's House, and sit down to play cards with the Princesses. The worthy old King disapproved of these proceedings, but could do nothing. All the summer the attendance of this person was forced upon her.

Lord George Seymour described to Lord Houghton a characteristic scene that occurred during this disturbed honeymoon. At a convivial party, at which assisted Lord Coleraine and others, punch and pipes were introduced. When the lady-in-waiting had sipped a little, the Prince, in a marked way, took her glass; on which the Princess seized Coleraine's pipe, and gave a sort of contemptuous puff at the Prince. There was a rough humor, as well as readiness, in this proceeding.

At Brighton, appearances were maintained and the gayeties kept up. The Prince introduced various friends of his, such as Sheridan, with whom he had fallen out, but was now reconciled; also Sir Sidney Smith, and the Stadtholder of Holland, whom the Brighton folk were entertained in watching.\*

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\*The Princess commanded a play for his entertainment; in spite of her vivacity and utmost efforts, he slept and snored in the box beside her, and was roused with some difficulty when the curtain fell. A ball having been given in compliment to him at the Castle tavern, he fell asleep whilst eating his supper, and snored so loud as to disturb the harmony of the orchestra. His Dutch Highness was also entertained with a grand masquerade; and was perplexed by the difficulty of resolving in what dress or character he should attend it. The Prince of Wales said he might go as an old woman.—"Life and Reign," i. 270.

But now, on April 27th, the first steps were taken to furnish the consideration of the bargain, and the question of paying the Prince of Wales's debts was introduced to the House, and received with "marked disapprobation." The tone assumed was of the most offensive kind, and the unhappy spendthrift was lectured and reprobated. Mr. Pitt took a high strain. The debts, he said, must be paid out of the income, which would be increased; but no gross sum would be granted. There were loud complaints of broken faith on the part of the Prince and his friends, and it was openly said that the minister had violated his engagements. This was, no doubt, the proper course, as a general discharge would only be an encouragement to incur fresh liabilities. On this Colonel Stanley, a Lancashire member, moved that the old engagement and promise given to Parliament in 1787 should be read. In the discussion that followed, the Prince felt himself humiliated to an extraordinary degree, as he was treated like a spendthrift and pauper; but this he had brought on himself.

In May, when the general plan came on for discussion, it was stated by Mr. Pitt that the Prince's income was about £73,000 a year (including the Cornwall revenue). This he proposed to raise to a sum of £125,000 a year, without adding the Duchy, which would make together nearly £140,000, with £26,000 for Carlton House (a bottomless gulf), and £28,000 for jewels and outfit. But the debts were found to reach the enormous sum of £630,000, all incurred since the last settlement! His proposal was that £25,000 should be set apart yearly; and it was calculated this sum would clear off all in twenty-seven years. Further, any arrear beyond three months should not be recoverable at law. Such was the plan of extrication. It was certainly infinitely mortifying for the Prince. His party either held aloof, or gave but cold support. Mr. Grey was even hostile. After declaring himself as ready to support the splendor of the royal family, as "any slippery sycophant of the Court," he announced that, "considering the distress of the people and their burdens, it was a most unfitting time to make a demand for satisfying extravagance." He added that no matter how exalted the Prince's rank, he should descend to the level of other embarrassed persons, compound with his creditors and retrench his establishment. His tone, indeed, was almost studiously blunt and offensive, and the Prince never seems to have forgiven it. He concluded by moving that £40,000 a year in addition would be sufficient. Mr. Fox supported the ministerial proposal but coldly, though he suggested that

the King should contribute, and contrasted the large allowance made to the civil list. His suggestion was that the debts should be paid off speedily, by allotting £65,000 a year and the Duchy revenues.

These debates and recriminations were continued for some weeks, when the Prince found himself compelled to come forward and put himself humbly in the hands of the House. His Attorney-General, Mr. Anstruther, made the following communication: "That his Royal Highness was desirous to acquiesce in whatever might be the sentiments of the House, both in respect to the future regulations of his expenditure, and the appropriation of any part of the income they might think fit to grant him for the discharge of his debts; his wish, on the present occasion, was to consult the wisdom of Parliament. He was perfectly disposed to acquiesce in whatever abatement of splendor they might judge to be necessary, from a view of his situation; and desired to have nothing but what the country might cordially be induced to think he ought to have. In fine, that his Royal Highness left all matters relative to the regulation of his establishment and the payment of his debts to their wisdom and discretion, with the assurance that whatever measures they might adopt would meet with his hearty concurrence."

This was opposed to all the arguments his friends had been urging. And Mr. Pitt was not slow to press the advantage. Indeed, it will be seen that this was always a characteristic of the Prince—to abandon a course no matter how vehemently championed, when another better suited his purpose.

On this failure of these attempts he is said to have written to Lord Fitzwilliam and Mr. Fox, offering to put himself at the head of the party, and oppose all measures of the Government. But they dissuaded him from this course.

But a very reasonable plea in his favor had been put forward, which was certainly embarrassing enough to deal with. This was the claim, by way of set-off, to the revenues of the Duchy during his minority. These had been appropriated by the King, on the high German tradition of paternal despotism, and when the claims became inconvenient, the reply was that the revenues had been absorbed by the expenses of education. No account was rendered till the present discussion, when Mr. Pitt was obliged to admit that a sum of nearly £234,000 had been received. The Government had to make an extraordinary defence. It pleaded the Statute of Limitation—the claims of Parliament, which had paid his debts, and the cost of his outfit, which must be set off. Then the expenses of his



education had been £83,000. All this was mere special pleading. The claim of Parliament could not hold, as the Prince could hardly be considered a bankrupt, who had to give up all his assets to those who gave him relief. Mr. Fox declared that, by the return before them, the expenses of education were £40,000, of which half should certainly be charged to the Duke of York, who had the same preceptors, etc. He made out also, that the accumulated revenues, with interest, amounted to £500,000. Surely, he said, the King, like any other father, might fairly undertake the modest charges of bringing up his children. But it has been already shown how the King himself left on record the penurious calculations made for the support of his younger children, and the same scale was no doubt applied to the support of his eldest child. The annual expense for many years could not have exceeded £3000, of which one half, or say two thirds only, should have been charged to the Prince, leaving an enormous balance. The King's own debts had been enormous, and these arrears had been used to discharge them.\* Fortunately, we have satisfactory evidence in support of Mr. Fox's contention, that the Prince's education and maintenance had cost but little, and by reference to the Palace accounts, kept with great accuracy and minuteness, and preserved in the British Museum, it will be seen what trifling sums in the wages to services, salary of governess, etc., had been expended.

"The Prince," said Mr. Sheridan, "had often done him the honor to consult him, chiefly because his royal highness knew his fixed determination to accept no favors; and he took that opportunity of declaring that he had never received any presents of great value from the Prince. He had, he said, advised him not to make the promise he made in 1787, from the improbability of its being kept. He had at that time drawn up a plan of retrenchment, which was approved by the Prince and by his Majesty; and the Prince told him the promise was not to be insisted upon, though to his great surprise he found it inserted in the King's message, which had been seen by his royal highness. The Prince wished him to retreat it, but this he declined. Ministers had then a check upon the expenditure of his royal highness, which they had never enforced;

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\* Mr. Nicholl states that these fines for the Duchy leases amounted to £250,000, powers being given by Act of Parliament. It should be added, too, that all the revenues of the Bishopric of Osnaburg, accruing during the Duke of York's minority, were paid to him on his coming of age.

they had never interposed to stop a shameful profusion of money upon Carlton House."

Such was this singular declaration, inspired, of course, by the Prince. There was certainly truth as to the sums lavished on Carlton House, and it will have seemed surprising to find additional sums paid without demur which had not been voted originally by Parliament. \*

The original proposals were privately agreed to; the Prince, though Mr. Whitbread and others declared that it was degrading to the Prince, accepting them cheerfully, through Mr. Lambton, his friend. A jointure of £50,000 a year was then voted for the Princess, rather late, it might be thought, and the odd provision for preventing the Prince incurring fresh debts was adopted. Commissioners were named for examining claims and discharging them. Some of the salaries were fourteen quarters in arrear. The various heads of offices in the Prince's household were made responsible for the expenses in their departments, a singularly inquisitorial proceeding. But astonishment must have been excited by a most extraordinary harangue of the Duke of Clarence, in favor of his brother, in which he declared bluntly "that the marriage was part of a bargain, the price being the payment of his debts. Advantage then had been taken of the difficulties in which he was involved, in order to procure from him this consent. He was in the situation of a man who, if he cannot get a haunch of venison, will rather take any other haunch than go without."

In this speech he showed that honest and earnest but indiscreet partisanship which distinguished him through life.

This business, thus arranged, gave rise to many harsh comments, the one that had most plausibility being that the Prince had "constituted himself a bankrupt;" for the fact that a regular commission was appointed (consisting of the Speaker, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Master of the Rolls, the Master of the King's Household, the Accountant of the Court of Chancery, and the Surveyor of the Crown Lands), together with an investigation and abatement of all tradesmen's claims, rather lent the air of a "composition with creditors." It was the occasion of much discontent and some injustice, the commission holding a regular court, and abating all

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\* Rose, "Diaries." Why the King should have paid these sums, trusting to be afterwards indemnified, seems strange, unless we assume he had some reason for gratifying the Prince in this his favorite hobby.

claims by ten per cent. It is obvious that this proceeding could not affect the demands of creditors who might enforce them in the regular tribunals of the country. And one of this body actually did so—his jeweller, named Jeffereys,\* whose complaints and attacks were to harass the Prince for many years to come.

On the marriage of the Prince, he had received a magnificent order of jewels for presents. No limit, he says, was fixed. The finest and best of everything was to be provided. As of course, the nation being paymaster, £54,000 was laid out for the bride, with £10,000 as presents for the Queen and Princesses. Even the Prince's miniature, which was sent out in a jewelled frame, cost over £4000! When his claims came before the commission, they were placed at the enormous amount of £85,000, which included bonds of the Prince's old debts. As the jeweller declined to submit to the reduction, he brought actions for the whole amount, which he recovered, the Prince encouraging him in this step. He had, notwithstanding, to accept the deductions; but the balance was paid in debentures. It is characteristic of the persons who had dealings of this kind with the Prince, that their behavior should have always been of the most selfish and ungrateful kind. This man, who had received such large sums, now began to annoy the Prince with demands for redress of his grievances.†

Jeffereys soon after was totally ruined. Then began a series of piteous appeals, which took the shape of threatening letters; and it was only when he had a pamphlet ready that the friendly Lord Moira, who in delicate matters acted as his master's agent, had to treat with him privately. But nothing came of the interview, and

\* This man was for a time a member of Parliament.

† He complained that his reception at Carlton House was cold and distant: "I attended twice, each time by appointment, and waited many hours. At last the Prince, coming into the room with several gentlemen, asked me, in a hasty tone of voice, 'what I wanted?' I was so agitated with the contemplation of my own situation, and so confused by the unusual mode in which his royal highness spoke to me, as to be hardly able to make any answer. His royal highness then said: 'I believe I owe you some money—£420; do you want it now?' I humbly replied, when it suited his royal highness's convenience. The Prince said, 'Very well,' and left the room without another word; nor was I able to form any expectation when it would be repaid." The Prince, too, had to endure all the regular annoyances of an impecunious debtor. Hamlet, Gray, Vuillamy were some of these unlucky *fournisseurs*. It was told of Vuillamy that, being always denied to the Prince, he lay in wait at the gate, and with much agitation and despair told the Prince that "unless paid, he would be in his Papa's Bench."



Jeffereys began to publish a series of pamphlets full of attacks, chiefly on Mrs. Fitzherbert. These ran through many editions.

Though the arrangement made might be assumed to be a fairly satisfactory one, the Prince took his favorite mode of showing his discontent—by exaggerated and theatrical reduction of his establishment. Lord Cholmondeley now addressed a circular to the household, dispensing with their services. Four ladies of the bed-chamber were retained, with Lords Jersey and Cholmondeley as masters of the horse and of the household—the latter declining his salary of £2000 a year.

Meanwhile the new *ménage* was not going on happily, and presently an extraordinary business was to excite the curiosity of the gossips and the disgust of the judicious. Early in 1796 there appeared an appeal to the public, in the shape of a pamphlet by Lord Jersey, written to vindicate his wife from a strange charge. The transaction had occurred in the preceding year.

One Dr. Randolph, a clergyman, had undertaken to carry a packet of letters for the Princess to her relations in Brunswick. Not going abroad, however, he sent back the letters to the writer. They never reached her, and soon after the Princess had good grounds for suspicion, if not for certainty, that the Queen had read their contents, and resented the manner in which she had been described.

The Princess, indeed, admitted that the lost letters contained free but confidential remarks of the kind. There were highly suspicious circumstances in the case. When the clergyman gave up his journey, he dispatched the packet as a common parcel, booking it, he said, by the Brighton coach. He addressed it to Lady Jersey, who was with the Princess at Brighton. As the Princess had placed the packet in his hands, he might have thought it was important enough to be returned in a more formal manner than by a common carrier.

It is admitted that the parcel was regularly "booked" and directed to Lady Jersey, so it would not have been difficult to trace it. There were recriminations on all sides, but the matter was never cleared up; and it was rather happily said that Lord Jersey's vindication wanted but one thing to make it satisfactory, viz. "his avowal that he knew nothing at all about the matter." Altogether a most significant token of the happy relations in the royal family.

Every day the Princess's position was indeed growing more dis-

trressing. She was soon to be confined, and this, it might be supposed, would secure her more indulgence. She complained piteously to a German friend of the dislike of the Queen and her sisters-in-law; that whatever she did was misrepresented. The people alone were kind.

While thus engaged in domestic troubles, a strange sympathy for the Irish nation seized on the Prince. He had not forgotten the compliment paid to him by the Irish Parliament, when the Regency was impending. He had latterly been thrown a good deal with some of the patriots. Mr. Grattan and Lady Louisa Connolly, Lord Colchester tells us, actually persuaded him that he ought to be appointed Viceroy of Ireland. It is stated, indeed, that a formal request to this effect, signed by Grattan, was tendered to him, praying him to undertake the government of the country. On this subject he himself addressed Mr. Pitt in some lengthy letters, setting out the dangerous state of the country, and volunteering to go and pacify it. The minister declined to make any such representation to his Majesty.

Nearly thirty years later, when as George IV. he was strenuously resisting Catholic emancipation, and distracting the ministry by his vehement opposition, the Duke of Wellington seems to have "looked up" these rather compromising documents, no doubt with a view to refute the theory that the King had always been a "Protestant Prince."

Everything in the first of these documents is in the Prince's peculiar style; the abundance of italicized words is all his own. No doubt the topics and arguments had been supplied to him by his Irish friends.

#### MEMORIAL TO MR. PITT FROM THE PRINCE OF WALES.

"London, 8th Feb., 1797.

"I trust that the *importance* of the *subject*, added to the *interest* I must naturally feel in the *safety and welfare of the State*, as well as in whatever affects the *honor of his Majesty's Crown*, and the happiness and prosperity of *my father's reign*, will apologize for the desire I feel to call the attention of ministers to the following considerations:

"The situation of Ireland at this moment demands their most serious attention, and ought to engage them to leave nothing undone to prevent *the calamities* that would arise to Great Britain from a *civil war*. The value and importance of Ireland cannot be

adequately estimated or sufficiently prized; and its loss or separation would be the most mortal blow that this kingdom could receive. This is well known to every man who is acquainted with the relative situations of the two kingdoms.

“The French Government appears to be now thoroughly apprised of this truth; and by their late expedition, fitted out at a prodigious expense, and sent in the *depth of winter*, when an attempt on the Irish coast was generally deemed impracticable, they have shown that they thus consider *no expense too great, no risk sufficient* to deter them from the prosecution of the plans they have formed for the purpose of depriving Great Britain of the aid, support, and advantages derived from Ireland. The *first attempt* has failed; but the French, by an *enterprise unequalled in their history*, have gained advantages that would more than compensate them for the loss of the *whole expedition*, if every ship had perished in the storm. They have destroyed the security we enjoyed from our *insular situation*. They have proved, by an experiment, that our coasts may be attempted with impunity by an *inferior fleet*, and have *destroyed* a *prepossession* that had grown venerable by age, and was worthy a fleet of 50 sail and 50,000 men to this kingdom; but they could not attempt an invasion without having *beat our fleet* and being *masters at sea*. From the circumstances of a part of the Toulon fleet having been brought round to Brest, and of the preparations being continued in that port subsequent to the sailing of the expedition under Hoche, in December, there is reason to conclude that the plan was of a very extensive and alarming nature; and if the *first landing* had taken place, that it would have been followed up and supported by *successive expeditions*, either to act in concert with the first, or to divide our attention and strength by a *diversion* in the coasts of England or Scotland.

“So far their intentions appear manifest, and *from the continuance of the preparations* in their channel ports, as well as their avowed *declarations* and the *aspect of affairs on the Continent*, it is reasonable to suppose that the *attempt will be renewed*; and however they may threaten or infest the coasts of this kingdom, that *Ireland will be the point of their operations*. This might have been doubtful *before* the late attempt; it can scarcely be so now.

“The French have declared that they went to Ireland as *friends*, and not as *enemies*. I hope they would have been deceived in their expectations. But still the opinion must have been formed either from direct communications from that country, or from known cir-



cumstances operating to discontent in that kingdom; or lastly, from a conviction arising out of the former of their being able to propose superior advantages to Ireland from a connection with them.

“That the French have been excited by direct communications from Ireland, there is reason to suppose, from the number of districts in the north of that kingdom that have been *proclaimed* by Government to be in a *state of insurrection*.

“I shall not question the wisdom or policy of such proclamations. If they do not originate in party disputes and private quarrels, they increase and extend them; and one dangerous effect of them is evident: they render the *proclaimed districts* desperate, and give *encouragement to a foreign enemy*. And if I am rightly informed, the districts so proclaimed are not the most dissatisfied or the most dangerous parts of the kingdom.

“I understand that the town of Belfast, though not proclaimed, is in reality the centre of *dissatisfaction*, and perhaps I might say *disaffection*; and that the wealthy and independent Presbyterians of the north are at the bottom of all the secret machinations that agitate the kingdom.

“Whatever the *private views* of the leaders may be, they have hitherto confined themselves to demand a *Parliamentary Reform*. In this they have acted artfully, by comprehending the *Roman Catholic claims* in their demands, and thus forming *two* bodies, hitherto opposed, *into one*, under the title of *United Irishmen*.

“If the *secret object* of this union be a *revolution in the Government* and a *separation* from Great Britain, as there is too much reason to apprehend, it is alarming from its *object* and formidable from its *numbers*; and a moment should not be lost to disunite its members, particularly as I hope the Roman Catholics are *not, as yet*, to any degree tainted with *disaffection*, though they may be led by degrees to go the *full lengths* with the Presbyterians.

“If it be alleged that very *few* indulgences remain to be granted to the Roman Catholics, and those not of a nature to interest the multitude, I should say that the man is little acquainted with human nature, who does not know that mankind is more guided by *pride* and *passion* than by *interest*, and that an affront operates more forcibly than an injury. Besides, the rich and powerful few in *this* case influence the thoughtless and unreflecting many; and the term *emancipation*, applicable only to a state of slavery, is selected on this occasion to indicate the general sense entertained and propagated on that head among the people.

“Without, therefore, entering into a fruitless inquiry whether the discontent on this score be just and founded, it is sufficient that the discontent exists, and that the party in Ireland who are suspected of Republican principles, and of being inclined to a connection with France, make use of this grievance, *supposed or real*, to attach the Roman Catholics to their views and *form a common cause*.

“Without also entering into the policy of withholding or refusing these concessions on former occasions, I shall only say that circumstances may render it prudent to grant at one time what has been refused at another, and that without any inconsistency; and, therefore, without any retrospect to what is past, I feel myself called upon to declare *my decided opinion that no time ought to be lost in repealing every exclusive restriction and disqualification on the Irish Roman Catholics*. If formerly the *suprema lex* justified these prohibitory statutes—and on no other principle can they be justified—I am persuaded that it now imperiously demands their repeal. The Irish Roman Catholics are naturally loyal and attached to monarchy; they have behaved well in a distinguished manner on the late threatened invasion. The affectionate attachment and zeal they have shown on that trying occasion deserve every possible return from the throne; and any concession granted in consequence will appear a reward for past services, and encourage to future exertion; and, above all, by exciting warm and grateful sentiments, for which the Irish are particularly distinguished, it may be fairly expected that such a measure would *detach the Roman Catholics* from the disaffected party, without appearing to have that for its object.

“If this measure be adopted, I should express my wish and readiness to undertake the government of Ireland—great and arduous as the task appears under the present circumstances—with a view of securing the full benefit of this concession to the throne, and in the hopes of more firmly attaching that valuable kingdom to the Crown of Great Britain, and animating the spirit of that loyal and affectionate people to the most powerful exertions against our desperate enemy, if they should again renew their attempts upon that kingdom.

“I am thoroughly aware of the great responsibility that attaches to ministers on the score of Ireland. If my opinion be adopted, I am willing to *share that responsibility with them*; if it is not, *it must remain with them*. I recommend it to them to grant this boon *before* it is asked. If it is asked, it must be granted; but it will then

appear extorted from our fear, and not granted from our affection, and the whole benefit will be lost. I recommend a *preventive* measure, and request them to weigh it with the consideration its importance requires. The *interval of suspended invasion* is favorable, and should be improved with the most sedulous attention, in order to adopt *this* and *such other measures* as promise most effectually to divert the impending storm or to *break its force*.

"I shall *at present* forbear to consider the *other measures* that it may be proper to adopt for *conciliating* the *affections* and *extinguishing* the *dissensions* that agitate parts of that kingdom, as likewise the *relative advantages* that may be held out by France and Spain to Ireland on the score of *commercial intercourse*. These are subjects of great importance, that will naturally present themselves to the *judgment and penetration of ministers*.

"I cannot suppose that *they* will impute the loyal behavior of the Irish Roman Catholics on the late occasion to a *perfect acquiescence in the situation*, and from thence infer that the *present system* should be continued. So *perverse a mode of reasoning* may prove fatal in a future trial, as it is aggravating *injustice* with *insult*. Neither do I believe that, from the appearance of zeal and loyalty exhibited by all ranks, they will infer that there is neither *dissatisfaction* nor *disaffection* in that kingdom, though they did not break out into open action while the fate of the French expedition was uncertain. What might have happened if the *expedition had succeeded*, and the French *landed in force*, may be more doubtful. I fear it is too well known that both do exist to a considerable degree; and their not having burst out into acts of violence proves only more *caution* and *prudence* than were to be expected, but leaves us ignorant of the *magnitude and extent of the danger*.  
G. P."

#### SECOND MEMORIAL ADDRESSED TO MR. PITT.

"Carlton House, May 29th, 1797.

"In the beginning of last February I transmitted to his Majesty's ministers my thoughts on the state of Ireland, recommending to the Cabinet conciliatory measures, as they appeared to me indispensably necessary in order to secure the well-affected, to attach the minds of the Irish nation to the Crown, and to prevent civil war and rebellion, of which symptoms had even then appeared in that kingdom.

"I had the mortification to find the measures I recommended dis-



approved of, and that a system of coercion was to be pursued in the government of Ireland. Lamenting the adoption of such a system, and deploring the consequences that it must necessarily produce, I have notwithstanding preserved silence hitherto on the subject, that ministers might give that system a fair trial. But, having now done so, and the menacing circumstances increasing every day, I should consider a further silent acquiescence as betraying the dearest interests both of my king and country; for I regard it as the first duty imposed on me by my situation to endeavor, by every means in my power, to prevent the effusion of civil blood, and to avert the misfortunes incident on a rebellion in Ireland and the loss of that kingdom.

“In the month of February last I could only state what I conceived to be the probable consequences of neglecting to adopt conciliatory measures. I can now appeal to the report of the Committee of Secrecy of the Irish House of Commons on certain papers seized in Belfast on the 14th April last, and laid before the House on the 29th of that month.

“The report is deficient as to dates; but it appears from it that the Society of United Irishmen had been formed as early as 1791, for the express purpose of separating Ireland from Great Britain. It appears also, by a return dated December 7th, 1796, that the above society had at that period gained 59,688 adherents in the province of Ulster. From the month of October, 1796, the system of coercion had been rigorously pursued without interruption or opposition from any quarter. On the contrary, the whole strength and loyalty of the kingdom have been called forth, and corps of yeomanry embodied throughout the kingdom, for the purpose of strengthening the hands of Government.

“And yet, notwithstanding every effort of administration backed by a great military force, the report states that in four months, from December to April, the number of United Irishmen had increased from 59,688 to 99,411; and the county of Meath, one of the most turbulent in the kingdom, is included in the former and not in the latter; if it had, the numbers would have nearly doubled. The fair conclusion is, that the system of coercion had in four months spread as great disaffection to the Government as the Society of United Irishmen had been able to do in the five preceding years.

“So alarming an increase can alone be accounted for by the avowal of this system, coupled with the declaration of the Irish ministers in both Houses of Parliament in that kingdom—that no

further concessions would be made by Government to the Roman Catholics; a declaration that I must condemn as unwise and impolitic, and originating in unparalleled ingratitude to a description of men who had shown the greatest zeal, loyalty, and sound principles by their distinguished exertions in the public cause when their country was threatened with a French invasion.

“If a French fleet should again visit the coasts of Ireland, could ministers depend on the cordial co-operation of the Irish Roman Catholics, as in the month of December last? and, if not, I must infer that the neglecting the measures of conciliation that I recommended, and pursuing an opposite system, have actually alienated the affections of the then loyal and friendly Roman Catholics of that kingdom.

“The papers of the Ulster committee only have been seized, and the report is consequently confined to that province. It throws no light on the state of the other three provinces, in which the proportion of Roman Catholics is much greater than in Ulster; so that I think it will not appear exaggerated if we allow that they may contain 100,000 more of United Irishmen.

“If, then, ministers advert to the rapidity with which this society have gained converts to their principles, and make any allowance for their further extension, I should recommend it to them to weigh again the probability of success in pursuing a system of coercion. That system was fully and fatally tried in America, and failed. The Irish are a brave and high-spirited people, and more numerous than the Americans were at the commencement of hostilities. France is more in a situation to give them assistance and support; and Great Britain, by the very defection of Ireland, less able to carry on a contest, weakened as she is by the expensive struggles of the last four years.

“There are many circumstances that ministers will further take into consideration that have occurred since February last, to which it is sufficient to advert without enlarging on them, as, the temper of the navy and army, and the number of Irishmen in both; the peace agreed on between the Emperor and France; above all, the certainty that the Irish militia have been tampered with, and the danger of their joining their countrymen in the case of open insurrection.

“But in one view it is sufficient that the disaffection of numerous bodies of men in Ireland is proved beyond a doubt by the report. I consequently appeal to ministers if any system of coercion, how-

ever successful, can remove that disaffection; and if his Majesty's ministers be not called on to try every possible means to satisfy the people by removing the causes of the dissatisfaction; and to endeavor to regain the confidence and affection of the Irish nation before an open rebellion widens the breach; for conciliatory measures must, in any supposed issue to the contest, be resorted to at last; and what must be resorted to after bloodshed, and all the horrors of a civil war, ought to be tried at least in the first instance to prevent them.

“That the Irish will rise in their demands every day that arrangement is deferred, is very certain. That the same measures that might have satisfied them in February last, may not do so now, I am inclined to suspect. But I have but one decided opinion, that no time should be lost in still trying conciliatory measures to the utmost extent. A strong military force may secure temporary advantages; but no force can long coerce a nation of four millions of people, united in sentiment and interests.

“I must once more earnestly recommend conciliatory measures, and I adjure you to pause on the awful brink of civil war, and to avert its fatal consequences. Dissatisfaction is fast spreading in this kingdom, from a variety of causes; and a civil war with Ireland would certainly increase it, and produce great divisions and differences of sentiment, the consequence of which may extend far beyond what human prudence can foresee or calculate.

“I request that this paper may be commended to the Cabinet, and I wish it to be considered as containing my decided sentiments on the subject of Ireland. G. P.”



## CHAPTER XXVIII.

1796.

ON January 7th, 1796, at twenty minutes past nine, the Princess of Wales was delivered of a daughter. The Duke of Leeds, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other noble persons were in attendance all night. The shaggy-browed Thurlow was present by the Prince's invitation. The Princess was in a critical way for a time, and it was rumored that "her life was saved by the intelligent friendship of a distinguished statesman." The agitation of the Prince was conspicuous, and indeed the excitement which was part of his character seems to have actually led him to devotion.\* This amiable agitation would have been more sincere had it been supported by acts; but it is painful to have to relate that as the crisis drew near he did not show any delicate consideration for her situation. Thus his angry father shortly after the event addressed him this reproof:

## THE KING TO THE PRINCE OF WALES.

"[GEORGIUS REX.]

"The professions you have lately made in your letters of your particular regard to me are so contradictory to your actions, that I cannot suffer myself to be imposed upon by them. You know very well you did not give the least intimation to me or to the Queen that the Princess was with child till within a month of the birth of the young Princess.

"You removed the Princess twice in the week immediately preceding the day of her delivery from the place of my residence, in expectation (as you voluntarily declared) of her labor; and both times, upon your return, you industriously concealed from the

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\* With a due sense of that religion," says an admirer, "the exercise of which had thrown such a pure and unsullied splendor over a well-spent life, he morning and night, surrounded by his family, offered up his prayers to that Being who "can soothe the pangs of the mother and still the cries of the infant."—Huish, "Life of Princess Charlotte," i. 11.

knowledge of me and the Queen every circumstance relating to this important affair; and you at last, without giving notice to me or to the Queen, precipitately hurried the Princess from Hampton Court in a condition not to be named. After having thus, in execution of your own determined measures, exposed both the Princess and her child to the greatest perils, you now plead surprise and tenderness for the Princess as the only motives that occasioned these repeated indignities to me, and to the Queen your mother.

"This extravagant and ungrateful behavior in so essential a point as the birth of an heir to my crown, is such an evidence of your premeditated defiance of me and contempt of my authority, and of the natural right belonging to your parents, as cannot be excused by the pretended innocence of your intentions, nor palliated or disguised by specious words only; but the whole tenor of your conduct for a considerable time has been so entirely void of all real duty to me, that I have long had reason to be highly offended with you; and until you withdraw your regard and confidence from those by whose instigation and advice you are aided and encouraged in your unwarrantable behavior to me and to the Queen, and until you return to your duty, you shall not reside in my palace, which I will not suffer to be made the resort of them who, under the appearance of an attachment to you, foment the division which you have made in my family, and thereby weakened the common interest of the whole.

"In this situation I will receive no reply; but when your actions manifest a just sense of your duty and submission, that may induce me to pardon what at present I most justly resent.

"In the mean time, it is my pleasure that you leave St. James's with all your family when it can be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the Princess.

"I shall for the present leave to the Princess the care of my granddaughter, until a proper time calls upon me to consider of her education: G. R."\*

On February 11th the royal child was christened CHARLOTTE AUGUSTA, destined with her father and mother, uncle and aunt, to form one ill-fated circle. The name Charlotte was chosen in compliment to the Queen; Augusta, in honor of her mother and grandmother.

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\* "Memoirs of Lord Brougham," ii. 155.

There were of course great rejoicings, but it was unfortunate that even on this occasion the Prince's humor should have drawn him into a foolish embarrassment. The Corporation of London desiring to present an address, were informed that the Prince, having now reduced his establishment, was unable to receive their address "in a manner suitable to his situation." It was intimated that the address might be sent to him. The Common Council immediately passed a resolution to the effect that it was inconsistent with their dignity to present it in any but the usual way. The Prince, alarmed, sent for the Lord Mayor to explain. "His royal highness," said this functionary, "declared that his sentiments, he conceived, had been mistaken or misunderstood, or at least a very different construction had been given to them than he meant, or was intended to be conveyed by that letter. He thought it incumbent on him to preserve a consistent character; that as his establishment, for certain reasons, had been reduced, and that the necessary state appendages attached to the character and rank of the Prince of Wales did not in consequence exist, his royal highness conceived he could not receive an address in state, and particularly from the Corporation of the City of London, for which he entertained the highest veneration and respect." In situations like this he could always acquit himself gracefully enough.

Scarcely was the Princess recovered when the old state of things was renewed. The Prince quitted Carlton House, and removed to Windsor about the middle of March. This was what Lord Colchester calls "an open difference," though at the opera they were noticed to affect an extraordinary cordiality. The same peer declares she was used unpardonably—obliged to dine alone, seeing no one but old people selected for her by the Queen and Lady Jersey, who were on excellent terms. Neither was she allowed to go anywhere except to take airings in the Park. Angered at last by this treatment, she began to utter complaints, appealing now to the King, now to the Prince, who for many weeks had not seen her. The reply she received through Lady Cholmondeley was that "they ought to separate!" This proposal seems to have been repeatedly made, but she declared she would be quite happy to live with him, provided a change was made in his behavior. In April, as she herself said to her friend, "Well, after I lay in—*je vous jure*, 'tis true, upon my honor, upon my soul 'tis true—I received a message through Lord Cholmondeley to tell me I never was to have de great honor of inhabiting de same room wid my husband again. I



said 'Very well: but as my memory was short, I begged to have dis polite message in writing from him.' I had it, and was free."\*

The extraordinary letter that was sent to her is well known.

"MADAM,

"As Lord Cholmondeley informs me that you wish I would define, in writing, the terms upon which we are to live, I shall endeavor to explain myself on that head with as much clearness and with as much propriety as the nature of the subject will admit. Our inclinations are not in our power, nor should either of us be held answerable to the other because nature has not made us suitable to each other. Tranquil and comfortable society is, however, in our power; let our intercourse, therefore, be restricted to that, and I will distinctly subscribe to the condition which you required through Lady Cholmondeley, that even in the event of any accident happening to my daughter (which I trust Providence in its mercy will avert) I shall not infringe the terms of the restriction by proposing, at any period, a connection of a more particular nature. I shall now finally close this disagreeable correspondence, trusting that, as we have completely explained ourselves to each other, the rest of our lives will be passed in uninterrupted tranquillity.

"I am, Madam,

"With great truth, very sincerely yours,

"GEORGE P.

"Windsor Castle, April 30th, 1796."

This cynical document is unique, the most unpleasant portion being the pious appeal to "Providence in its mercy" and the convenient principles of morality laid down. To this she replies in French on May 6, and the letters afford a strange contrast:

"The avowal of your conversation with Lord Cholmondeley neither surprises nor offends me. It merely confirmed what you have tacitly insinuated for this twelvemonth. But after this it would be a want of delicacy, or rather an unworthy meanness in me, were I to complain of those conditions which you impose upon yourself.

"I should have returned no answer to your letter if it had not been conceived in terms to make it doubtful whether this arrange-

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\* "Diary of George IV.," i. 37.

ment proceeds from you or from me; and you are aware that the credit of it belongs to you alone.

“The letter which you announce to me as the last obliges me to communicate to the King, as to my sovereign and my father, both your avowal and my answer. You will find enclosed the copy of my letter to the King. I apprise you of it, that I may not incur the slightest reproach of duplicity from you. As I have at this moment no protector but his Majesty, I refer myself solely to him upon this subject; and if my conduct meets his approbation I shall be in some degree at least consoled. I retain every sentiment of gratitude for the situation in which I find myself as Princess of Wales; enabled, by your means, to indulge in the free exercise of a virtue dear to my heart—I mean charity.

“It will be my duty likewise to act upon another motive, that of giving an example of patience and resignation under every trial.

“Do me the justice to believe that I shall never cease to pray for your happiness, and to be

Your much devoted

(Signed)

“CAROLINE.

“May 6, 1796.”

The delay of nearly a week was owing to her deliberations as to which course she was to take. She thought first of writing to her parents, and even of returning to them; then of appealing to the King to bring about a reconciliation. Lord Cholmondeley gave her to understand with much politeness the Prince disliked her too cordially to think of such a thing. The King did make some attempts at arrangement, but matters had gone too far. He suggested an arrangement that she should have an allowance of £20,000; but, advised by friends who were beginning to gather about her, she rejected the pension, and declared that her bills should be sent to the Prince;\* and some rooms were to be kept for her at Carlton House, as a sort of *pied de terre*, the Prince retiring to Windsor or Brighton. Thus was war declared.

There could be but one opinion on the behavior of the husband that could come to an irreconcilable breach with his wife within the first year. His defence, “that he had taken a dislike to her,” or, as he put it, “our inclinations are not in our power”—almost childish—puts him out of court. The honest public, which soon learned the truth, at once took her side. At the opera she was ap-

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\* Lloyd, p. 221.

plauded "with a transport of affectionate respect." She came attended by her ladies—Lady Carnarvon and Mrs. Fitzroy—and with the Duke of Leeds, to whom she said she supposed the public had "been acquainted with what was very *trop vrai*;" that "the Prince had not spoken to her for three months past, but that she had nothing to reproach herself with." The Duke of Leeds, in his "Memoranda," describes her agitation and even alarm at this reception, and her natural remark that when the Prince came to town "she supposed she would be guillotined for what had passed that evening." Yet, notwithstanding this treatment, she still pressed for reconciliation; only firmly stipulating that the chief cause of their difference should be dismissed from her service.\*

At this time it is clearly shown that the Princess was driven by a consistent course of ill-treatment to the follies of her later life. All her friends now were people known for their rank, respectability, and character. Even the rude Thurlow thus spoke of her to the Duke of Leeds: "He thought with me the Prince's strange conduct could only be imputed to madness, and expressed himself as much struck by the good sense and discretion of the Princess. He declared the letter to the King, for which he very undeservedly had the credit, was written by the Princess of her own will, and, though in his presence, without assistance from him." She made a very humble and most proper appeal to the Prince, to be relieved from her attendance; also to the King. Her request could not be refused, as the public were now beginning to clamor against the indecency of the proceeding. The King, in a fatherly and admirable letter, advised another attempt at reconciliation, now that her wishes had been complied with in regard to the lady-in-waiting. He advised her to show a wish that the Prince should return to her, on both sides all reproaches should be avoided, as well as any confidences in third parties. The tone of the letter was most cordial, affectionate, and sensible. On the same day the poor Princess

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\* This favorite was soon dismissed, supplanted by others. Another Lady Jersey, her daughter-in-law, became the object of his enmity. Mr. Rogers one night found himself seated with her at a ball in a long gallery, down which the Regent had entered without seeing her. When he saw her he stopped a moment, but could not retreat, then marched past her with a look of the utmost disdain. "She returned the look," says Mr. Rogers, "and then turning to me with a smile, said: 'Did not I do it well?'"—"Table Talk." Such were the contests in which our Prince came off victorious; such, too, is the fate that attends the too obsequious service of princes.



wrote to her husband an eager and humble letter, which it would have been hard to resist.

"I avail myself with the greatest ardor of the King's desire, whose letter shows me that you are willing to yield to his wishes, which fills me with the greatest delight. I look forward with infinite pleasure to the moment that will bring you to Carlton House, and that will forever terminate a misunderstanding which, on my side, I assure you, will never be thought of again. If you do me the honor of seeking my society in future, I will do everything to make it agreeable to you. If I should displease you, you must be generous enough to forgive me, and count upon my gratitude, which I shall feel to the end of my life. I may look for this, as mother of your daughter, and as one who is ever yours."

That this appeal would be unfruitful is evident. A month later, the Duke of Leeds, as he tells in his interesting "*Memoranda*," informed her that he would leave the Duchess at Weymouth, "as long as her liking for the place continued;" when the Princess exclaimed: "*Ah! vous n'êtes pas tyran!*" On the same authority we learn that Lady Cholmondeley could venture to say to the Queen that "she wondered the Prince would ever return to Carlton House, after the usage he had received."

Some of the Princesses were eager for family quiet, and the Queen was seen to "speak good-humoredly twice" to the Princess of Wales at the Drawing Room. The latter, naturally finding that it was hopeless to look for being reconciled to the Prince, now removed to Montague House (or Villa), at Charlton, near Blackheath. She was not allowed to have her child with her, who was kept at Carlton House under the direction of Lady Elgin with Miss Hayman, the sub-governess. Mrs. Harcourt and Miss Garth were the Princess's ladies. So envenomed was the factious spirit in this unhappy quarrel, that it was given out that the Prince "set on" drivers of the Greenwich coaches to run her carriage down; and once her life was in actual peril. The Prince himself lived at Carlton House in his old style, but had not much time to devote to his child. It was thus that the Prince impressed the sub-governess at the first interview, by his gracious and elegant manners:

"In going across the hall I met his royal highness full butt in the doorway, coming, I believe, to my apartment. He requested me to return into the ante-room, which we did. He spoke to the follow-

ing effect: 'Miss Hayman, I am very happy in this opportunity of becoming acquainted with you. I sincerely hope you will find everything tolerably comfortable here, and I wish it was in my power to make it more so, but I fear you may have some circumstances of difficulty to contend with. My good Lady Elgin knows and fulfils every wish of my heart relative to your little charge, and I doubt not she has informed you of everything necessary; on her goodness you may rely, etc. I am afraid you will find the confinement irksome, but it is unavoidable!' I assured him my only doubts were of my ability to please him. He said he had *no* doubts; that all he heard of me from many people beside those who recommended me, and on whose judgment he had the greatest dependence, made him think himself fortunate in this appointment. He hoped I should not dislike it, but my remaining was optional. . . . He then turned to Lady Elgin and said, 'It is an additional pleasure to me that Miss Hayman is one of my own countrywomen,' and, taking both by the hand, said, 'You are both my countrywomen: my two first titles are Welsh and Scotch.'

"The business part of the interview ended, he talked of more indifferent matters, and took his leave with all that grace and dignity for which he is so remarkable. Never (Miss Hayman continues) had any one such captivating manners. I could have sat down and cried that he is not all that he ought to be—sometimes it is impossible to think his heart is not naturally good.

"The Princess came in to see me (she goes on); she spoke very affably to me, and asked me if I did not see the infant wonderfully like the Prince of Wales, whether I was fond of children, and told me hers was very hot, but very soon pacified, that she had been naughty, but was now, by Lady Elgin's care, quite good. She stayed about half-an-hour, chose some lace for frocks, and was most kind. The next day, when Lady Elgin came in and said, 'Miss Hayman must now kiss her royal highness's hand,' she got up and said, 'Oh! we will shake shands,' and turned the whole formality into a jest; she then began a gossiping conversation on novels, and showed throughout the warmheartedness and kindness, the indiscretion and want of dignity which Lord Malmesbury had noticed in her."\*

Miss Hayman, however, notwithstanding this fair promise, was dismissed at the end of three months, probably, as Lady Rose

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\* Lady Rose Weigall, "Memoirs of Princess Charlotte,"

Weigall suggests, because she was regarded with too much favor by the Princess—and she was then taken into the latter's service.

The mother was eager to have her engaging child with her, and applied to the Prince for permission, but no notice was taken of the request. She continued her mode of life at Blackheath in great intimacy with such persons as Sir Gilbert Elliot, Lord and Lady Wood, Lord Thurlow, who, strange to say, was the friend and adviser of both husband and wife, the Duke and Duchess of Hamilton, the Edens and others. Again and again Sir G. Elliot, who saw much of her at this time, declares that her behavior was everything that was proper. She was utterly undeserving of "such strange neglect." Even her attractions were of some power, "her countenance being remarkably lively and pleasing." "I think her positively a handsome woman." The only blemish he noted was the significant one of an indiscreet and voluble confidence imparted to the first comer. At her little *al fresco* parties she delighted in pouring out the whole of her story to a guest whom she fancied while the rest looked on.

He says, "Princess Charlotte was in the room till dinner, and is really one of the finest and pleasantest children I ever saw. The Princess of Wales romped with her about the carpet on her knees. Miss Garth said to her, 'You have been so very naughty I don't know what we must do with you.' The little girl answered, crying and quite penitently, 'You must soot me,' meaning shoot her.

"At the Drawing Room, when she and the Prince attended, he did not bow to her, though they were quite close. He declared afterwards that she would not meet his eye. When the King said to her that a new arrival, the Countess d'Almeyda, could not be handsome as she was not fair, the lively Princess curtsied and said she wished others of his Majesty's family were of the same opinion. The good King laughed very heartily, and said he wished so too, and that he thought it a proof of very bad taste."\*

Strange to say, she did not give up hope of their differences being arranged, and towards the autumn of 1798 the idea of a reconciliation was broached—on this occasion by the Prince and his friends. As she saw, or fancied she saw, that it was merely for some object of little reference to her, she was determined not to tolerate the suggestion unless the matter was entered on in regular substantial shape. That she was right in this view is shown by the

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\* Lady Rose Weigall, "Memoirs of Princess Charlotte,"



fact that at the very time he was eagerly engaged in pressing Mrs. Fitzherbert to renew their old relations.

When the Princess heard of this she said to a friend and companion of the Prince, that "she hoped *her husband* would not feel *her* any impediment to the reconciliation he was so desirous for." A few days afterwards the same gentleman informed her that he had delivered "the message" to the Prince, who said: "Did she say so? Indeed she is very good-natured;" and the Princess was not long in hearing that she was represented as having taken an active part in the reconciliation referred to, to the great disgust of the Prince, who commented to her informant, a gentleman of his household, on the indelicacy of the proceedings. "Indelicacy, indeed!" she said, "and I wonder who could say such a thing or suppose I could ever have thought it? All I said was, that I hoped I did not stand in the way of his happiness." It was remarked with regret by those who frequented her society that she was apt to prosecute inquiries concerning the movements of the lady in question which it did not become her dignity to know.\*

The last time the Prince had been near Mrs. Fitzherbert was the day before the marriage, when he galloped by her house at Marble Hill. The grief and mortification this step had brought her may be conceived; but, by the advice of her friends, she courageously faced the public, and went through the hard ordeal of receiving her friends. All made a point to attend, including the royal Dukes. "Upon this, as upon all other occasions," says Lord Stourton, "she was supported by the Duke of York, with whom, through life, she was always united in the most friendly and confidential relations. Indeed, she frequently assured me, that there was not one of the royal family who had not acted with kindness to her. She particularly instanced the Queen; and, as for George III., from the time she set footing in England till he ceased to reign, had he been her own father, he could not have acted with greater tenderness. That she should have been reconciled to him was but the logical consequence of the original marriage, for she looked on her own as the true one. She did not act on her own responsibility.

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\* About the time of the Queen's trial it was stated in a mixed company that the Speaker of the House of Commons had condescended to join in a game of romps with her Majesty. One or two past Speakers happened to be present, including Lord Colchester, who seriously repelled the charge. No one, however, thought of the sober Addington, who privately confessed that he had been the delinquent.

Her agent was despatched to lay the matter before the Pope. The reply from Rome was favorable to the wishes of the Prince; faithful to her own determination to act as much as possible in the face of the public, she resisted all importunities to meet him clandestinely. The day on which she joined him again at her own house, was the same on which she gave a public breakfast to the whole town of London, and to which he was invited. She told me, she hardly knew how she could summon resolution to pass that severe ordeal, but she thanked God she had the courage to do so. The next eight years were, she said, the happiest of her connection with the Prince. She used to say that they were extremely poor, but as merry as crickets; and once, on their returning to London, they mustered their common means, and could not raise £5 between them. Upon this, or some such occasion, she related to me, that an old and faithful servant endeavored to force them to accept £60."

In this singular relation, she now occupied a large house in Park Lane, and, during the season, one in Brighton, which the Prince fitted up for her.



## CHAPTER XXIX.

Ontario.

1798.

YET in the Prince's disposition, and united with this undomestic temper, there was a strain of impulsive sympathy that might fairly pass as symptoms of a good heart.

In illustration of this tender feeling, and which he felt pleasure in gratifying when its effect was fresh and no interval had elapsed, may be mentioned his interest in the family of the unfortunate Lord Edward Fitzgerald. This presents him in a pleasing light. The unfortunate nobleman was lying in the Dublin Newgate, suffering from a mortal wound, and treated with extraordinary rigor. The real piteousness of the situation centres in his family, and there is really nothing more heart-rending than the picture of the crowd of agitated relatives—including Charles Fox, Lady Louisa Connolly, Lady Sarah Napier, the aged Duchess of Leinster—all pleading, not for grace, but for delay and fair trial; and, above all, for the poor privilege of being allowed to see their kinsman for a few moments. Not until he was within a few hours of his death was this favor granted. The wretched wife—the well-known Pamela—had been hurriedly put on board a packet, with a view of getting to town to throw herself at the King's feet to beg for mercy. Nor were the ministers in London inclined to be harsh.

It was truly pathetic to find his mother, then at a distance from him, "working heaven and earth," as it is called, to obtain mercy. She flew to the Duke of York, who, though he only listened with compassion and made no promise, exerted himself, and succeeded in obtaining from the King that the trial should be delayed.

The Prince's interference, as may be imagined, was not likely to have much weight, considering the feelings of his father towards him. But to the husband of the agonized mother he addressed the following genuine and feeling letter:

THE PRINCE OF WALES TO WILLIAM OGILVIE, ESQ.

"Carlton House, June 6, 1798.

"Three quarters past 5 P.M.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I feel so truly for the Duchess and the unfortunate Edward, that I am sure there is nothing in the world I would not attempt to



mitigate the pangs which I am afraid but too much distress her grace at the present dreadful crisis. I would, were I in the habit of so doing, most undoubtedly write to Lord Clare; though, even were that the case, I should hesitate as to the propriety of so doing, thinking that such an application to the Chancellor might be subject to misconstruction, and consequently detrimental to Lord Edward's interests. But I have no hesitation in allowing you to state to his lordship how much pleased I shall be, and how much I am sensible it will conciliate to him the affections of every humane and delicate mind, if every opportunity is given to poor Lord Edward to obtain an impartial trial, by delaying it till his state of health shall be so recruited as to enable him to go through the awful scene with fortitude;\* and until the minds of men have recovered their usual tone, so absolutely necessary for the firm administration of justice.

"This, my dear Sir, I have no scruple to admit of your stating in confidence, and with my best compliments, to the Lord Chancellor. My long and sincere regard for both the Duchess and Duke of Leinster would have naturally made me wish to exert myself still more, were I not afraid by such exertion I might do more harm than good.

"Excuse this scrawl, which I pen in the utmost hurry, fearing that you may have left London before this reaches Harley Street. I am, dear Sir, with many compliments to the Duchess,

"Very sincerely yours,

"GEORGE P."

For this generous conduct he earned a handsome tribute from Lord Byron:

To be the father of the fatherless,†

To stretch the hand from the throne's height, and raise

*His* offspring, who expired in other days,

To make thy sire's sway by a kingdom less,—

*This* is to be a monarch, and repress

Envy into unutterable praise.

Dismiss thy guard, and trust thee to such traits,

For who would lift a hand, except to bless?

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\* Moore, "Life of Lord E. Fitzgerald," p. 203, edit. 1875.

† He promised to take care of Lord Edward's child, and later gave him a commission in his own regiment. He was a young man of spirit, and highly popular as "Mike" Fitzgerald. Colonel Gronow describes him during the occupation of Paris as ever ready to fight the French officers, and placing his card on the chimney-piece in a café, with an offer to meet all comers.

Were it not easy, Sir, and is't not sweet  
To make thyself beloved? and to be  
Omnipotent by mercy's means? for thus  
Thy sovereignty would grow but more complete,—  
A despot thou, and yet thy people free,  
And by the heart, not hand, enslaving us.

Of late the Prince was beginning to affect the airs of a connoisseur. He had a sort of natural feeling for art and things connected with art, and could no doubt discourse of the "correggiosity of Correggio." But his taste was, in truth, uncultivated, and therefore remained always indifferent. We now find him concerned in an artistic matter of a sensational kind. When the "Ireland" imposture was attracting attention the Prince's curiosity was excited, and the papers were brought to him. His remarks and general behavior are all in character.

"At Mr. Ireland's entrance, his royal highness, with his usual affability, rose to receive him. On the production of the manuscripts, his royal highness began to inspect them with the strictest scrutiny, when, to Mr. Ireland's infinite astonishment, he not only questioned him on every point with an acuteness which he had never before witnessed from the learned who had inspected the papers, but he also displayed a knowledge of antiquity and an intimate acquaintance with documents of the period of Elizabeth, which Mr. Ireland had conceived to be confined to those only that had made this particular subject the object of their study. Having examined the manuscripts, his royal highness said: "As far as the external appearance will witness for the validity of the documents, they certainly bear a strong semblance of age; to decide, however, peremptorily from this cursory inspection, would be unjustifiable, as in matters of this nature so much is to be said *pro* and *con*, that the decision requires mature reflection. I certainly, Mr. Ireland, must compliment you much upon the discovery; as the name of Shakespeare, and everything appertaining to him, is not confined alone to the literary world, but to the English nation, to which the publication will, I trust, afford that gratification which is expected to be derived from it."

The taste for anything *bizarre*, and the natural wish to be considered a patron of the fine arts, led the Prince to sanction the interesting process of "unrolling papyri," with which view he actually despatched an agent to Italy, who thus reported to him: "About thirty years ago the King of Naples ordered the development, the

transcription, and the printing of those volumes which had then been saved. This operation was accordingly begun, and went on till the invasion of Naples by the French. But the mode was slow, being performed by a single person, with only one frame. The frame consists of several taper and oblong pieces of wood, with parallel threads of silk running on each side the whole length of each piece. When the frame is laid on any volume, each piece of wood must be fixed precisely over each line of the page, while the respective threads, being worked beneath each line, and assisted by the corresponding piece of wood above, raise the line upwards, and disclose the characters to view. The operation was, I believe, invented by a Capuchin at Naples. The fruits of it are said to be two publications only—one on music, by Philodemus, who was a contemporary of Cicero; and the other on cookery. The first is in his Majesty's library, at the Queen's palace. Through the obliging politeness of Mr. Barnard, the King's librarian, I have had the advantage of perusing it. I hope your Royal Highness will not disapprove my acknowledging in this place the very warm and respectful interest which both this gentleman and the right honorable the president of the Royal Society have expressed for the furtherance of your Royal Highness's great and good design."

The Prince was encouraged to go on, and he incurred an immense expense to little benefit. Six rolls of manuscripts came to Carlton House; but none of value, except a fragment of Epicurus.

That surprising graciousness of manner—which was indeed more than manner and reached to good nature—was shown in his reception of the young and friendless Irishman, Moore, who wrote home in delight of the condescending Prince and his "fascinating manners." "He said he was happy to know a man of my abilities; and when I thanked him for the honor of being allowed to dedicate 'Anacreon' to him, he replied that the honor was his, in being allowed to put his name to a work of such merit." He added, that he hoped during the winter they would have opportunities of enjoying each other's society. When the poet returned from his disastrous Bermuda expedition, he met the Prince for the first time at a small supper-party. There was again something happily gracious in the manner of his welcome. With a judicious tact—for Moore was at the moment "under a cloud," as it is called, and such recognition would be useful—"I am very glad to see you here again, Moore," he said heartily: "from what I had heard, I was afraid we had lost you. I assure you (laying his hand upon his shoulder) it



was a subject of general concern!" The good-natured Prince did not dream how, within a dozen years, the poet was to turn his talents on which he had been complimented against him, and that the most bitter of the long series of lampoons which stung and tortured him for years was to come from that airy and facile pen. Moore was also struck by his genuine passion for music, the Prince being engrossed with his favorite pastimes of music and attending theatricals.

A taste for the best music and the stage was at this period cultivated to a remarkable degree by the nobility. The Duke of Queensberry, Lords Buckingham, Boyle, Hampden, and many others of ton and fashion, were in the habit of giving concerts at their houses, at which the best music was performed. The Duchess of Devonshire united this to her other graces, and Sheridan's well-known song, introduced in "The Stranger," "I have a silent sorrow here," was set to a plaintive melody by her. The well-known taste of the Prince of Wales no doubt encouraged this pleasing accomplishment. The opera was then an exclusively aristocratic pastime. It has since become the delight of the people in general, and rests on a purely commercial support: then it was a costly and exclusive enjoyment. When it was installed at the handsome Pantheon, in the year 1791, under R. O'Reilly, Esq., the list of patrons filling the tiers of boxes was truly imposing; and a little volume was published, containing elaborate plans and references, with a full list of the subscribers, furnished with which any visitor could find his way to any particular *loge*. There the King and Queen, the royal Princes and Dukes regularly attended. The staff was on a handsome scale. For "serious opera," there were six leading singers; for "comic opera," eight. The ballet (or "dancers," as it was styled) consisted of nearly fifty leading "subjects." The orchestra comprised forty performers, with Mr. Cramer as leader of the band, and Mazzinghi as composer and accompanist, a harpsichord being always beside the conductor. It is curious indeed to find here many of the names that now figure at Covent Garden and Her Majesty's Theatres—the Hills, Lavenus, Howards, etc.

The taste for the theatre was stimulated by the patronage of the King, who not only favored the stage in London but took delight in the little provincial houses at Windsor and Weymouth, where he had always a good-natured speech or nod for such players as he relished. And it is significant of this interest to find Lord Harcourt thus writing to the admirable Elliston:

"SIR,

"As I understand their Majesties will not leave Windsor before the beginning of next month, I am glad to hear that you are in treaty with Mr. Thornton, as it will be the means of making your talents known to the King and Queen, who, I doubt not, will honor you with their commands. I have apprised them of the probability of your engagement at Windsor, and allow me to say their Majesties are no strangers to the opinion I entertain of your abilities in the art you profess. Don Felix, Charles Surface, Young Wilding, the Jew (in 'The Jew and Doctor'), and Vapour, are characters which would please their Majesties, and represent you to advantage. Walter, one of your best performances, I do not mention, because I'm sure the King will never again see 'The Children in the Wood.'"

In consequence of this flattering correspondence with his noble patron, Elliston arrived at Windsor, and by command of his Majesty acted on the following night.

It was at Weymouth that a curious little adventure befell this comedian. On the morning of this actor's benefit, his Majesty had been rambling about the suburbs of the town, when the rain coming on just as he was passing the theatre-door, in he went, and finding no one immediately at hand proceeded at once to the royal box, and seated himself in his own chair.

"The dim daylight of the theatre, and slight fatigue which exercise had occasioned, induced an inclination to drowsiness. His Majesty, in fact, fell into a comfortable doze, which presently became a sound sleep. In the meantime, Lord Townsend, who had encountered Elliston in the neighborhood, inquired whether he had seen the King, as his Majesty had not been at the palace since his three-o'clock dinner; and it being then nearly five, the Queen and Princesses were in some little anxiety about him. Elliston, now making his way to the theatre for the purpose of superintending all things necessary for the reception of his august patrons, went straight into the King's box, and on perceiving a man fast asleep in his Majesty's chair was about recalling him to his senses in no gentle a manner when, very fortunately, he recognized the King himself. What was to be done? Elliston hit on the following expedient: taking up a violin from the orchestra he stepped into the pit, and, placing himself just beneath his truly exalted guest,

struck up, *dolcemente*, 'God save the King!' The expedient had the desired effect; the royal sleeper was gently loosened from the spell which had bound him, and, awaking, up he sprang, and, staring the genuflecting comedian full in the face, exclaimed: 'Hey! hey! hey! what, what! Oh yes! I see, Elliston—ha! ha! rain come on—took a seat—took a nap. What's o'clock?'

" 'Approaching six, your Majesty.'

" 'Six!—six o'clock!' interrupted the King. 'Send to her Majesty—say I'm here. Stay—stay—this wig won't do—eh, eh? Don't keep the people waiting—light up—light up—let 'em in—let 'em in—ha! ha! fast asleep. Play well to-night, Elliston. Great favorite with the Queen. Let 'em in—let 'em in.'

"The house was presently illuminated; messengers were sent off to the royal party, which, in a short lapse of time, reached the theatre. Elliston then quitted the side of his most affable monarch, and, dressing himself in five minutes for his part in the drama, went through his business with bounding spirit; nor was his glee at all diminished when, on attending the royal visitors to their carriage, the King once more nodded his head, saying: 'Fast asleep, eh, Elliston!—fast asleep!'"

It would indeed be hard to give an idea of the extent to which private theatricals were indulged by the nobility; for a time they literally raged, and at every country house and mansion these entertainments formed the favorite pastime. With the aid of "Albina, Countess of Buckinghamshire," a rather eccentric lady of fashion, Colonel Greville, a fop of the first water, founded the "Picnic Society," which gave its performance in Tottenham Court Road, and also at the Pantheon. In the orchestra were found lords and men of fashion performing on the flageolet and double-bass, and the Lady Albina herself presided at the harpsichord. French *proverbs* and English vaudevilles formed the regular performance, while the evening was concluded with a picnic supper, for which the contributions were settled by lot. As a large number drew lots the result was a very handsome banquet, and the quaint uncertainty as to what each was obliged to supply furnishing the diversion. "Some luckless wight," says a friend of the Prince of Wales, one of the performers, "whose beauty was her sole dowry, drew a Périgord pie, value three guineas at least, whilst her rich neighbor drew a pound-cake, value half-a-crown. Then some needy sprig of fashion, a younger brother, drew his lot of misery in a ticket for



a dozen of champagne, and a wealthy nabob another for half-a-dozen China oranges."\* Mr. Greville figures in Miss Burney's memoirs of her father, and is there sketched with much vivacity. In due course he was utterly ruined by his Picnic Society and other fashionable pursuits, and the gay elegant was compelled to accept an appointment in the Isle of France, where, like Brummell and other professors of fashion, he died in exile.

At this place, too, may be noted a curious incident which excited some attention. Gaming had never been one of the Prince's favorite vices, though he indulged in it; but it was a passion with his brother, who, to his death, suffered the most humiliating straits in consequence. For some years before, we have seen the ladies all embarked in such speculating. Mrs. Strutt, Lady Archer, Mrs. Hobart, Lady Elizabeth Luttrell (sister of the Duchess of Cumberland) were avowed bankers—in other words, held gaming-tables.

Another noble person who gave "garden-parties" was conspicuous for the same practice. But at last an information was actually laid against two persons of fashion, Mrs. Archer and Lady Buckinghamshire, who were brought up and fined; and Lord Kenyon, giving judgment in a case of less importance, declared boldly that if any ladies of rank were convicted of this offence before him they should stand in the pillory! A little later the Middlesex magistrates were applied to to license rooms where gaming was to be carried on, and it was urged that this undertaking was patronized by the Prince of Wales. These worthies, rather awe-stricken by the influence, appealed to the judge to take the matter on himself, on which the latter boldly said, there was a rumor that a gaming-house was to be opened under the patronage of a very high and illustrious personage; he trusted, however, the magistrates would do their duty fearlessly and refuse the license.

On this the Prince, with some spirit, wrote to Lord Kenyon this following vindication of himself:

THE PRINCE OF WALES TO LORD KENYON.

"Carlton House, Nov. 15th, 1799.

"MY LORD,

"As I am thoroughly persuaded that in the administration of justice the very last thing that could enter your lordship's thoughts would be by any remark that would fall from your lips to unwar-

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\* Angelo, "Reminis.," i. 293.

rantably prejudice the public mind against an individual of any description whatever, I am confident that your lordship could never have used *the expression* which in the notion of every one so decidedly alludes to me, as stated in a morning paper of yesterday, which my Attorney-General has the honor to bear you. It is true that, from applications from many respected quarters, I have been induced to assent to my name being placed among others as a member of a new Club, to be instituted under the management of a Mr. Martindale, merely for the purpose of social intercourse, of which I never can object to be a promoter, and especially as it was represented to me, that the object of this institution was to enable his trustees to render justice to various honorable and fair claimants. But if these were really your lordship's words (which I cannot for a moment suppose), give me leave to tell you that you have totally mistaken my character and turn, for of all men universally known to have the least predilection to play, I am perhaps the very man in the world who stands the strongest and the most proverbially so upon that point. I shall not trouble your lordship further upon this strange circumstance, as Mr. Graham will convey to you my feelings and sentiments upon it, and I am well persuaded that your own knowledge of the world, as well as the urgency of the case, will suggest to you the propriety of taking such measures in consequence as are requisite and ought to be adopted."

Lord Kenyon answered that he was acting according to what he thought was his duty, and that Mr. Martindale was an improper person to receive a license, "considering what had passed respecting him judicially. I can only add that I am confident that I meant nothing offensive to you. They know little of my sentiments who conceive me capable of using language tending to expose the higher orders of the state to censure or light observations. May I presume to hope that your royal highness will pardon this trouble."

Turning from these dilettante pursuits, and disappointed in his aims at political office, the Prince of Wales was presently filled with what was called "martial ardor, and a longing to take part in the general preparations for the defence of the country." It was in 1798 that the enthusiasm for volunteering and enrolment in patriotic corps became universal. Every one was armed and belonged to some corps; even the Speaker of the House of Commons and the Prime Minister took service and were seen practising their drill.

"My study," the former writes, "exhibits a curious scene: the journals are diversified by helmets and sabres; and a book of military tactics is now lying upon my table in close contact with the orders of the day."

"We can remember," says Mr. Croker, "that the fine figure and consequential air of the Speaker emerging from the wig and gown in a gay cavalry uniform was one of the amusing topics of the day." Indeed the "martial ardor" at this time was so hot and furious that the strange spectacle was presented of the Prime Minister resorting to the *duello* in vindication of his measures for the defence of the country. This quarrel arose out of his comment on the behavior of Mr. Tierney, of whom he said, indignantly, that "no man could oppose it in the manner Mr. Tierney had done unless it were from a wish to impede the defence of the country." On which he was challenged by the offended gentleman. As everything connected with this business was to be singular, almost the Premier's first act was to send for the Speaker (!), who found him making his will. Whitsunday was the day fixed for the encounter, and the representative of the House of Commons attended him to the ground. "I went," says the latter, "with him and Ryder down the Birdcage Walk, up the steps into Queen Street, where their chaise waited to take them to Wimbledon Common. Unable to rest, I then mounted my horse and rode that way. When I arrived on the hill, I knew, from seeing a crowd looking down into the valley, that the duel was then proceeding. After a time I saw the same chaise which had conveyed Pitt to the spot mounting the ascent, and riding up to it, I found him safe, when he said, 'You must dine with me to-day. Some one afterwards observed, 'The Speaker knew of the meeting, and ought to have prevented it;' but Lord Chatham remarked that I could not have taken any step so injurious to his family; in fact, as I had received the information from Pitt himself, my interfering would have looked too much like collusion."

For so decorous and righteous a man as Mr. Addington, this seems a strange proceeding. It is a remarkable fact that four most conspicuous men, who all filled the office of Prime Minister, should, during a short period of about thirty years, have condescended to expose their lives in this fashion. Mr. Fox fought Mr. Adam; Mr. Pitt, as we have seen, Mr. Tierney; Mr. Canning, Lord Castlereagh; and, finally, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Winchelsea. Two, viz., Pitt and the Duke, were actually holding the office of Prime Minister at the time. This seems an almost incredible state of things;



yet three of these encounters might be within the memory of some now living.

The volunteer enthusiasm seized on the nation, and we find our impulsive Prince wearing his uniform, making glowing and warlike speeches to the men, and reviewing his regiment, the well-known 10th. Finally, he was so filled with ardor that he applied for leave to go on active service. Bonaparte and his armies were supposed to be about invading England, and to his father he now addressed the following appeal:

THE PRINCE OF WALES TO THE KING.

“Carlton House, April 25th, 1798.

“SIR,

“I have, from various considerations of duty and respect, delayed to the latest hour obtruding myself by a direct application to your Majesty; and it is now with an earnestness that I never before ventured to approach you, sir, that I presume to throw myself at your feet, and to implore your gracious attention to the humble sentiments I offer in this letter.

“The serious and awful crisis in which this country now stands calls for the united efforts of every British arm in the defence of all that can be dear to Englishmen; and it is with glowing pride that I behold the prevalence of this sentiment through every part of your Majesty's kingdom.

“Whatever may some time back have been your Majesty's objections to my being in the way of actual service, yet at a crisis like this, unexampled in our history, when every subject in the realm is eagerly seeking for and has his post assigned him, those objections will, I humbly trust, yield to the pressure of the times, and your Majesty will be graciously pleased to call me forth to a station wherein I may prove myself worthy of the confidence of my country, and of the high rank I hold in it, by staking my life in its defence; death would be preferable to being marked as the *only man* that was not suffered to come forth on such an occasion.

“Should it be my fate to fall in so glorious a contest, no injury could arise to the line of succession, on account of the number happily remaining of your Majesty's children. At the same time, were there fifty princes, or were I the single one, it would, in my humble judgment, be equally incumbent on them, or me, to stand foremost in the ranks of danger at so decisive a period as the present.

"I am the more induced to confide that your Majesty's goodness will comply with this humble petition, from the conviction I feel, that, had similar circumstances prevailed in the reign of the late King, when your Majesty was Prince of Wales, you would have panted, sir, for the opportunity I now so earnestly covet. I know your Majesty, and am fixed in this belief; and I should hold myself unworthy of my descent and station if a tamer impulse could now possess me; still more to justify this confidence, allow me to recall to your Majesty's recollection the expressions you were graciously pleased to use when I solicited foreign service upon my first coming into the army. They were, sir, that your Majesty did not then see the opportunity for it; but that if anything was to arise at home, I ought to be one of the *first* and *foremost*.

"My character with the nation, my honor, my future fame and prospects in life, are now all at stake. I therefore supplicate your Majesty to afford me those means for their preservation which affection for my country and devotion to my sovereign would have prompted me to solicit, even though my birth and station had not rendered it my duty to claim them. I presume in no respect to prescribe to your Majesty the mode of being employed; what I humbly, but most earnestly, solicit is the certainty of active service, in such a character as to your Majesty shall seem fit.

"With the profoundest humility, I have the honor to subscribe myself, your Majesty's most dutiful and most affectionate Son and Subject,

"GEORGE P."

The "should I fall" must have produced a grim smile on the lips of the King, whose fixed opinion was that there was but one of his family deficient in personal courage. His answer was a blunt refusal, on the ground "that military command was incompatible with the situation of the Prince of Wales."

## CHAPTER XXX

1801.

WE have now arrived at the curious incident which obliged Mr. Pitt to retire from office and brought into prominence the feeble Addington and his family party—the “clan” of relations, Hiley, Bragge Bathurst, and Vansittart, without due provision for whom his services could never be obtained. Never, indeed, were the claims of family connection carried so far, or political interest made so subservient to the ties of kindred. Mr. Croker, who interspersed his spirited, though often truculent, articles with reminiscences of curious facts gathered from the important men with whom he had associated, tells us how Mr. Bragge, “the Premier’s brother-in-law, then in his first Parliament, was raised to the Privy Councillor’s office of Treasurer of the Navy. His brother, Mr. Hiley Addington, was Secretary of the Treasury. His schoolfellow and intimate, Mr. Bond, just come into Parliament, was a Lord of the Treasury. So afterward was his cousin, Mr. Golding, who does not seem to have been in Parliament at all. Mr. Adams, another brother-in-law, was a Lord of the Admiralty. These were all respectable gentlemen, whose abilities were equal to their positions—and we do not know that they at all exceeded the proportion of private friends that every first minister used, and perhaps ought to have, in his administration—but they were as yet little known, and their connection with the Premier was easily misrepresented as being their sole merit. This, with Addington’s own inferiority to the great masters of debate amongst whom he stood, gave ample scope to the satiric pleasantries of Canning,\* a strophe of one of whose sallies,

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\* “The pleasantries of Canning, though nowhere alluded to in these volumes, and only now lingering in a few failing memories, had so much influence in Addington’s defeat, that we think it worth while to preserve two or three specimens of this kind of small shot. In allusion to those specious orations with which Addington used to captivate the country gentlemen, Canning quoted, ‘I do remember an apothecary . . . culling of simples!’ On another occasion, when Addington was loftily enumerating his various



caricaturing the style of the Doctor's oratory and the class of its admirers, had no small effect in its day, and still clings to the memory:

Cheer him when he hobbles vilely,  
 Brother Bragge and Brother Hiley!  
 Cheer him when his audience flag,  
 Brother Hiley—Brother Bragge!

"Brother Bragge, however, was a well-informed and judicious man, who spoke with considerable weight; and we have heard that, in his earlier day, Brother Hiley was remarkably lively and clever; and he certainly was, in our time, a sensible as well as amiable gentleman."

The wit of Canning would have been more exercised had he known that "Brother Hiley" later indulged in a romantic tenderness for the fascinating Miss Stephens, which he seemed to have even confided to Mr. Jerdan, through whose good offices his admiring strains were inserted in a popular journal.

The retirement of Pitt was owing, as is well known, to the measure for the relief of the Catholics, the irresponsible question which was to upset or impede so many ministries. It is remarkable that the Prince had signified to Mr. Pitt his approbation of the measure, and indeed avowed, on several occasions, that he was favorable to it. And this, of course, was to be accounted for, as Lord Moira, his present friend, was an ardent "Catholic."\*

But at this moment he was more than usually reckless in associating with the Jacobins and the Opposition, uttering the most violent

measures of national defence, Canning interjected, loud enough to be heard, 'Oh, most forcible Feeble!' 'The relative merits of Pitt and Addington,' he said, 'might be determined by the Rule of Three Inverse:

"Pitt is to Addington—  
 As London is to Paddington!"

And we have half forgotten a French epitaph which concluded:

" ————— Cy gît  
 Ministre par hasard et Médecin malgré lui."

Mr. Pitt himself would in private indulge a smile at his successor's somewhat prosy orations. We heard very lately from one of the company still happily surviving, that about this time Pitt, who was expected to a dinner-party, did not come in till the second course, 'begging pardon for being so late, as he was obliged to hear Addington out; and the Doctor, you know, travels with his own horses!'"

\* Rose, "Diaries," i. 302.

speeches; \* the Duke of York, however, remained firm to the King. A strange surprise, however, was at hand, which was once more to raise his hopes. Unfortunately the agitation commenced with the late change, and the struggles he had gone through were now to have their effect on the King. Agitated and distracted by different forms of excitement, his life attempted in the theatre, the behavior of his son and daughter-in-law, and above all, shocked at the proposals of his minister to concede what with him was a matter of morbid horror—indulgence to the Catholics—it had not been a surprise to any one that the mind of the King should have for the third time given way.

About the middle of February he caught cold; the old “hurries” set in, and within a fortnight the fatal Willis had arrived on the scene, and he was “as bad as ever.” From his ravings it was easy to learn what had caused his disorder, for he was heard to mutter frequently, “I will be true to the Church.”

Never was there such an awkward *contretemps*, for the arrangements were only in progress: Mr. Pitt had not gone out, or rather Mr. Addington had not come in. All was confusion. But the hopes of the Prince and his friends were raised, and once more the regency became the existing topic. It is amusing to find that the Prince, bearing in mind a wholesome recollection of his encounter with Mr. Pitt on the last occasion, took the first opportunity to make eager approaches to him. On the 23d February he sent for him to ask his advice, which the minister—for he was still such *de facto*—firmly and significantly said he would be glad to give, but on this condition: “that he would not be advised by his friends of the Opposition.” The Prince agreed at once, only stipulating that he might occasionally consult his friend Lord Moira.†

Pitt added a further stipulation, that if unhappily there should be a necessity for a regency, his royal highness should acquiesce in the arrangement as settled in 1789; “that the Prince seemed to be struck at that being put to him so distinctly, and perhaps a little averse to the unqualified tones used (as if Mr. Pitt was conscious of his manner of stating his determination having been severe), and that his royal highness asked how some of those now acting with Mr. Pitt would feel on the subject who had taken a very different line on the former occasion; to which Mr. Pitt replied he thought every one concerned in it, without excepting his royal highness,

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\* Malmesbury, “Diaries,” iv. 6.

† Rose, “Diaries,” i. 311.

could not do better than accord with what was most evidently the clear sense of the legislature, expressed so as not to be mistaken. The Prince then expressed uneasiness at some of the restrictions as likely to be found extremely inconvenient. Nothing, however, passed conclusive between them as to any arrangement of an administration. The interview ended with the Prince saying that he must take time to consider all that Mr. Pitt had said; his whole demeanor perfectly decorous and proper, as well with Mr. Pitt as at the Queen's House, when he was there. Mr. Fox has certainly not been with his royal highness, and Mr. Pitt thinks he has not seen Mr. Sheridan."

There was a second interview a few days later. Both parties were inclined to put aside any burning question of principle, and arrange the matter by a sort of compromise. Pitt (Mr. Abbott says), at one of the interviews, advised the Prince to carry out the Addington arrangement, which had been in train; to which the Prince consented. Neither did the Prince consult any of the Opposition, but with his usual lack of propriety he appeared at a concert given by the notorious Lady Hamilton, and was heard to say to Calonne, the ex-minister, "*Savez vous, M. Calonne, mon père est aussi fou que jamais?*" At Carlton House dancing and singing were going on.

As the Prince found Mr. Pitt on the whole rather stiff—indeed, he said "that no good came of it," as Lord Malmesbury repeats, "it was natural that the Prince's next step was to see what he could do with Addington." Accordingly, "Jack Payne" was despatched for him. The Prince asked him bluntly, "Was he or Mr. Pitt minister?" He said that Mr. Pitt was. "In that case, pray send Mr. Pitt to me." The other naturally hesitated, and said something about consulting the Duke of York, on which the Prince, with a certain readiness or smartness which never deserted him, replied, "No advice can be wanting on such an occasion, Mr. Addington: if you decline acceding to my request, be so good as to obey my commands." \*

Another account says the Prince declared that he would look to Mr. Addington if necessary.† The Prince, it may be said, had no authority to give commands to Mr. Addington, and could only "request." Among other topics, he dwelt on the improper sign-

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\* Lord Malmesbury, "Diaries."

† Lord Colchester, "Diaries," i. 249.



ing of a paper by the King, which he had been made to do by one of his physicians at the instigation of the Chancellor, a matter on which the Prince was eager to have Mr. Addington's opinion; but the latter was reserved and begged to be excused. The Prince was gracious, and praised his general behavior.\*

All, however, seemed anxious that the Prince should "keep himself quiet" and be "passive." But this he could not do. He was remarked to be in great agitation of mind and spirits, uttering complaints of the way he was treated at the palace, how he was furnished with no news of the King, and talked "Opposition language." His brother, the Duke of York, was remarkable for his devotion to the royal family, and seemed to be worn out with his affectionate attendance. The Duke of Cumberland, exhibiting his natural contending disposition on this as on other occasions, was going about uttering sentiments of great violence, declaring that the Chancellor who had procured the King's signature deserved a hatchet. This Prince was busy at his favorite labor of embroiling people, for on one of the last days of February, when the King's life was despaired of, he sent at once for the Duke of York but not for the Prince of Wales. The latter protested against such treatment, on which he gave the excuse that the Prince was not acceptable to the King. By March the 7th the King had recovered after about a three weeks' illness, so that once more the Prince had been beguiled into following a will-o'-the-wisp. The first admitted was his favorite son, the Duke of York, and at the interview it is remarkable that while questions were eagerly put as to all his family, there was no allusion to his eldest son.†

Not until March the 11th—four days later—did the Prince see his father. The Court party malignantly gave out that this was his own fault, that he had purposely chosen to come at times when he knew he would not be admitted, etc. We know enough of the feelings of the Queen and her faction to see that this exclusion was part of their policy. Payne, describing this interview to Mr. Rose,

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\*In Dean Pellew's "Life of Lord Sidmouth," Lord Malmesbury's story of the Prince's rebuke is dismissed as untrue; yet, in the very account of the interview given by Addington to Mr. Abbott, we find that "Mr. Addington explained that, not having received his royal highness's commands to go before, he had voluntarily forborne to call, as it must appear to be courting a situation; but that being now commanded to go," etc. From this apology, it is evident that something of the kind had taken place.

† Malmesbury, "Diaries," p. 31.

declared that the Prince had not been with him more than a minute or two before Doctor Thomas Willis came into the room without having been sent for, and remained in it the whole time his royal highness was there, which of course prevented any confidential conversation; but that much passed of a general nature. Among other matters entered upon by his Majesty, he said he was glad to find the inquiries made about his health had been very general. The Prince answered, he believed everybody had been to the Queen's house who could either go there or be carried; to which the King replied, Mr. Fox had not been, but that Mr. Sheridan had, who he verily thought had a respect and regard for him; particularly dwelling on his conduct at Drury Lane Theatre, when the attempt was made on his Majesty's life by the madman who had been in the Dragoons; which led his Majesty to ask whether the Prince was in the house at the time; who said he was not, but that he repaired there the moment he heard of the transaction.\*

It would seem that the Prince was misinformed as to Fox's inquiries at the palace. Fox left his name only on that evening. Thus he seemed destined to turn everything to his own disadvantage, and set himself in a worse light than ever in his father's eyes. One matter, however, arose out of the crisis which comes in aid of his consistency later, when we come to deal with his "desertion of the Whigs," and the charge of his retaining his father's advisers; for he had now declared to Lord St. Helens, who repeated it to Mr. Abbott, that his purpose had been "to maintain his father's ministers in their situation."† The Opposition, too, had not been very eager for place; for Fox and the rest expressed themselves glad and relieved at the crisis being over. The Prince was therefore the only one mortified and discredited.

But there soon came evidences of a relapse in the King's condition, and at the Drawing Room held on March the 26th it was noted how pale the Queen was, and the Princesses seemed as if they had been weeping. The Prince of Wales, Lord Malmesbury states, behaved rudely to the Queen. His adviser, Lord Thurlow, who was talked of for Chancellor in case the party had come in, was reported to have used shocking language about the King, so that Lord Kenyon, who heard him, declared that of the two he was the one who was really mad.

The Prince, however, found it advisable to be on good terms

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\* Rose, "Diaries," i. 332.

† Colchester, "Diaries," i. 262.

with the Court, as he was now, as ever, in want of money. He wished to make an arrangement for borrowing a sum of money from the King, on the security of extending for a year more the present plan for paying off his debts. On one day in April he and the King rode down to Kew together, and after dinner rode again. This, or the discussion during the exercise, brought on agitation, and he was heard putting questions to workpeople and others. On these rides the Prince founded an extraordinary legend, for he sent for the Chancellor, Lord Eldon, on the following day, and announced to him that his Majesty was about to retire to Hanover or to America, and resign the government to him! He wished the Chancellor, therefore, to take the necessary steps, and see Lord Thurlow for the purpose. The Queen and his brothers wished him to confine the King, etc. The Chancellor received this extraordinary communication very coolly and bluntly, and declined to adopt any of the measures suggested. He then pressed Lord Rosslyn, the late Chancellor, with similar proposals, sending him earnest messages by Payne. This in itself seemed like madness. Yet his forecast came true.

In a few weeks the poor King had relapsed. Dr. Willis riding out with him, he would tell his physician that he had a "most charming night: no sleep from eleven till half after four," the time being passed in getting out of bed, opening the shutters, in praying at times violently, and in making such remarks as betrayed a consciousness of his own situation. He frequently called out: "I am now perfectly well, and my Queen, my Queen has saved me!" \*

In fact, his body, mind, and tongue were all upon the stretch every minute, and his eldest son and his eldest son's affairs were unfortunately too much connected with this agitation. Good and conscientious king as he was, he had now before his mind the trouble of his little grandchild's future, which he felt he alone was competent to decide on, and had determined to take the charge of her himself.

That there was scarcely a more wretched household in the kingdom than that at Kew will be seen from the following piteous letter:

THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO THE REV. DR. THOMAS WILLIS.

"June 6th, 1801.

"After receiving one note you will be surprised at this: but

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\* "Life of Lord Eldon," i. 376.



second thoughts are sometimes best: besides which I am commanded by the Queen to inform you by letter how much this subject of the Princess is still in the King's mind, to a degree that is distressing, from the unfortunate situation of the family; Mama is of opinion that the Lord Chancellor should be informed of it. The Queen commands me to add, that if you could see her heart, you would see that she is guided by every principle of justice, and with a most fervent wish that the dear King may do nothing to form a breach between him and the Prince,—for she really lives in dread of it; for, from the moment my Brother comes into the room till the instant he quits it, there is nothing that is not kind that the King does not do by him. This is so different to his manner when *well*, and his ideas concerning the child so extraordinary, that, to own to you the truth, I am not astonished at Mama's uneasiness. She took courage and told the King, that now my Brother was quiet, he had better leave him so, as he never had forbid the Princess seeing the child when she pleased; to which he answered, 'That does not signify; the Princess shall have her child, and I will speak to Mr. Wyatt about the building of the wing to her present house.' You know full well how speedily everything is *now ordered* and done. In short, what Mama wishes is, that you would inform the Lord Chancellor that his assistance is much wanted in preventing the King doing anything that shall hurt him. The Princess spoke to me on the conversation the King had had with her, expressed her distress, and I told her how right she was in not answering, as I feared the King's intentions, though most kindly meant, might serve to hurt and injure her in the world. I hope I was not wrong, but I am always afraid when she speaks to me on such unfortunate subjects. I think the king heated and fatigued, which I am not surprised at, not having been one minute quiet the whole day. I assure you it is a very great trial, the anxiety we must go through; but we trust in God,—therefore we hope for the best.

"Your friend,

"ELIZABETH."

THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH, PROBABLY TO THE REV. DR. THOMAS WILLIS.

"June 9th, 1801.

"I am but just come into my room, where I found your very comfortable letter, which I return you many thanks for. I had promised Mama to tell you, etc.

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"She commands me to say to you that she wishes the Lord Chancellor would show Mr. Addington, that, as the King is contented with it, that he had better not hurry our going, as he is so much better, that there is hope that in gaining strength it will ensure us from having a relapse, which you may easily believe is her earnest and daily prayer. He has been very quiet, very heavy, and very sleepy, all the evening, and has said two or three times, yesterday was too much for him. God grant that his eyes may soon open, and that he may see his real and true friends in their true colors. How it grieves one to see so fine a character clouded by complaint! but He who inflicted it may dispel it, so I hope all will soon be well. Your friend,

"ELIZABETH."

A change of scene, fresh country air, with perfect quiet, was absolutely necessary, and the King, who delighted in staying at a favorite subject's house for a few days, honored Mr. Rose with a visit at Cufnells. Gradually he was restored to health, for a time at least.

It was when he was at Weymouth that the military taste of the kingdom was enlisted by the behavior of the First Consul: drilling, volunteering, addresses going forward with great animation. Mr. Addington, now established as Prime Minister, was being pressed by the Duke of York and his brother for military employment, the former proposing to go down and urge the matter on the King. Once more the Prince of Wales's military ardor flamed up, and he addressed the ministers in the following strain:

#### THE PRINCE OF WALES TO MR. ADDINGTON.

"Brighton, August 3rd, 1801.

"DEAR SIR,

"In the present anxious pressure of public affairs I am extremely unwilling to obtrude the smallest additional weight of business upon you, and more especially to intrude any which could belong personally to myself. But the station you fill renders it necessary that all such communications as I have to state should be made directly to you. Besides, the zeal which I am conscious animates you in the cause of all the royal family, together with the kind and obliging interest I believe you so particularly to take in whatever essentially relates to myself, induce me to communicate

with you in thorough confidence, and under the impression of high personal opinion and esteem.

“As I wish to make you perfectly master of the subject I am about to treat I enclose you a copy of a letter\* which I wrote to the King in April, 1798, when the alarm of invasion was universal, although very wide of the formidable aspect which this measure unquestionably wears at the present day. I cannot immediately put my hand on the answer his Majesty wrote me to this letter (it being among my papers in London), but it went distinctly to this, that, in case of the enemy's landing, my regiment was to be foremost of the cavalry, and myself at their head. The feelings I have expressed to the King in this letter, as possessing me at that day, be assured have lived in my breast ever since, and operate at this moment with a tenfold increase; yet, dreading even the apprehension of offering any proposition that might tend, however slightly, to flurry the King, I have determined not to repeat a similar mode of application to his Majesty on the present occasion; but, confiding in your friendly discretion, place these uppermost wishes of my heart entirely in your hands, requesting that you will take the earliest convenient opportunity of bringing this subject before his Majesty as a suggestion from yourself, not only founded upon the infinite anxiety you know it to excite in my mind, but from the high rank I bear in the country, as a measure of national expectation at so eventful a crisis as the present, and in its consequences materially affecting my future character and consequence in life in the estimation of the world. I again submit, as before, to be called out in whatever character his Majesty shall think fit. I own that a command of cavalry would be most pleasing to me, because I think in that line I could best serve my King and country; but I have no difficulties. I am willing and ready to serve in any command and with any rank a letter of service may assign me; or even to serve under the command of any officer whatever it may be his Majesty's pleasure to place over me. Independent of an ardent love for actual service, the consideration of my fame and character with the world engrosses, as you may readily conceive, my every thought, and will, I make no doubt, insure to me your good offices and cordial co-operation in the attainment of an object I have so earnestly at heart; for I can with the utmost sincerity conclude this letter with assuring you of the

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\* *Ante*, p. 343.



truth of the declaration I made in my letter to the King, 'that death would be preferable to the being marked as the only man that was not suffered to stand forth on such an occasion.'

"I am, dear Sir, ever very sincerely yours,

"GEORGE P."

A month was allowed to elapse before an answer was returned to this appeal. It was of the conventional kind. The King, it seems, declared there was no situation suited to the rank of the Prince. "The conversation," the minister adds significantly, "from causes which it is unnecessary for me to state, was unavoidably short; but he should have thought himself justified in attempting to protract it."

Peace, however, was presently concluded, due notice of which the minister gave to the Prince.

#### THE PRINCE OF WALES TO MR. ADDINGTON.

"Windsor Castle, Oct. 2nd, 1801.

"Many thanks, my dear sir, for your obliging communication. It is a matter of amazing importance, and upon which I most heartily congratulate you. Everything, I have no doubt, will smile upon us now. . . . As I am this moment summoned to his Majesty's dinner, excuse my not adding anything more, except that I am, with the truest regard, dear Sir,

"Ever most sincerely yours,

"GEORGE P."

Indeed, so soon as Otto, the French plenipotentiary, arrived in London, we find the Prince, with a kind of emotional view of the event, taking an interest in the negotiations, and closeted with the envoy. Sir John Macpherson, one of his favorites, was engaged in the matter. "We all knew and appreciate thoroughly," wrote Otto to the latter, "the talents of the Prince, who so ably expounded to us the true system that should guide the relations of his country as well as of all Europe. Peace, founded on such consideration, becomes not a simple exchange of snuff-boxes or a ten years' truce, but a solemn pact, guaranteed by all that humanity holds most dear. 'All is new in this age of ours,' said the Prince. All is indeed new, and so, too, was the language he used, and which will never be effaced from my recollection."\* We can see the figure of

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\* Lord Sidmouth, "Life," ii. 25.

the Prince as he thus expatiated at Carlton House, and fancied he was controverting events. Otto's letter was shown to the Prince by Macpherson, and the former, much gratified, forwarded it to the Prime Minister:

THE PRINCE OF WALES TO MR. ADDINGTON.

"Jan. 22nd, 1802.

"When the letter of M. Otto, which I have now the pleasure to inclose to you, was communicated to me, I desired Admiral Payne to lay it before you: he called twice in Downing Street, but missed you. It is neither from the compliments that M. Otto has been pleased to pay me, nor even from the justice which he renders to your administration, that I am anxious to draw your attention to the contents of his letter. It is the wisdom, the temper, and the pleasing harmony of the political order which it embraces, that have won my admiration. Fortunate shall I reckon my own destiny in life, if I can in any way be useful to favor a political system of such extensive good. I know what you will naturally feel on the subject; and no one can wish you more success in the arduous and noble duty you are discharging for your country.

"GEORGE P."

The minister of course gratefully acknowledged these compliments. On the conclusion of the peace in 1802, festivities and revels of all kinds followed. The Lord Mayor gave a magnificent entertainment, which the Prince attended, whose horses were taken off at Temple Bar, and his carriage drawn by the mob to the Mansion House. A ball given by the Gaming Club in Bond Street followed.

We are told how their rooms were decorated upon the most magnificent scale. "The windows, by excellent mechanical skill, served as so many entrances, and were ornamented with flowers; gilt *corbeilles* depended from them, containing lights. The great room was illuminated with about forty lustres; and it was covered with a green and buff treillage paper. Each recess formed a greenhouse, which was stocked with the choicest plants, trees of considerable size, beauty, and value. A grand orchestra contained a full band of musicians; and a number of Indians performed their war-dance, battle, and song. The Prince of Wales was habited in a rich Highland dress, and he had a room exclusively for his own party. An adjoining one represented a subterraneous cave for a

number of banditti. These sung several excellent comic songs, for the amusement of his royal highness. The banditti consisted of Lord Craven, the Hon. Berkeley Craven, Mr. Manners, and Mr. T. Sheridan. The greater part of the foreign ministers were present, and also several strangers of distinction, among whom was the beautiful Madame Recamier. This was one of the most splendid fêtes ever given in this country."

He was now indeed beginning to exhibit that curious taste for costume and fancy dressing for which he was to be so remarkable. At the Lord Mayor's he had worn "a general's frock uniform," which, considering that he did not hold the rank, seems strange.

At one of these balls a difficulty had arisen out of the position that two important ladies, the Duchess of York and Mrs. Fitzherbert, were to take. The King and Queen would not hear of them being placed at the same table, and the Duke was distracted between his father and brother. It was arranged by having separate tables. Here the Prince's rude speech to "Old Baggs" (Lord Eldon) caused much amusement. The latter was pressing on him the necessity of consulting the dignity and comfort of the Princess of Wales, when the Prince declared roughly, "That he was not the sort of person to let his hair grow under his wig to please his wife." The Chancellor answered him firmly: "Your Royal Highness condescends to be personal. I beg leave to retire." The Prince wrote to him to say that nothing was intended, that he had quoted a proverb; but it was awkward that the practice alluded to was one in which the Chancellor indulged!

During this year the Prince seems to have been more than usually restless, and some eccentric *boutades* of his are recorded. He seriously proposed to one of the ministers to go abroad "and form a Northern Confederacy." His plan was to gain the Duke of Brunswick, which he said he could do, and through him Russia and Prussia. In this he was to be assisted by one Baron Hompesch, "a rank adventurer." He pressed the matter on Lord Pelham, who only put it aside as one of the ten thousand chimeras his royal highness had conceived. The following day Hompesch was despatched by him to Lord Pelham to talk the plan over, but the latter declined entering on such a subject with the baron.\*

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\* Malmesbury, "Diaries," iv. 263.



## CHAPTER XXXI.

1802—1803.

THE Prince's affairs had now for some five or six years been submitted to strict regulation, and, it having been made illegal by Act of Parliament to trust him, it was presumed that he was secured against all relapse into debt. The public was now to be surprised by learning that it was the father, and not the son, that was in debt; and an application was made to Parliament to discharge the arrears of the Civil List, amounting to nearly a million sterling. Lord Holland was bold enough to suggest that his Majesty should be treated as his son had been, and a portion of the royal income set apart. It is but fair to state that this deficit was attributed to public charges—secret service money and, strange to say, outlay upon elections. This was a favorable opening, and accordingly the old wearying subject of the Prince's situation was brought forward, and Mr. Manners Sutton, the Solicitor-General, once more made an appeal for the Duchy of Cornwall arrears. This long-disputed claim was now in the Court of Chancery, where it had remained without decision for some years. The old arguments were put forward, and it was shown that the King had not only appropriated the arrears, but taken fines from tenants for long leases, leaving the Prince's powers as a landlord much impaired. The motion for a committee was defeated by a not very large majority—160 to 103. The minister was beginning to feel the weakness of the position, and in December, 1802, sent to consult Mr. Pitt as to making a compromise with the Prince on the terms of discharging him from the arrangement of 1795, by paying off whatever debts remained due. In return, the Prince was not to press for the Cornwall arrears. Mr. Pitt declared himself against all compromise. If the arrears were justly owing, he said, they should be paid; if not, the question of increased allowance should be considered separately. On February 16th, Mr. Addington came to the House with a message from his Majesty, to this effect:\*

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\* Dean Pellew's mode of appreciating his hero may be conceived from the following passage: "Speaking of this event" (the execution of the unfortu-

The minister dwelt on the necessity of the position of splendor a Prince of Wales ought to hold, and proposed that a sum of money, not exceeding £60,000 in the year, should be granted for three years from January 5th, 1803. This was not to affect the previous arrangement of 1795.\* In the succeeding debates it came out that the legal proceedings for the arrears had been suddenly stopped, so that this step had the air of a compromise. It was also announced that no less a sum than £575,000 of debt had been paid off by the commissioners. Mr. Sheridan made himself conspicuous by his devotion to his master's interest, declaring that the Prince considered himself bound in honor to pay his creditors the ten per cent. which the commissioners had deducted, and that until he was quite clear he would decline to reassume his state and position. Lord Malmesbury seems to have truly interpreted the meaning of these protestations, viz., that the Prince had incurred a new tale of debt in the teeth of the Act of Parliament. And, indeed, it is evident that there would have been found persons ready to advance an heir-apparent money as he required, on usurious terms, in spite of any Act.†

Mr. Fox boasted in extravagant terms that the Prince had now shown himself worthy of the management of a large income by his prudence—the only virtue he was ever charged with wanting. Mr. Erskine declared for him, that now, at forty years of age, he did not owe one shilling to the public. Mr. Tierney said he was the least expensive Prince of Wales that ever existed! However, on February 28th, the Prince's equerry, Colonel Tyrwhitt, brought down a message to the House, stating that the Prince gratefully accepted the promised Act, declaring that there were still claims on him for which he must set apart a portion of his income. Mr. Calcraft on March 4th brought forward a motion in this spirit, for a committee to examine the Prince's affairs, and enable him to resume his position with proper state and dignity. All his friends declared that

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nate Governor Wall), Lord Sidmouth observed: "In the case of Governor Wall, Lord Eldon said he would not say he ought to be hanged and he would not say he ought not. He was hanged," added Lord Sidmouth, in that calm tone which marked the mild decision of his character.—"Life," i. 478.

\* In 1801, Mr. Addington had sanctioned an increased allowance of £8000 a year to the Prince. It becomes difficult to follow the changes in the arrangements: the Prince, however, was the gainer.

† The Chancellor, however, explained that there virtually had been no reduction, as they were given the full sum in debentures at three per cent. or the reduced sum with five per cent., no interest being due on mere book debts.

the Prince had not directed this motion, though he did not prevent it, and Sheridan made a humorous and effective speech.

The ministers carried the previous question by a small majority of about 40. In the House of Lords, however, Lord Moira brought the matter to a conclusion, by a sort of official acceptance on the Prince's part. The Prince also declared, by the mouth of Mr. Erskine, his chancellor, that he could not think of adding further to the burden of the country, and that he was perfectly satisfied with what Parliament had done.\* For, as Lord Malmsbury learned from Lord Pelham, "it is understood the Prince is to restore his establishment." He asked, "Was this put in writing?" He answered, "No; but it was implied by the Prince's promise." In short, it is clear that the whole is a compromise between the Prince and Addington, to induce the Prince to waive his claims on the arrears of the Duchy, and which the Crown lawyers consider to be a fair one, and so withdraw his petition of right. No terms are made with the Prince but this (Lord Pelham was one of the Government, it must be borne in mind): "None of his income (which will now be net which is paid him by the public) is appropriated to any specific purpose, as the Civil List is; and the whole will evidently be squandered away, without his assuming any one single extensive work of royalty or splendor, to prove that he and his hangers-on do not consider it a farce."†

The reader will recall Mr. Addington consulting with Mr. Pitt on the compromise. Yet we now find him denying it. The Prince also denied it, and abruptly stopped his suit, which was ripe for decision. The affair, however, was arranged; the public were not to learn more of the matter for a long period.

The peace, one which "every one was glad of and no one proud of," soon ended in a violent rupture, and once more the kingdom re-echoed with valorous shouts and the noise of preparation. Once more, too, was our Prince fired with martial ardor, and put forward his claim to be allowed to serve his country as a soldier. He addressed Mr. Addington in a number of letters.

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\* It is characteristic that, while the Prince's friends were thus clamoring in his behalf, their principal should have arranged matters with the minister; to whom Mr. Sutton had written apologetically, that the Prince did not wish to embarrass the Government or reflect upon any one, but merely to satisfy the public that he had not been a burden on the country, and that the state of accounts should be in his favor.—"Life of Lord Sidmouth," i. 493.

† "Diaries," iv. 205.



## THE PRINCE OF WALES TO MR. ADDINGTON.

"Carlton House, July 18th, 1803.

"SIR,

"The subject on which I address you presses so heavily on my mind, and daily acquires such additional importance, that, notwithstanding my wish to avoid any interference with the disposition made by his Majesty's ministers, I find it impossible to withhold or delay an explicit statement of my feelings, to which I would direct your most serious consideration.

"When it was officially communicated to Parliament that the avowed object of the enemy was a descent on our kingdoms, the question became so obvious that the circumstances of the times required the voluntary tender of personal services; when Parliament, in consequence of this representation, agreed to extraordinary measures for the defence of these realms alone, it was evident the danger was not believed dubious nor remote. Animated by the same spirit which pervaded the nation at large, conscious of the duties which I owed to his Majesty and the country, I seized the earliest opportunity to express my desire of undertaking the responsibility of a military command; I neither did nor do presume on supposed talents as entitling me to such an appointment. I am aware I do not possess the experience of actual warfare; at the same time I cannot regard myself as totally unqualified, nor deficient in military science, since I have long made the service my particular study. My chief pretensions were founded on a sense of those advantages which my example might produce to the State, by exciting the loyal energies of the nation, and a knowledge of those expectations which the public had a right to form as to the personal exertion of their princes at a moment like the present. The more elevated my situation, in so much the efforts of zeal became necessarily greater; and I confess, that if duty has not been so paramount, a reflection on the splendid achievements of my predecessors would have excited in me the spirit of emulation. When, however, in addition to such recollections, the nature of the contest in which we are about to engage was impressed on my consideration, I should indeed have been devoid of every virtuous sentiment if I felt no reluctance in remaining a passive spectator of armaments which have for their object the very existence of the British empire.

"Thus was I influenced to make my offer of service, and I did

hope that his Majesty's ministers would have attached to it more value. But when I find that, from some unknown cause, my appointment seems to remain so long undetermined; when I feel myself exposed to the obloquy of being regarded by the country of passing my time indifferent to the events which menace, and insensible to the call of patriotism, much more of glory, it then becomes me to examine my rights, and to remind his Majesty's ministers that the claim which I have advanced is strictly constitutional, and justified by precedent; and that in the present situation of Europe, to deny my exercising it is fatal to my own immediate honor and the future interests of the crown.

"I can never forget that I have solemn obligations imposed on me by my birth, and that I should ever show myself foremost in contributing to the preservation of the country. The time is arrived when I may prove myself sensible of the duties of my situation, and of evincing my devotion to that sovereign, who by nature as well as public worth commands my most affectionate attachment.

"I repeat that I should be sorry to embarrass the Government at any time, most particularly at such a crisis; but since no event in my future life can compensate me for the misfortune of not participating in the honors and dangers that await the brave men destined to oppose an invading enemy, I cannot forego the earnest renewal of my application.

"All I solicit is a more ostensible situation than that in which I am at present placed; for, situated as I am—a mere colonel of a regiment—the major-general commanding the brigade, of which such regiment must form a part, would justly expect and receive the full credit of prearrangement and successful enterprise.

"I am, Sir, very sincerely yours,

"G. P."

THE PRINCE OF WALES TO MR. ADDINGTON.

"July 26th, 1803.

"A week has now elapsed since the Prince of Wales transmitted to Mr. Addington a letter on the subject of the highest importance. Though he cannot anticipate a refusal to so reasonable a demand, he must still express some surprise that a communication of such a nature should have remained so long unanswered.

"When the Prince of Wales desired to be placed in a situation which might enable him to show the people of England an example of zeal, fidelity, and devotion to his sovereign, he naturally thought

that he was only fulfilling his appropriate duty as the first subject of the realm, in which, as it has pleased Providence to cause him to be born, so he is determined to maintain himself, by all those honorable exertions which the exigencies of these critical times peculiarly demand. The motives of his conduct cannot be misconceived nor misrepresented; he has, at a moment when everything is at stake that is dear and sacred to him and to the nation, asked to be advanced in military rank, because he may have his birthright to fight for, the throne of his father to defend, the glory of the people of England to uphold, which is dearer to him than life, which has yet remained unsullied under the princes of the house of Brunswick, and which, he trusts, will be transmitted pure and unsullied to the latest generations. Animated by such sentiments, he has naturally desired to be placed in a situation where he can act according to the feelings of his heart and the dictates of his conscience.

“In making the offer, in again repeating it, the Prince of Wales considers that he has only performed his duty to himself, to the State, to the King, and to Europe, whose fate may be involved in the issue of this contest. If this tender of his services is rejected, he shall ever lament that all his efforts have been fruitless, and that he has been deprived of making those exertions which the circumstances of the empire, his own inclinations, and his early and long attention to military affairs, would have rendered so peculiarly grateful to himself, and, he trusts, not entirely useless to the public.”

Mr. Addington explained that though a verbal answer had been sent he could now declare that the King “applauded” the Prince’s spirit, but referred him to the answers given before.

The Prince of Wales then desired Mr. Addington to lay his note of the 26th of July before the King.

#### MR. ADDINGTON TO THE PRINCE OF WALES.

“Downing Street, August 1, 1803.

“SIR,

“In obedience to the commands of your Royal Highness, I laid before his Majesty the letter dated the 26th of July, with which your Royal Highness honored me; and I have it in command from his Majesty to acquaint your Royal Highness, that the King had referred Mr. Addington to the orders he had before given him,



with the addition, that the King's opinion being fixed he desired that no further mention should be made to him upon the subject.

"I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of respect and deference, Sir, your Royal Highness's most humble Servant,

"HENRY ADDINGTON."

#### THE PRINCE OF WALES TO THE KING.

"Brighthelmstone, Aug. 6, 1803.

"SIR,

"A correspondence has taken place between Mr. Addington and myself on a subject which deeply involves my honor and character. The answers which I have received from that gentleman, the communication which he has made to the House of Commons, leave me no hope but an appeal to the justice of your Majesty. I make that appeal with confidence, because I feel that you are my natural advocate, and with the sanguine hope that the ears of an affectionate father may still be opened to the applications of a dutiful son.

"I ask to be allowed to display the best energies of my character; to shed the last drop of my blood in support of your Majesty's person, crown, and dignity, for this is not a war for empire, glory, or dominion, but for existence. In this contest, the lowest and humblest of your Majesty's subjects have been called on; it would therefore little become me, who am the first, and who stand at the very footstool of the throne, to remain a tame, an idle, and a lifeless spectator of the mischiefs which threaten us, unconscious of the dangers which surround us, and indifferent to the consequences which may follow. Hanover is lost—England is menaced with invasion—Ireland is in rebellion—Europe is at the foot of France. At such a moment the Prince of Wales, yielding to none of your servants in zeal and devotion—to none of your subjects in duty—to none of your children in tenderness and affection—presumes to approach you, and again to repeat those offers which he has already made through your Majesty's minister. A feeling of honest ambition, a sense of what I owe to myself and to my family—and, above all, the fear of sinking in the estimation of that gallant army, which may be the support of your Majesty's crown and my best hope hereafter, command me to persevere, and to assure your Majesty with all humility and respect, that, conscious of the justice of my claim, no human power can ever induce me to relinquish it.

“Allow me to say, Sir, that I am bound to adopt this line of conduct by every motive dear to me as a man, and sacred to me as a Prince. Ought I not to come forward in a moment of unexampled difficulty and danger? Ought I not to share in the glory of the victory when I have everything to lose by defeat? The highest places in your Majesty’s service are filled by the younger branches of the Royal family: to me alone no place is assigned. I am not thought worthy to be the junior major-general of your army. If I could submit in silence to such indignities, I should indeed deserve such treatment, and prove to the satisfaction of your enemies, and my own, that I am entirely incapable of those exertions which my birth and the circumstances of the times peculiarly call for. Standing so near the throne, when I am debased, the cause of royalty is wounded; I cannot sink in the public opinion without the participation of your Majesty in my degradation. Therefore every motive of private feeling and of public duty induces me to implore your Majesty to review your decision, and to place me in that situation which my birth, the duties of my station, the example of my predecessors, and the expectations of the people of England entitle me to claim.

“Should I be disappointed in the hope which I have formed, should this last appeal to the justice of my sovereign, and to the affection of my father, fail of success, I shall lament in silent submission his determination; but Europe, the world, and posterity must judge between us.

“I have done my duty; my conscience acquits me; my reason tells me that I was perfectly justified in the request which I have made, because no reasonable arguments have ever been adduced in answer to my pretensions. The precedents in our history are in my favor; but if they were not, the times in which we live, and especially the exigencies of the present moment, require us to become an example to our posterity.

“No other cause of refusal has or can be assigned, except that it is the will of your Majesty. To that will and pleasure I bow with every degree of humility and resignation; but I can never cease to complain of the severity which has been exercised against me, and the injustice I have suffered, till I have ceased to exist.

“I have the honor to subscribe myself, with all possible devotion, your Majesty’s most dutiful and affectionate Son and Subject,

“G. P.”

## THE KING TO THE PRINCE OF WALES.

" Windsor, August 7, 1803.

"MY DEAR SON,

" Though I applaud your zeal and spirit, of which, I trust, no one can suppose any of my family wanting, yet, considering the repeated declarations I have made of my determination on your former applications to the same purpose, I had flattered myself to have heard no further on the subject.

" Should the implacable enemy so far succeed as to land, you will have an opportunity of showing your zeal at the head of your regiment; it will be the duty of every man to stand forward on such an occasion, and I shall certainly think it mine to set an example, in defence of everything that is dear to me, and to my people.

" I ever remain, my dear Son, your most affectionate Father,

" GEORGE R."

## THE PRINCE OF WALES TO THE KING.

" Brighthelmstone, August 23, 1803.

" SIR,

" I have delayed thus long an answer to the letter which your Majesty did me the honor to write, from the wish to refer to a former correspondence which took place between us in the year 1798. Those letters were mislaid, and some days elapsed before I could discover them. They have since been found. Allow me then, Sir, to recall to your recollection the expressions you were then graciously pleased to use, and which I once before took the liberty of reminding you of, when I solicited foreign service, upon my first entering into the army. They were, Sir, that your Majesty did not then see the opportunity for it, but if anything was to arise at home, 'I ought to be first and foremost.' There cannot be a stronger expression in the English language, or one more consonant to the feelings which animate my heart. In this I agree most perfectly with your Majesty—'I ought to be first and foremost.' It is the place which my birth assigns me—which Europe—which the English nation—expect me to fill—and which the former assurances of your Majesty might naturally have led me to hope I should occupy. After such a declaration I could hardly expect to be told that my place was at the head of a regiment of dragoons.

" I understand from your Majesty, that it is your intention, Sir, in pursuance of that noble example which you have shown during



the course of your reign, to place yourself at the head of the people of England. My next brother, the Duke of York, commands the army; the younger branches of my family are either generals or lieutenant-generals; and I, who am Prince of Wales, am to remain colonel of dragoons. There is something so humiliating in the contrast that those who are at a distance would either doubt the reality, or suppose that to be my fault which is only my misfortune.

“Who could imagine that I, who am the oldest colonel in the service, had asked for the rank of a general officer in the army of the King, my father, and that it had been refused me?

“I am sorry, much more than sorry, to be obliged to break in upon your leisure, and to trespass thus, a second time, on the attention of your Majesty; but I have, Sir, an interest in my character more valuable to me than the throne, and dearer, far dearer to me, than life. I am called upon by that interest to persevere, and pledge myself never to desist, till I receive that satisfaction which the justice of my claim leads me to expect.

“In these unhappy times, the world, Sir, examines the conduct of princes with a jealous, a scrutinizing, a malignant eye. No man is more aware than I am of the existence of such a disposition, and no man is therefore more determined to place himself above all suspicion.

“In desiring to be placed in a forward situation, I have performed one duty to the people of England; I must now perform another, and humbly supplicate your Majesty to assign those reasons which have induced you to refuse a request which appears to me and to the world so reasonable and so rational.

“I must again repeat my concern, that I am obliged to continue a correspondence which, I fear, is not so grateful to your Majesty as I could wish. I have examined my own heart—I am convinced of the justice of my cause—of the purity of my motives. Reason and honor forbid me to yield; where no reason is alleged I am justified in the conclusion that none can be given.

“In this candid exposition of the feelings which have agitated and depressed my wounded mind, I hope no expressions have escaped me which can be construed to mean the slightest disrespect to your Majesty. I most solemnly disavow any such intention; but the circumstances of the times—the danger of invasion, the appeal which has been made to all your subjects, oblige me to recollect what I owe to my own honor and to my own character, to state to your Majesty, with plainness, truth, and candor, but with

all the submission of a subject and the duty of an affectionate son, the injuries under which I labor, and which it is in the power of your Majesty alone at one moment to redress.

"It is with sentiments of the profoundest veneration and respect that I have the honor to subscribe myself,

"Your Majesty's most dutiful and most affectionate

"Son and Subject,

"G. P."

Up to this point we have the Prince addressing these official protests assisted by his political friends. But now we shall find him adopting his own characteristic style in continuing this singular controversy with his "dear brother" of York. This interchange of ideas had something ludicrous.

#### THE PRINCE OF WALES TO THE DUKE OF YORK.

"Brighton, October 2, 1803.

"MY DEAR BROTHER,

"By last night's *Gazette*, which I have this moment received, I perceive that an extensive promotion has taken place in the army, wherein my pretensions are not noticed; a circumstance which, whatever may have happened on other occasions, it is impossible for me to pass by, at this momentous crisis, without observation.

"My standing in the army, according to the most ordinary routine of promotion, had it been followed up, would have placed me either at the bottom of the list of generals, or at the head of the list of lieutenant-generals. When the junior branches of my family are promoted to the highest military situations, my birth, according to the distinctions usually conferred on it, should have placed me first on that list.

"I hope you know me too well to imagine that idle, inactive rank is in my view; much less is the direction and patronage of the military departments an object which suits my place in the State or my inclinations; but in a moment when the danger of the country is thought by Government so urgent as to call forth the energy of every arm in its defence, I cannot but feel myself degraded, both as a Prince and a soldier, if I am not allowed to take a forward and distinguished part in the defence of that empire and crown, of the glory, prosperity, and even existence of that people, in all which mine is the greatest stake.

"To be told I may display this zeal solely and simply at the head of my regiment is a degrading mockery.

"If that be the only situation allotted me, I shall certainly do my duty, as others will; but the considerations to which I have already alluded entitle me to expect, and bind me every way to require, a situation more correspondent to the dignity of my own character, and to the public expectation. It is for the sake of tendering my services in a way more formal and official than I have before pursued, that I address this to you, my dear brother, as the Commander-in-chief, by whose counsels the Constitution presumes that the military department is administered.

"If those who have the honor to advise his Majesty on this occasion shall deem my pretensions, among those of all the royal family, to be the only one fit to be rejected and disdained, I may at least hope, as a debt of justice and honor, to have it explained that I am laid by in virtue of that judgment, and not in consequence of any omission or want of energy on my part.

"Etc. etc. etc.,

"G. P. W."

The Duke of York replied to his "dearest brother," regretting "the impossibility there is, upon the present occasion, of my executing your wishes of laying the representation contained in your letter before his Majesty. Suffer me, my dearest brother, as the only answer that I can properly give you, to recall to your memory what passed upon the same subject soon after his Majesty was graciously pleased to place me at the head of the army; and I have no doubt that, with your usual candor, you will yourself see the absolute necessity of my declining it." He then explained that "in the year 1795, upon a general promotion taking place, at your instance I delivered a letter from you to his Majesty, urging your pretensions to promotion in the army; to which his Majesty was pleased to answer, that, before ever he had appointed you to the command of the 10th Light Dragoons, he had caused it to be fully explained to you what his sentiments were with respect to a Prince of Wales entering into the army, and the public grounds upon which he could never admit of your considering it as a profession, or of your being promoted in the service. And his Majesty, at the same time, added his positive commands and injunctions to me, never to mention this subject again to him, and to decline being the bearer of any application of the same nature, should it be proposed to me;



which message I was, of course, under the necessity of delivering to you, and have constantly made it the rule of my conduct ever since; and, indeed, I have ever considered it as one of the greatest proofs of affection and consideration towards me, on the part of his Majesty, that he never allowed me to become a party in this business. Having thus stated to you, fairly and candidly, what has passed, I must trust you will see that there can be no ground for the apprehension expressed in the latter part of your letter, that any slur can attach to your character as an officer, particularly as I recollect your mentioning to me yourself, on the day on which you received the notification of your appointment to the 10th Light Dragoons, the explanation and condition attached to it by his Majesty."

THE PRINCE OF WALES TO THE DUKE OF YORK.

"MY DEAR BROTHER,

"Brighton, Oct. 9, 1803.

"I have taken two days to consider the contents of your letter of the 6th instant, in order to be as accurate as possible in my answer, which must account to you for its being longer, perhaps, than I intended or I could have wished.

"I confide entirely in the personal kindness and affection expressed in your letter; and am, for that reason, the more unwilling to trouble you again on a painful subject, in which you are not free to act as your inclination, I am sure, would lead you. But as it is not at all improbable that every part of this transaction may be publicly canvassed hereafter, it is of the utmost importance to my honor, without which I can have no happiness, that my conduct in it shall be fairly represented and correctly understood. When I made a tender of my services to his Majesty's ministers, it was with a just and natural expectation that my offer would have been accepted in the way in which alone it could have been most beneficial to my country, or creditable to myself; or, if that failed, that at least (in justice to me) the reasons for a refusal would have been distinctly stated; so that the nation might be satisfied that nothing had been omitted on my part, and enabled to judge of the validity of the reasons assigned for such a refusal. In the first instance, I was referred to his Majesty's will and pleasure, and now I am informed by your letter that, before 'he had appointed me to the command of the 10th Light Dragoons, he had caused it to be fully explained to me what his sentiments were with respect to a Prince of Wales entering into the army.'

“It is impossible, my dear brother, that I should know all that passed between the King and you; but I perfectly recollect the statement you made of the conversation you had with his Majesty, and which strictly corresponds with that in your letter now before me. But I must, at the same time, recall to your memory my positive denial, at that time, of any condition or stipulation having been made upon my first coming into the army; and I am in possession of full and complete documents, which prove that no terms whatever were then proposed, at least to me, whatever might have been the intention: and the communications which I have found it necessary subsequently to make have ever disclaimed the existence of such a compromise at any period, as nothing could be more averse to my nature, or more remote from my mind.

“As to the conversation you quote in 1796 (when the King was pleased to appoint me to succeed Sir William Pitt), I have not the most slight recollection of its having taken place between us. My dear brother, if your date is right, you must be mistaken in your exact terms, or at least in the conclusion you draw from it; for, in the intimacy and familiarity of private conversation, it is not at all unlikely that I should have remembered the communication you made me the year before; but that I should have acquiesced in, or referred to, a compromise which I never made, is utterly impossible.

“Neither in his Majesty’s letter to me, nor in the correspondence with Mr. Addington (of which you may not be fully informed), is there one word, or the most distant allusion to the condition stated in your letter; and even if I had accepted the command of a regiment on such terms, my acquiescence could only have relation to the ordinary situation of the country, and not to a case so completely out of all contemplation at that time, as the probable or projected invasion of this kingdom by a foreign force sufficient to bring its safety into question. When the King is pleased to tell me, ‘that, should the enemy land, he shall think it his duty to set an example in defence of the country’—that is, to expose the only life which, for the public welfare, ought not to be hazarded—I respect and admire the principles which dictate that resolution; and as my heart glows with the same sentiments, I wish to partake in the same danger—that is, with dignity and effect. Whenever his Majesty appears as King, he acts and commands; you are Commander-in-chief; others of my family are high in military stations; and even by the last brevet, a considerable number of junior offi-

cers are put over me. In all these arrangements, the Prince of Wales alone, whose interest in the event yields to none but that of the King, is disregarded, omitted—his services rejected: so that, in fact, he has no post or station whatsoever in a contest on which the fate of the crown and the kingdom may depend.

“I do not, my dear brother, wonder that, in the hurry of your present occupation, these considerations should have been overlooked. They are now in your view, and, I think, cannot fail to make a due impression.

“As to the rest, with every degree of esteem possible for your judgment of what is due to a soldier’s honor, I must be the guardian of mine to the utmost of my power.

Etc. etc.,

“G. P.”

The Duke of York replied:

“Horse Guards, Oct. 11, 1803.

“MY DEAR BROTHER,

“I have this moment, upon my arrival in town, found your letter, and lose no time in answering that part of it which appears to me highly necessary should be clearly understood. Indeed, my dear brother, you must give me leave to repeat to you, that, upon the fullest consideration, I perfectly recollect your having yourself told me at Carlton House, in the year 1793, on the day on which you were informed of his Majesty’s having acquiesced in your request of being appointed to the command of the 10th Regiment of Light Dragoons, the message and condition which was delivered to you from his Majesty. And I have the fullest reason to know that there are others to whom, at that time, you mentioned the same circumstance; nor have I the least recollection of your having denied it to me, when I delivered to you the King’s answer; and I conceive that your mentioning in your letter my having stated a conversation to have passed between us in 1798, must have arisen from some apprehension, as I do not find that year ever adverted to in my letter.

“I have thought it due to us both, my dear brother, thus fully to reply to those parts of your letter in which you appear to have mistaken mine; but as I am totally unacquainted with the correspondence which has taken place upon this subject, I must decline entering any further into it.”



## THE PRINCE OF WALES TO THE DUKE OF YORK.

Brighton, Oct. 22, 1803.

“MY DEAR BROTHER,

“By my replying to your letter of the 6th instant, which contained no sort of answer to mine of the second, we have fallen into a very frivolous altercation upon a topic which is quite foreign to the present purpose. Indeed, the whole importance of it lies in a seeming contradiction in the statement of a fact, which is unpleasant even upon the idlest occasion.

“I meant to assert, that no previous condition to forego all pretensions to ulterior rank, under any circumstances, had been imposed upon me, or even submitted to me, in any shape whatsoever, on my first coming into the service; and with as much confidence as can be used in maintaining a negative, I repeat that assertion.

“When I first became acquainted with his Majesty’s purpose to withhold from me further advancement, it is impossible to recollect; but that it was so early as the year 1793, I do not remember, and, if your expressions were less positive, I should add, nor believe; but I certainly knew it, as you well knew, in 1795, and possibly before. We were then engaged in war, therefore I could not think of resigning my regiment, if under other circumstances I had been disposed to do so; but, in truth, my rank in the nation made military rank, in ordinary times, a matter of little consequence, except to my own private feelings. This sentiment I conveyed to you in my letter of the 2d, saying expressly that mere idle, inactive rank was in no sort my object; but upon the prospect of an emergency, when the King was to take the field, and the spirit of every Briton was roused to exertion, the place which I occupy in the nation made it indispensable to demand a post correspondent to that place, and to the public expectation. This sentiment I have the happiness to be assured, in a letter on this occasion, made a strong impression upon the mind, and commanded the respect and admiration, of one very high in Government.

“The only purpose of this letter, my dear brother, is to explain, since that is necessary, that my former ones meant not to give you the trouble of interceding as my advocate for mere rank in the army. Urging further my other more important claims upon Government, would be vainly addressed to any person, who can really think that a former refusal of mere rank, under circumstances so

widely different, or the most express waiving of such pretensions, if that had been the case, furnishes the slightest color for the answer I have received to the tenders I have now made of my services.

"Your department, my dear brother, was meant, if I must repeat it, simply as a channel to convey that tender to Government, and to obtain either their attention to it, or their avowed refusal, etc.

"G. P."

#### THE DUKE OF YORK TO THE PRINCE OF WALES.

"Horse Guards, October 13, 1803.

"DEAR BROTHER,

"I have received your letter this morning, and am sorry to find that you think that I have misconceived the meaning of your first letter, the whole tenor of which, and the military promotion which gave rise to it, led me naturally to suppose your desire was, that I should apply to his Majesty, in my official capacity, to give you military rank, to which might be attached the idea of subsequent command.

"That I found myself under the necessity of declining, in obedience to his Majesty's pointed orders, as I explained to you in my letter of the 16th instant. But from your letter of to-day, I am to understand that your object is not military rank, but that a post should be allotted to you, upon the present emergency, suitable to your situation in the state. This I conceive to be purely a political consideration, and as such totally out of my department; and as I have most carefully avoided, at all times, and under all circumstances, ever interfering in any political points, I must hope that you will not call upon me to deviate from the principles by which I have been invariably governed.

"Believe me, my dear Brother,

"Your most affectionate Brother,

"FREDERICK."

#### THE PRINCE OF WALES TO THE DUKE OF YORK.

"Carlton House, October 14, 1803.

"MY DEAR BROTHER,

"It cannot but be painful to me to be reduced to the necessity of further explanation on the subject which it was my earnest wish to have closed, and which was of so clear and distinct a

nature, as, in my humble judgment, to have precluded the possibility of either doubt or misunderstanding.

“Surely there must some strange fatality obscure my language in statement, or leave me somewhat deficient in the powers of explanation, when it can lead your mind, my dear brother, to such a palpable misconstruction (for far be it from me to fancy it wilful) of my meaning, as to suppose, for a moment, I had unconnected my object with efficient military rank, and transferred it entirely to the view of a political station, when you venture to tell me ‘my object is not military rank, but that a post should be allotted to me, upon the present emergency, suitable to my situation in the state.’ Upon what ground you can hazard such an assertion, or upon what principles you can draw such an inference, I am utterly at a loss to determine; for I defy the skilful logician, in torturing the English language, to apply with fairness such a construction of any word or phrase of mine, contained in any one of the letters I have ever written on this, to me, most interesting subject. I call upon you to reperuse the correspondence. In my letter of the 2d instant, I told you unequivocally that I hoped you knew me too well to imagine that idle, inactive rank was in my view; and that sentiment, I beg you carefully to observe, I have in no instance what ever, for one single moment, relinquished or departed from.

“Giving, as I did, all the considerations of my heart to the delicacy and difficulties of your situation, nothing could have been more repugnant to my thoughts, or to my disposition, than to have imposed upon you, my dear brother, either in your capacity as commander-in-chief, or in the near relationship which subsists between us, the task, much less the expectation, of causing you to risk any displeasure from his Majesty, by disobeying in any degree his commands, although they were even to militate against myself. But, with the impulse of my feelings towards you, and quickly conceiving what friendship and affection may be capable of, I did not, I own, think it entirely impossible, that you might, considering the magnitude and importance which the object carries with it, have officially advanced my wishes, as a matter of propriety, to military rank and subsequent command, through his Majesty’s ministers, for that direct purpose; especially when the honor of my character and my future fame in life were so deeply involved in the consideration: for I must here again emphatically repeat, that idle, inactive rank was never in my view; and that military rank, with its consequent command, was never out of it.



"Feeling how useless, as well as ungracious, controversy is, upon every occasion, and feeling how fatally it operates upon human friendship, I must trust that our correspondence on this subject shall cease here; for nothing could be more distressing to me, than to prolong a topic, on which it is now clear to me, my dear brother, that you and I can never agree, etc. etc.

"G. P."

While this odd controversy was going on between the brothers, serious news of invasion reached the Prime Minister, who sent off a despatch to the Prince.

MR. ADDINGTON TO THE PRINCE OF WALES.

"Richmond Park, Oct. 23, 1803.

"SIR,

"In consequence of some intelligence which has reached me, I am impelled by a sense of duty to your Royal Highness, and to the public, to express an earnest and anxious hope, that you may be induced to postpone your return to Brighton until I shall have had an opportunity of making further inquiries, and of stating the results of them to your Royal Highness.

"I have the honor to be, with the utmost deference and respect, Sir, your Royal Highness's most faithful and most humble Servant,

"HENRY ADDINGTON."

The Prince at once availed himself of the opening this communication offered, and replied:

THE PRINCE OF WALES TO MR. ADDINGTON.

"Carlton House, Oct. 24, 1803.

"SIR,

"By your grounding your letter to me upon intelligence which has just reached you, I apprehend that you allude to information which leads you to expect some immediate attempt from the enemy. My wish to accommodate myself to anything which you represent as material to the public service would of course make me desirous to comply with your request; but if there be any reason to imagine that invasion will take place directly, I am bound by the King's precise order, and by that honest zeal, which if not allowed any fitter sphere for its action, to hasten instantly to my regiment.

If I learn that my construction of the word 'intelligence' be right, I must deem it necessary to repair to Brighton immediately, etc. etc.  
 "G. P."

The first letters to Addington were supposed to have been written by Sheridan, but one, Mr. Moore states, was the work of Sir R. Wilson, the second of Lord Hutchinson.\* It has been stated, however, in *The Morning Chronicle*, that they were written by Mr. Fonblanque, who was then in the Prince's confidence.† On the other hand, in one of Sir Philip Francis's letters he alludes to his claim of having written letters for the Princes; and his family always maintained that he was the author of these offers of military service.

The correspondence between the brothers shows that the Duke had chosen his line, and cast his lot with the King. But there was only a coolness between them, and the affection between the Prince and his brother continued to the last.

Unfortunately, this refusal inflamed the Prince still more against the King. He showed the correspondence to every one, and uttered the most violent complaints of the treatment he had met with. In the House of Commons the matter was taken up, and on December 2nd direct allusions were made to the proscription of the Prince, the matter becoming so delicate that strangers were excluded. The question arose on a motion of Colonel Crawford as to the defences of the country, and became of an exciting kind, owing to the episode being prolonged till nearly three in the morning—then unusual. A report of what took place, however, got into the newspapers, where we find Colonel Tyrwhitt indiscreetly disclosing what had passed with the King.

From this communication we learn that Colonel Tyrwhitt said: "I esteem it my duty, sir, here to declare (deprecating any imputation that might be thrown upon a character of such value to us all to preserve unshaded), that if the services of the illustrious personage alluded to have been rejected, I have proof that the fault does not lie at his door." "Several members, and in particular Mr. Fox, having, upon this, pressed ministers to give an explanation of their reasons for refusing the services of the heir-apparent, the Chancellor of the Exchequer rose, and, it is said, spoke nearly as follows: 'No man is more ready to bear attestation to feelings so

\* "Life of Sheridan," ii. 317.

† Huish, i. 444.

worthy of the rank and character of the illustrious personage alluded to than I am. Having made this declaration, I must here pause, and declare that nothing short of the commands of the King, and the united authority of this House, shall in future ever compel me to say one word more upon the subject.’”

Mr. Calcraft observed, that “the Prince of Wales had been a colonel in the army from the year 1782. His brother was a field-marshal and commander-in-chief. Three younger brothers were lieutenant-generals. And you leave the heir-apparent to the monarchy to fight for that crown which he is one day to wear, as the colonel of the regiment, under the command of a major-general, his own equerry.”

A few days later, public curiosity, thus irresistibly stimulated, was further gratified by the correspondence being published. It appeared in *The Morning Chronicle* of December 7th, Lords Thurlow and Hutchinson, with Mr. Francis, who were then his guides and directors, having advised the proceedings. Its effect on the King was extraordinary, and gave the last touch to the hateful and degrading picture he had conceived of his son. He looked on it as an affront—as it were, something unbecoming and ungentelemanly. Often afterwards he would allude to this crowning insult on the part of his son—that “he had published his letters.”

The Prince consoled himself by making martial addresses; and on one occasion harangued a corps of volunteers to this effect: “Volunteers,—It is with the highest satisfaction I take upon me the honorable office of presenting the Royal Spelthorn Legion this day with their colors. When I view so respectable a corps, and consider the high character attached to it, it would be superfluous in me to point out those duties and obligations which have been so fully exemplified in its conduct. When you behold these colors,” taking them in his hand, “they will remind you of the common cause in which you are engaged for your King, your country, your religion, your laws, liberty, and property, your children and your wives—nay, in short, for everything dear to Englishmen! Accept, then, this pledge, this sacred pledge, which you will take care to defend with your last drop of blood, and only resign with your lives!”\*

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\* His brother, the ‘sailor prince,” on a similar occasion, was brief and to the point. “My friends and neighbors, wherever duty calls us I will go with you, fight in your ranks, and never return without you.” This, it must be said, had more of the true ring than the Prince’s elaborate periods.



After the declaration of war in 1803, Fox was living in retirement, when some views of the Prince were communicated to him through Mr. Adair. It will be amusing to peruse them, and see that Fox only considered them worth notice from a sort of good-natured toleration. By this time he had found there could be no union between him and a person directed by Moiras and Sheridans.

Mr. Fox wrote in answer: "I can only say that if the P. of W. wants to see me it will of course be my duty to wait upon him, either in London, or wherever else he chooses to appoint: but that as to attending Parliament at present, it appears to me impossible that any good can come of it. It is, as the P. very properly says, respecting the war, both too soon and too late; too soon for anything like a junction and strength, and too late for opposing the Defence Bill, etc. At the same time you may tell H.R.H. that I am very happy to find that my general opinions are nearly the same as his. To add the conscripts to the regulars would be far the best plan, but whether his mode of raising recruits be at all right, even for the purpose which I best like of a regular army, is another question. If the conduct of ministers respecting Hanover be as blamable as H.R.H. supposes (and I have little doubt but he is right), a motion of inquiry may certainly be made on that subject; and indeed this is the only thing like a parliamentary measure that can be now taken.

"The part of the P.'s opinions in which I most heartily concur is that which relates to the propriety he thinks there would have been in waiting for some cause of war in which other nations would have concurred. Now as to men, you know I have no objection to any set, and to some of those mentioned I have something like partiality; but you know the strong impressions which many of my friends entertain against Windham, and everything of the name of Grenville. That these prejudices must, if there is occasion, be resisted, I am most ready to admit; but until there seems some opportunity of doing good, there is no use in doing violence to the feelings of friends. Lord Spencer's influence with the K. I suspect to exist only in the P.'s imagination, nor do I conceive that any influence can turn him against a ministry made in a manner so agreeable to him. What, then, is to be done? Alas! I know not; but I think the best chance is to wait for the effect which these violent measures and outward events will produce, and then if much discontent should arise, a junction, such as the P. seems to wish, may be produced, and the exertion of H.R.H.'s influence may

very much contribute to give strength—ay, and cordiality too—to such a junction.

“One thing, however, it may be necessary to premise, viz.: that I cannot be one of any party who do not see the possibility and the eligibility of being at peace with Bonaparte upon certain conditions. The only question with me at all doubtful is, whether in the expectation of the propriety of such a junction as has been hinted at, hereafter, it might not be advisable soon to have some concert provisionally, if I may so express myself, between the P. and some at least of the Grenvilles, Lord Spencer, etc., in order that our respective modes of conduct might be such as at least not to create new difficulties, if not to facilitate a union next session. One good consequence of such an understanding might be to put a stop to Moira’s rhodomontades, and other things of the kind. I am sensible all this is a proceeding far too slow for the Prince’s impetuosity, an impetuosity which upon this occasion, however, is much to his credit. If he and those most immediately connected with him can suggest any plan of more rapid operation, I am sure I have no unwillingness to listen to it with all imaginable deference. In the mean time pray say everything from me to H.R.H. that is respectable and affectionate, and if I might venture one piece of advice, it would be to take great care not to say or do anything that can tend to declare a personal enmity between him and Bonaparte. I am sure this advice is unnecessary, but the follies of —— and —— make one feel an inclination to give it.

It will be seen from this communication how uncertain Fox was as to his royal friend and patron, and that he was in fact humoring him. He might have had suspicions as to his fealty, for in this very year Mr. Pitt was astonished at receiving a message from him in a circuitous manner, to the effect that his royal highness had not the slightest disinclination towards him; that he had entertained the thought, when he came to power, of giving his confidence to Lord Moira, and at one time he had intended employing Mr. Fox; but now he was satisfied, from the parties themselves, that he could not do better than employ him, Mr. Pitt. But he could not make way with the haughty statesman, who never compromised what he felt towards him—something, it would seem, bordering on contempt. He merely replied that he entertained a “due respect and proper sense of duty” towards the Prince, but gave him what was only a rebuke, saying he trusted, as he was certain his royal highness did, that the occasion for coming to a decision on such matters was very

far off, and that in the mean time he might give his confidence to such ministers as had his father's confidence. Relating this to Mr. Rose, Mr. Pitt set the overture down to a wish to win his support during this very discussion of his offer to take a command.\* This was a harsh and prejudiced view, and we may rather accept the idea that it was a caprice, that came of anger and disgust at his treatment by the Prime Minister.

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\* Rose, "Diaries," ii. 58.



## CHAPTER XXXII.

1801—1803.

UNFORTUNATELY in January, 1804, the King, agitated and harassed by political difficulties and family quarrels, was once more to hover on the gulf of derangement. The publication of his letter to his son, which amounted, as he considered it, to an attempt to excite the nation against him, had sunk into his heart, and helped to disorder his intellect. Once more the hopes of the Prince and his friends were excited. Though the King "recovered," as it was considered, in a few weeks, his intellect seems to have continued disordered during the greater part of the year. Nor can we think it surprising when we consider how the unfortunate monarch was baited and worried both within and without his household. Instead of approaching him with the most soothing and tender treatment, the Queen, affecting to dread some outburst, avoided his presence, and assumed a perpetual silence. His own family looked on him with distrust. The proper doctors (the Willises), who understood his case, were not suffered to attend, and his mind was hopelessly distracted with ministerial changes.

All students of political life are familiar with the curious attitude of Mr. Pitt, the real leader of the party now in power, and who had allowed the *fainéant* Addington to take his place until the moment came when it suited to thrust him out of office. More amusing, however, were the airs of the substitute, who, with an exquisite self-complacency, began to take the matter seriously, and to think that it was owing to his own force that he was where he was. However, the nation was not inclined to endure him longer, and were calling loudly for his deposition.

The Prince, who had been declaring that his father's illness would last many months ("The wish, Harry, was father to the thought!" exclaimed Pitt scornfully when this was reported to him), had been closeted with Mr. Addington on several occasions, but was soon to learn that there was nothing to be gained. We, how-

ever, now find him engaged in negotiating arrangements about a regency with the Premier. Sheridan, on the question of the Prince's inability to command, had taken Mr. Addington's side, which produced a coolness between him and his royal patron. But he was now once more in high favor. The post of receivership of the Duchy of Cornwall had fallen vacant on the death of Lord Elliot, and the Prince, unsolicited, now conferred it on Sheridan "as a trifling proof of that sincere friendship he had always professed and felt for him during a long series of years. I wish to God," he added fervently, "it was better worth your acceptance." The person to whom the recipient, full of gratitude, wrote the news was Mr. Addington, as "a person who would be glad of it."

"It has been my pride and pleasure to have exerted my humble efforts to serve the Prince without ever accepting the slightest obligation from him; but in the present case, and under the present circumstances, I think it would have been really false pride and apparently mischievous affectation to have declined this mark of his royal highness's confidence and favor. I will not disguise that, at this peculiar crisis, I am greatly gratified at this event. Had it been the result of a mean and subservient devotion to the Prince's every wish and object, I could neither have respected the gift, the giver, nor myself. I trust I need not add, that whatever small portion of fair influence I may at any time possess with the Prince, it shall be uniformly exerted to promote those feelings of duty and affection towards their Majesties, which, though seemingly interrupted by adverse circumstances, I am sure are in his heart warm and unalterable—and, as far as I may presume, that general concord throughout his illustrious family, which must be looked to by every honest subject as an essential part of the public strength at this momentous period."\*

This office was worth £2000 a year; but it is curious to find that on the appointment being made a claim was made to it by Lord General Lake, whose brother produced a formal deed promising the reversion!†

It is not easy to gather up the threads of these advances. The clue, however, will be found in what we fear was the clue to most of the transactions in which the unsteady Prince engaged, viz., his own immediate interest, and the chance of succeeding to the re-

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\* Moore, "Life of Sheridan," ii. 321.

† Lord Colchester, "Diary," i. 481.

gency. As it seemed to be at hand, he would take the shortest and readiest mode to the issue; as it became remote, he abandoned what he had undertaken. Thus, as the King's illness seemed gaining ground, we find him eagerly negotiating with the minister. As he recovered, he returned to the old Opposition principles. This may seem a harsh view, but it is the only one that makes all consistent.

Sheridan (says Mr. Moore, who had seen all the letters and papers) formed a sort of connecting link between Carlton House and the minister, and took a leading part in the negotiations for the regency. The Prince was indeed a little alarmed at a rumor that got abroad that it was intended associating the Queen and the Duke of York in the Government, but was reassured on this point by Fox. The latter, as is well known, took a wholly different view, and possessed with a sort of hatred of "the Doctor," founded on the lowest possible opinion of his "lies" and taste for scheming, was for the sounder and broader policy of joining with the old Whigs, or semi-Tories, the Grenvilles, and the rest, for the purpose of ejecting the obnoxious minister. An address got up at Carlton House by Sheridan and his friends was presented to Fox, entreating him not to adopt such a course, "his royal highness deprecating all party struggle at a moment when the defence of all that is dear to Britons ought to be the single sentiment that should fill the public mind."\*

Mr. Tierney had already joined the administration; Sheridan, Moore says, was willing to do so; and now Erskine, being offered the Attorney-Generalship, might naturally suppose he was at liberty to accept. He, however, consulted the Prince through Sheridan, and received a reply that no doubt astonished him. "While he expressed the most friendly feelings towards Erskine he declined at the same time giving any opinion as to either his acceptance or refusal of the office of Attorney-General, if offered to him under the present circumstances. He also added the expression of his regret that a proposal of this nature should have been submitted to his consideration by one, of whose attachment and fidelity to himself he was well convinced, but who ought to have felt, from the line of conduct adopted and persevered in by his royal highness, that he was the very last person that should have been applied to for either his opinion or countenance respecting the political conduct or connec-

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\* "Life of Sheridan," ii. 326.



tions of any public character, especially of one so intimately connected with him, and belonging to his family." \*

He was now much under the influence of this new favorite—Lord Moira. He had generally some such friend of the kind, whom he took up in this almost romantic style, and discarded as speedily. In due course Lord Moira fell, and Lord Wellesley succeeded; indeed, a long list could be made of those privileged whom he affectionately called by their Christian names, and soon grew tired of. By Lord Moira's direction he was now regulating his conduct.

There was another of his friends and boon companions who had begun to complain of the fickleness of a Prince's attachments, under the sense of obligations unrequited, of promises unkept. The fierce and uncontrolled Francis, the *habitué* at the Pavilion, whose children had been fondled by his royal highness, was now a bitter disappointed man—discontented with Fox, with his party, with all things. There was some just retribution, however, in the fact that he, who had been so pitiless and even cruel, should himself feel some sharp pangs, taking the shape of neglect and mortification. It may be said in favor of the Prince that it must have been difficult to live on harmonious terms with such a man. One that would impatiently quicken his royal host when lagging through some rambling story, with a "Well, sir; well, sir; what then?"—(to be, however, thus rebuked: "If Sir Philip Francis will let me proceed")—or thunder unceremoniously if kept waiting too long at Carlton House gate; or, as we have seen, burst out laughing during the Prince's song, must have been rather a trying companion. There were claims and promises. When Francis was offered the government of the Cape, the Prince engaged—we are now anticipating—impulsively, if he accepted the post, to get him promoted to something substantial. In one of his letters he shows an almost piteous obsequiousness.

"September 24, 1801.

"Sir,

"Confiding in your Royal Highness's constant goodness to me, I cannot restrain myself from taking the liberty to express to you the concern and anxiety with which I heard last night of the unfortunate accident your Royal Highness has met with. The same intelligence says that, although you suffer considerable pain, it is not attended with danger. I hope soon to have the honor of

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\* "Life of Sheridan," ii. 323.

waiting on your Royal Highness, and the happiness of finding you perfectly recovered. Believe me, Sir, that in every event in which your Royal Highness is concerned I take the part that belongs to the sincerest attachment to you. It was inclination before it was gratitude, and assuredly will live as long as I do.

“There is another subject, Sir, on which I have nothing to express to you but pleasure and thankfulness. I have just heard of your generous intentions in favor of Ralph Johnson. What the young man’s engagements or views may be, or those of his guardians for him, I do not know; but I can answer for him that he feels the honor done him by your Royal Highness more sensibly and with deeper acknowledgment than perhaps he may submit to you in proper terms for himself.

“I have the honor to be, etc.

“P. FRANCIS.”

But his bitterness seems to have been chiefly against Fox, against whom he inveighed and nourished the deepest resentment. In 1798 Fox had withdrawn from politics, thus causing the division in his party. And, *à propos* of this secession, Francis entered into a correspondence with the attractive Duchess of Devonshire, who, as we have seen, was devoted to the man of the people. The mixture of serious argument and gallantry is here well illustrated, and makes us lament that the talent of writing in such a strain seems now to be almost a lost art.

“I am particularly vexed,” she wrote to him, on November 29th, 1798, “at having been prevented writing, lest you should think I was affronted or unworthy of your kindness. But, besides having been at a country ball, and having had a house full of Derbyshire savages, I have been vexed to my heart’s core. Oh! my dear Mr. Francis, you must have spoilt me, since I feel a pleasure in telling you how worried I have been, though I cannot tell you the cause, though you can do me no good, and though my poor heart has been torn to pieces. You know not what you have done in taking some interest in such a being as I am; you must often listen to lamentation, because, though in reality an old woman, my heart and mind are still childish; nor can I encounter without pain a world that is too wise for me. I must feel unkindness when I meet with it, and anxiety when it presses round me. Do not be angry at my boring you with all this stuff; indeed, if you knew me such as I am, you would know that I pay you a compliment in writing thus.

“How can you suppose me angry for your averring your opinion! I knew it long ago, and wished to bring you to own it, that I might attack it; but low spirits, which have taken from me the power of writing for these ten days, have also weakened my strength as a champion. You are wrong, indeed you are. Charles has, and always had, faults of heedlessness, that may injure him, and have, as a statesman, but never as the greatest of men. Who, at one glance, took in the view of the French Revolution? Who saw its consequence, and warned us of the inutility of opposing its progress? Will not posterity remember this and bless him? Will not they remember his merciful wishes on the condemnation of Louis XVI., and the various times he would have checked (and it could have been done then) our wild career? Who has sacrificed even his darling popularity to his principles? His standard is in the hearts of men, in my heart of hearts, in your own, for you are one of those formed by Nature with the fire, the animation that, I am sure, must make you shrink from any other cause. I blame not George Tierney; but he is no great man. A man who is only bright in the absence of superior merit is in the right to make use of his opportunity, for it will not last long. No, would I were a man, to unite my talents, my hopes, my fortune with Charles's, to make common cause, and fall or rule, with him.

“The confidence of men is with Pitt; they respect him, as often a wife does her husband; think him a very disagreeable fellow, but a good manager of their views and happiness; and now, though they think he has been going and going on too far, yet they still cling to their spouse, lest the separation or divorce should bring on immediate ruin; for they have given up all their settlements, jointure, and even pin-money into his hands; but, whilst they are mingled in the interests of *il caro sposo*, their hearts are with Charles. He is not rich enough for an elopement with him; and the husband, by extreme jealousy and misrepresentation, has hurt him a little in their opinion; but still they love him in secret. He has a heart. Pitt has none. Now I cannot think that they will look on Tierney or Lord Moira, or any pretender I know of, even in the light of a gallant, or even flirt. They feel themselves in a bad situation, and, if long trial at last engages the people to break all connection with Pitt, it will be for no petty intrigue, but for the lover whose abilities and genius could save them by some vast effort of genius, and whom they have so long felt to be their destiny.

“As I am very sure you do not think that I, as a woman, ever



was, could be, or am, in love with Charles Fox, you will allow that, in fervor, enthusiasm, and devotion, I am a good friend; and I assure you, dear Mr. Francis, short as our acquaintance has been, I could and would make a very noble battle for you, should anybody attack you, which hitherto has not been the case, as all I have seen admired you as I do. Tell me that you are not angry, and that I may write on as I think. Form no judgment of my dear sister; for she is ill and low, as she too often is at the beginning of the cold weather."

He replied in the same strain: "Some cruel words in the letter I received from you yesterday have filled me with deep and serious anxiety, and the more as I cannot, if I would, conjecture what grief they relate to, or what is the nature or extent of it. Do not believe it possible that your heart can be 'torn in pieces,' and that mine can be unwounded. On a subject so described, it would be equally unbecoming and useless in me to ask a question, or to solicit an explanation. Sorrow is certainly softened by participation. To share the burden is to lighten it; but that case supposes a long and mutual intimacy, and cannot be extended to many. From woman to woman, it is most dangerous. In a few minutes, I have hated at first sight. In others, as you perhaps may think possible enough, I have loved without waiting for a second. But mere love should beware of confessing anything to its object, except its own passion. The party that desires more intends to command. With all these wise considerations before you, it is for yourself to judge whether any service, or council, or consolation, of mine can be of any use to you. If not, you ought not to tell me; for though I know you would be safe, you do not. Religion comes late, and serves only to console. Can you endure, and will you forgive, these moral airs in a man who never pretended to be anything, and to be a moralist least of all? With all possible veracity, I do confess to you that I am very wise for everybody but myself. Wisdom has been beaten into me by experience, of which no man, I do believe, has had more than I have had, to my cost, crowded into the same number of years. Yet, born and bred as I was in adversity, and traversed by disappointment in every pursuit of my life, I never should have been unhappy if it had been possible for me never to be imprudent. My mind is come at last to maturity, of which you, if you please and if you want it, may at all times have the benefit. Should I fail in judgment, you will find me safe, faithful, and discreet. You talk of the shortness of our acquaintance; why, then,

if all this be not mere moonshine, and if we are really and seriously to be friends, we have no time to lose. The fact, however, is that I have known you many years, and long before the date of our acquaintance. It is true I saw you at a great distance, and as a bird of passage. The planet passed by, and knew nothing of the poor astronomer who watched her motions and waited for the transit. Hereafter, I hope you will not insist on my seeing you through a telescope. Honestly and honorably, I believe I meant nothing but that, while you were writing to me, you thought of nobody but C. F. Not at all, however, in the sense of being in love with him. That idea never entered into my thoughts. On that subject, I begin to be what fine ladies call nettled, by your eternally answering me at cross purposes, or telling me, as you do in effect, that six and four do not make nineteen, and as if I had maintained the contrary. My allegation is that I am forsaken, etc. Your defence is that he is a man of transcendent abilities, and externally amiable in private life. I admire the discovery, but it gives me no sort of consolation. . . . I feel like gummed velvet, and wish I could hate you for half an hour, that I might cut you into a thousand little stars, and live under the canopy. On Monday I wrote till I could not see, without saying half what I intended. You say I must have spoilt you. Will you be so good as to tell me what sort of being you were before you were spoiled? As for me, it is a clear case that I must be bewitched, or I never would trust a declared enemy with such a letter as the enclosed. . . . You say, 'I knew your opinion long ago, and wish to bring you to own it, that I might attack it.' Most dear insidious person! I had no disposition to inveigh against Mr. Fox's conduct, nor should I have said anything about it if you had not provoked me on one side and ensnared me on the other. Will you now be honorable, and can you be just? Did such a letter deserve no answer?"

With much more in the same style. Both these gay and gallant personages passed through a life of trouble and disappointment: the "Beautiful Duchess" was to close her life entangled in embarrassments, chiefly owing to play.\*

In the preceding year the Prince had sent a gracious message to Mr. Pitt, which had been coldly received. In view of the serious

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\* I have given these extracts at this length, because they illustrate the almost elegant style of communication between an accomplished man and woman of the time,

condition of the King, the Prince seems to have recurred to this idea—or at least hoped to conciliate the great commoner; but his advances seemed to lack sincerity and found no favor. This will be seen by following the course of the intrigues his confidants set on foot. In March, 1804, Lord Moira, who was at Edinburgh, opened himself to the Lord Advocate (Hope), who reported to Lord Melville, who in his turn reported to Pitt. The Prince, Lord Moira said with a curious confidence, had early sent a message to Fox and Grey, assuring them that he was sensible of their attachment, but that in the event of a regency he intended to throw himself into Lord Moira's hands. He would not therefore see them. He (Lord Moira) had on this assured him that Addington and the present ministry were incapable (i.e. of doing anything for him). A union of all talents was necessary: "Stretch forth your hand to Mr. Pitt! Have you the magnanimity and good sense to lay aside all feeling of estrangement?" The Prince at first put this aside, saying that Mr. Pitt would not act with others, and declaring that Lord Moira and no other should be his minister. "But let me know your feeling as to Mr. Pitt," persisted Lord Moira; but the Prince declared that "Fox and Pitt would never act together." The other again urging it, and adding that he thought it for his good, the Prince exclaimed ardently: "Then I submit entirely to your opinion—to have the broadest ministry possible," though he still thought the elements too discordant, and that Pitt would never be subordinate in the Cabinet. "But," he added, "I shall moderate between Pitt and Fox!" This being duly transmitted to Pitt, it is curious to see with what cold contempt he received it.

"With respect to the Prince's intentions, I must also say to you confidentially that I fear no very certain dependence is to be placed on any language which he holds. The conversation which Lord Moira reports is certainly at variance with the assurances which I have good reason to believe the Prince has held out in other quarters. He has certainly seen both Fox and Grey. The former, I have good reason to believe, understands that in the event of the Prince having the Government in his hands, it is by his (Fox's) advice that he would be guided, and I believe, too, that his advice is likely to be to apply to me." He added that he could not take part in any Government of which he was not the head.\*

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\* Lord Stanhope, "Life of Pitt," iv, 137.



Fox seems to have been kept in the dark, for we find him writing, much puzzled at what was going on:

"Since last Monday I have not heard one word but from the newspapers, from which I understand that the P.'s visit to Windsor, Friday (of which, by the way, he had apprised me), was prolonged till this day. Moira must, I think, have seen Pitt by this time, as he said he was in a hurry to return to Scotland. I saw Sheridan, and I need not tell you that he was in a terrible fidget. My opinion is that, notwithstanding all these intrigues, the P. will be in essentials quite steady. I think, too, that Pitt and Melville will not be able to get authority to offer him anything that will shake him. I have this day intelligence (which I believe) of an event which will bring all these matters to a crisis—and which, on that, as well as many other accounts, I shall think a very good one. I hear it is quite certain that the Irish Catholics will petition both Houses for complete Emancipation. Upon that question, the P. and Moira must declare themselves, and what will be most satisfactory to me, the Opposition will be marshalled together in a cause that is not merely of a personal nature; for to have so much stress laid upon my coming or not coming into office is, to say the least, very unpleasant."\*

This scheme having failed, we next learn that upon the critical attacks upon "the milk-and-water Addington" (as Mr. Fox styled him), whose majorities were hourly lessening, the Prince, with much wavering, had made up his mind. He was heard expressing great satisfaction at the prospect of the Doctor's overthrow, and indeed he helped to drive the minister with whom he had been negotiating from power. It is clear that Fox's influence had asserted itself.

Yet what was the end, after all these months of busy intrigue and *finesse*, but failure and discredit! The King, as is well known, laid Fox under a ban. Mr. Pitt, the uncompromising, came into office, and the Prince, baffled, disappointed, and hopeless, was left to console himself with his Moiras and Sheridans.

It was evident that the King was still anything but restored. He was seized with a suspicious mania for dismissing everybody about him—old and faithful servants, lords-in-waiting, and others. In all these illnesses their divisions and jealousies seemed to have hindered due and proper care being taken, and the eagerness of his

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\* "Memorials of Fox," iv. 63.

friends to defeat their foes, dragged him from his retirement before he was restored.

At the Drawing Room held in June, he was not well enough to be present: neither was his son, who, however, was seen driving through the town on the box of his barouche. The baffled Prince was himself only recovering from one of those serious sudden attacks to which he was subject all his life, and which he treated with profuse bleeding.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

1804.

WE now turn to another household which for a time has been lost sight of. The young Princess Charlotte was now eight years old; a very pleasing child from the high spirit and character, that gave some anxiety to her aunt, the Princess Royal, in Germany. She exhibited a hot and rather uncontrolled temper, but in other respects was most engaging. Her grandfather appeared to dote upon her. Miss Berry sketches her at this time: "Her face damaged by small-pox to an extent rarely seen at the time among the higher classes; saying she was afraid of dark and dismal stories, and telling a good one herself." She had a taste for the "little accomplishments," could speak French, knew music, but she had a nervous hesitation or stammer in her speech, which she never wholly lost. Indeed it was rather increased in late years, owing to the agitation of dreaded intervals with her father.

This amiable and interesting young creature seems indeed to owe her defects to the intolerant system under which she was brought up; her father and mother being at war, her mother at war with her grandmother, her grandfather at war with her father, she herself—in hackneyed phrase—a bone of contention among them all.

Miss Gale had succeeded Miss Hayman as sub-governess; Mrs. Gagarin (a worthy German who had been deceived, like Angelica Kauffman, by a false marriage) was dresser; Mrs. Trew was tutor; while Lady Elgin directed all. She lived at a country-place known as Shrewsbury House, near Shooter's Hill.

Her mother, residing at Montagu House, and enjoying the powerful protection and favor of the King, was living a sober and exemplary life, quiet and rational. We find her cultivating a taste for music, painting, and modelling. Among the friends now gathered around her were the Mintos, Carnarvons, Hawkesburys, Dundases, Windhams, Grenvilles, Cannings, besides Lords Eldon and Loughborough, the former of whom, perhaps, had rallied to her because of his "dear old master." These she received at



dinner and seemed to have attached to her and the only objection that could be taken to her behavior was a certain indiscretion of speech—talking loudly, and abusing the Prince at her own table. The first ride taken by the King after his recovery in 1801 was down to Blackheath to see her, nor did he tell any one whither he was going till he just reached her door. She was not up, but jumped out of bed to receive him, arrayed in her bedgown and nightcap! He told Lord Uxbridge that she ran in his head perpetually during his illness, and he had resolved to visit her the first time he went out, without telling anybody.\* It was owing to his prevision that the Princess was allowed the pleasure of seeing her child, with suitable restraint, so as not to interfere with the progress of her education.

Lord Albemarle gives some child-letters of the young Princess that are singularly interesting and engaging. Like her father, she had violent likings and dislikes; her special aversion being the Bishop of Salisbury (Dr. Fisher), whom she nicknamed the Great "U-p," and Mrs. Udney. A most amusing incident connected with this prejudice is the will the little girl drew up, excluding them from any share in her property.†

This harmless pleasantry caused much agitation among her governing powers, and it seems incredible that it could be treated seriously. In the journal of Lady Susan O'Brien, heroine of the well-known runaway episode, what occurred is thus described:

"While I was in town, I was informed of a curious transaction

\* Sir G. Elliot, "Life," iii. 217.

† "I make my will. First, I leave all my best books, and all my books to the Rev. Mr. Nott. Secondly, to Mrs. Campbell my three watches and half my jewels. Thirdly, I beg Mr. Nott, whatever money he finds me in possession of, to distribute to the poor, and I leave with Mr. Nott all my papers, which he knows of. I beg the Prayer Book which Lady Elgin gave me may be given to the Bishop of Exeter, and that the Bible Lady Elgin gave me may be given to him also. Also my playthings the Miss Fishers are to have; and lastly, concerning Mrs. Gagarin and Mrs. Lewis, I beg they may be very handsomely paid, and that they may have an house. Lady de Clifford the rest of my jewels, except those that are most valuable, and these my father and mother, the Prince and Princess of Wales, are to take. Nothing to Mrs. Udney for reasons. I have done my Will, and trust that after I am dead, a great deal may be done for Mr. Nott. I hope the King will make him a Bishop.

CHARLOTTE.

"March, 1806.

"My birds to Mrs. Gagarin, and my dog or dogs to Mrs. Anne Hutton, my chambermaid."

going on at Carlton House, on account of a childish will the Princess Charlotte had made, in which she left half her jewels to Lady de Clifford, half to Mrs. Campbell, and all her *valuable* jewels to her papa and mamma. They suppose Mrs. Campbell concerned in making it, and told the bishop of it, who smiled. [Dr. Fisher, Bishop of Salisbury, preceptor to the Princess Charlotte.] The Prince was displeased, and said 'it was high treason,' and called Mr. Adam, Chancellor of the Duchy of Cornwall, who answered: 'Your Royal Highness has a just conception of the matter.' All this nonsense has been before the Privy Council, whose time might be better employed. The will expresses a wish that Mr. Nott, sub-preceptor, might be made a bishop."\*

In short, the matter led to the dismissal of the worthy Mrs. Campbell.

There are many stories of her waywardness, of her affection, of her amusing insubordination. She used to leave the doors wide open, rushing tumultuously into her governess's room. "My dear Princess!" would exclaim the latter, "you should always shut the door after you." "Not I, indeed," she answered, "if you want the door shut, ring the bell;" and then rushed away. Self-willed enough, she would commit some forbidden act, and then say defiantly, "I have done it, now punish me." She went to dine on fixed days with her mother. We find the Princess of Wales giving her daughter such excellent advice as this: "It must have been an honor and pleasure to you that your father wished to see you on his birthday, and I trust you will never in any day of your life deviate from the respect and attachment which is due to the Prince, your father."†

But the good King, hovering as he often was between recovering stages of his malady, saw enough to convince him that this situation of a child of ten years old was dangerous enough. The life led by the father made him quite unsuitable as director of her education, or even as inmate of the same house. Her mother, for other reasons, was equally undesirable. He determined to take her education into his own hands, acting as trustee for the nation.

Mr. Pitt, now in the plenitude of power, feeling that this state of discord would not suit a well-ordered Government, began at once to try and reconcile the parties. As a preparatory step, the

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\* She had a childish attachment to Dr. Nott.

† Lady Rose Weigall, "Princess Charlotte," 283.

Lord Chancellor, who was high in favor at Court, labored to reconcile the Queen to her son. This was not so difficult a task. It will be seen that the Prince was eager "to be friends" with his father by the following letter:

THE PRINCE OF WALES TO THE QUEEN.

" Carlton House, July 4th, 1804.

" MY DEAREST MOTHER,

"It is impossible for me, when so many embarrassing circumstances surround us, to refrain longer from assuring you of my undiminished and unalterable tenderness. Believe me that I deeply regret the not having it in my power to do that in person; for, independent of what I suffer from such a cruel privation, as the being separated from you and my sisters, I lament heavily the not paying my duty to the King. Were this allowed me, I should fly to throw myself at the King's feet, and offer to him the testimony of my ever-unvarying attachment. I have long grieved that misrepresentations have estranged his Majesty's mind from me; and the most anxious wish of my heart is for the opportunity of dispelling that coldness. Every consideration renders this distance most severely painful. My first object is the gratification of the feelings of affection, leaving all else to the spontaneous dictates of my father's kindness; and, if any public view can mingle with this sentiment, it is the incalculable importance to his Majesty, and to the country, of the whole Royal Family appearing united in a moment so awful as the present.

"I am ever, my dearest Mother,

"Your dutiful and affectionate Son,

"GEORGE P."

Not the Prince only, but ministers, whenever their position was imperilled, were fond of resorting to the appeal of "the present awful position of the country."

THE QUEEN TO THE PRINCE OF WALES.

" Kew, July 4th, 1804.

" MY DEAREST SON,

"I have this instant received through the hands of Lady Aylesbury, your most affectionate, and I must say, most joyful letter.

"I am anxious to acquaint the King with the contents, which I



will do at the first opportunity. Assuring you that I shall not be behindhand to seize that moment, for which I have so long anxiously prayed, and I trust will be the means of again uniting our too long separated family, in which event no one has suffered more than,

“ My dearest Son,

“ Your most affectionate Mother and Friend,

“ CHARLOTTE.

“ I cannot say more at present, being in such a hurry.”

This was a natural and touching reply, showing “heart.” The King, however, was not to be at once beguiled, and the bitterness of his reply to the proposal made to him, shows how deeply he felt the treatment he had received. The Prince had determined to give earnest of his desire to be on good terms with his father by offering him the complete charge of the little Princess, and he perhaps assumed that this spontaneous gift would be received gratefully.

#### THE KING TO LORD ELDON.

“ Kew, July 18th, 1804, 10 m. past 4 P.M.

“ The King has this instant received the Lord Chancellor’s note, enclosing the one from the Earl of Moira. Undoubtedly the Prince of Wales’s making the offer of having the dear little Charlotte’s education and principles attended to, is the best earnest he can give of returning to a sense of what he owes to his father, and indeed to his country, and may, to a degree, mollify the feelings of an injured father; but it will require some reflection before the King can answer how soon he can bring himself to receive the publisher of his letters. So much he can add at present, that if he takes the superintendence of his granddaughter, he does not mean to destroy the rights of the mother; that therefore the Princess of Wales, whose injuries deserve the utmost attention of the King, as her own conduct has proved irreproachable, and the attention to what sum the Prince is to pay for the maintenance of the child, though anything which exceeds what he receives on that head from the public must undoubtedly be exonerated by the King. GEORGE R.”

However, more than a month passed away, and father and son had not met. As the King told Mr. Rose at Cufnells, he was not willing to meet his son, feeling that “no good could come of it.” He seems to have sagaciously suspected that there was some object

behind; and indeed there was a sort of wish expressed that Lord Moira should receive office as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and thus the Prince would have his "friends" in the ministry, though he himself would not have joined. However, persuaded by the Chancellor and Mr. Pitt, the King at last consented to an interview.

#### THE KING TO LORD ELDON.

"Windsor, August 20th, 1804.

"Though the King trusts his excellent Lord Chancellor, he felt himself authorized on Saturday to acquaint the Prince of Wales, that in consequence of what the Earl of Moira had been authorized to express, his Majesty is willing to receive the Prince of Wales on Wednesday at Kew, provided no explanation or excuses are attempted to be made by the Prince of Wales; but that it is merely to be a visit of civility, as any retrospect could but oblige the King to utter truths, which, instead of healing, must widen the present breach. His Majesty will have the Queen, Princesses, and at least, of his sons, the Duke of Cambridge, present on the occasion. The Lord Chancellor is to fix on twelve o'clock for the hour of the Prince of Wales's coming to Kew. The King cannot conclude without expressing his earnest wishes that the union to take place on Wednesday in the Scott family may prove a source of happiness to them, as his Majesty must ever be a sharer in any event that may add to the domestic felicity of his Lord Chancellor.

"GEORGE R."

Another letter, written on the same day, is devoted to praises of the Princess of Wales, who at an interview had given him the greatest satisfaction. "She will be entirely guided by the King, who has directed her to state whatever she pleases to the Chancellor, as the person alone to be trusted by her in any difficult occasion that may arise." A charge that fully explains the zeal shown by that functionary in her cause.\* Mr. Pitt, however, complained that though she had promised an alteration in her bearing towards the Prince, she had stated "particulars in the Prince's behavior that

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\* "What think you now, my Lord," said the Prince to Lord Thurlow in one of these contentions, "of your old friend Scott, whom you puffed to me as a sound lawyer and an honest man?" "Indeed, sir," answered Thurlow, whose advanced age had abated neither his convenient courtliness nor his jocular coarseness, "I think he has lost the little law he once had, and is become a very great scoundrel."

created alarms in her mind of which she could not get the better." The minister uttered gloomy prognostications as to her future, but admitted that her behavior might be prompted by jealousy.\* But in the interval the Prince seems to have changed his mind, pleading indisposition. The King came specially to Kew for the interview.

## THE KING TO LORD ELDON.

"Kew, August 22nd, 1804,

"10 m. past 1 P.M.

"The King, soon after his arrival here with the Queen and his daughters, found the Dukes of Kent and Cambridge; since which the Lord Chancellor's letter has been brought by a servant of the Prince of Wales. The King authorizes the Lord Chancellor to express to the Prince of Wales his sorrow at his being unwell; that in consequence of this his Majesty will postpone his interview with the Prince of Wales until his return from Weymouth; and then, as was now intended, it will be in presence of his family at Kew, of which the Lord Chancellor will be empowered to give due notice to the Prince of Wales. GEORGE R."

There is here an air of relief at being spared the meeting. The Prince did not write, but he sent the Chancellor's letter by a groom, which was much remarked on. The Chancellor naturally remonstrated at his disrespect to the King, when the Prince, in his roughest mood, said, "Sir, who gave you authority to advise me?" The sturdy Eldon answered him as haughtily, telling him he was his Majesty's Chancellor, that he must get some one else to take messages of the kind—"I will not." The Prince, however, wrote to one of the Princesses, announcing that the meeting might take place after the King's return, and in presence of the Queen and Princesses.†

Indisposition was not the cause of this change. The Prince had learned what an increase of favor had been extended to his wife, and that if he gave up his daughter to the King the Princess of Wales was to benefit by the step. The little Princess had been asked to a ball at the Castle, and being told that she might bring a friend, instantly named her mother.‡ A house, too, had been already secured for her, with apartments for her mother whenever she should choose to visit her.

\* Rose, "Diaries," *ii*. 173.

† Auckland, "Correspondence," *iv*. 209.

‡ Ibid.



The Prince's relations to Fox since the later crisis had considerably improved. On Fox's rejection by the King, the Prince had taken the matter up warmly, assuring Sir Philip Francis of his "entire and perfect approbation of these resolutions, and desires further that it may be known, and understood, and published to all the world in his name and authority that, in this personal rejection of Mr. Fox, he considers himself as the party injured; that he is not at all the dupe of Mr. Pitt's excuses and explanations; that he sees clearly that Mr. Fox is rejected as *his* friend, and that it was meant to wound him through his side."

It should be stated, however, that old Mr. Coke, of Norfolk, told Haydon that when he heard that Fox was willing enough to join the Government, he had declared to him that he would sever himself from him; and that Fox on this had written, assuring him that he was determined never to join Mr. Pitt.

"You may think, perhaps, that I might have written on the Prince's negotiation, if it may be so called" (wrote Mr. Fox to his friend Grey in September); "but I cannot make out the facts, and still less all the motives, to my own satisfaction. Lauderdale would, of course, tell you all he knew, when he left London, and I knew no more till my return from Cheltenham, when the thing was quite over, and I am not sorry (as you may suppose) that I had no advice to answer for. It originated with Tierney; and Sheridan was, I believe, kept out of it till quite towards the close. My judgment is, that if a reconciliation could have taken place by the Queen it was right, if by Pitt it was wrong; but Tierney saw no such distinction. The refusal to see the King had gone before I knew anything more than when I went to Cheltenham: I should not have advised it. It seems to be all over; and the only thing that is of any consequence is to know how far Moira acted fairly in it, or indeed how far he was concerned at all. His advice to the Prince to offer the young Princess to the King was certainly very bad, but I believe it was only folly; and the Prince has (upon good pretences enough) done away the offer completely. Some accounts from Weymouth say the King is very well, others the reverse. My way of reconciling them is, that he is better in health, but still insane."

Fox himself, or some one inspired by Fox, now pointed out to the Prince this danger. The King thought that Sheridan had interfered.

The King had repaired later to Mr. Rose's place at Cufnells, where

he had many interesting conversations with his host, which give a high opinion of his sagacity and observation, and show what a pleasant companion he could be. In these interviews were also revealed, with a terrible intensity, the state of his feelings towards his son.

When his daughter was thrown from her horse on the road, he peremptorily required her to take her choice: if hurt, to drive home; but if not, to remount and drive on. When remonstrated with, he answered quietly that "he could not bear that any of his family should want courage." It being urged that driving home after such an accident scarcely amounted to lack of courage, he made the remarkable speech: "Perhaps it may be so; but I thank God there is but one of my children who wants courage, and I will not name him because he is to succeed me!"

This most painful utterance of course came of an excited state of mind; and rationally as the King could discourse, it seems he uttered many incoherences. And when he was at Weymouth, Sir R. Wilson, later one of the Prince's faction, was busily engaged in noting down the most extravagant of his speeches, which was shown about, to the Prince among others, who sent back a very civil message to the effect that "he would make it as public as he could." \*

The King, however, felt quite satisfied that he was to have the charge of his favorite, the young Princess; and in his rides with his host explained the plans he had formed. He had thought of Lady George Murray as governess, widow of a bishop of St. David's. In one very pleasing conversation he discussed the point in all its bearings, suggesting that there might be a danger of the Duke of Athole having an influence over her, with other matters, which showed that he had weighed the subject carefully.

On November 7th, the King wrote to "his" Lord Chancellor, to inform him that he was now ready to receive the Prince, as had been proposed.

#### THE PRINCE OF WALES TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

"Brighton, November 8th, 1804.

"The Prince of Wales without delay acknowledges the receipt of the Chancellor's letter, and will, in consequence of the gracious intention signified from his Majesty, be in London to-morrow even-

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\* "Life of Sir R. Wilson," p. 327.

ing with Lord Moira, who has just arrived at Brighthelmstone. The Earl of Moira is authorized by the Prince to wait upon the Chancellor at any hour on Saturday morning that his lordship may please to appoint."\*

Lord Moira accordingly saw the Chancellor, and begged him to assure the King of his son's dutiful and affectionate sentiments.

The meeting at last took place between the father and son on November 12th, and the first person to whom the King communicated the result was his favorite, the Princess of Wales. It will be seen how warmly he wrote to her:

" Windsor Castle, November 13th, 1804.

" MY DEAREST DAUGHTER-IN-LAW AND NIECE,

" Yesterday I and the rest of the family had an interview with the Prince of Wales, at Kew. Care was taken on all sides to avoid all subjects of altercation or explanation, consequently the conversation was neither instructive nor entertaining; but it leaves the Prince of Wales in a situation to shew whether his desire to return to the family is only verbal or real, which time alone can prove. I am not idle in my endeavors to make inquiries that may enable me to communicate some plan for the advantage of the dear child. You and I, with so much reason, must interest ourselves; and its effecting my having the happiness of living more with you is no small incentive to my forming some ideas on the subject, but you may depend on their not being decided upon without your thorough and cordial concurrence; for your authority as a mother it is my object to support.

" Believe me, at all times, my dearest daughter-in-law and niece,

" Your most affectionate Father-in-law and Uncle,

" GEORGE R."

To "my" Lord Chancellor, as he always rather affectedly styled Lord Eldon, he wrote that the interview had been "decent." But Mr. Pitt learned that the Prince was "uttering great lamentations at having found the King so broken in all respects." The minister, however, had reason to believe that intrigues were on foot to undo what had been done, clearly pointing at Fox.

Mr. Fremantle, who was present, thus describes the meeting:

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\* Eldon MS., quoted in Mr. Jesse's "Reign of George III."



"The royal party consisted of the King, Queen, Prince of Wales, Duke and Duchess of York, Lady Ilderton and General Fitzroy, the other Princes and Princesses at different tables in the same room. I was very near the King's table, and nothing could be better acted than his manner. I can't say the same of the Prince. He was evidently very much out of spirits and in ill-humor, hardly spoke a word to anybody, and looked very ill. It is quite impossible this reconciliation can last." \*

This is explained by a sort of negotiation which was being carried on simultaneously; there being thus, according to the hackneyed phrase, wheels within wheels.

The heaven-born minister was now very anxious to gain over the section of the Opposition known as "the Prince's friends."

This curious incident is thus described in a letter of Fox's: "The P. sent for me to tell me of the message he had had from the K., and of an interview which Lord Moira had had with Pitt. With regard to the first, it seemed only a continuation of what had passed before the Weymouth journey, and when he did see the King (almost all the family present) at Kew, he says there was no cordiality or pretended affection, but common talk on weather, scandal, etc.—a great deal of the latter, and as the P. thought, very idle and foolish in the manner, and running wildly from topic to topic, though not absolutely incoherent. With respect to Lord Moira's meeting with Pitt," Fox goes on, "he said that Pitt had expressed a particular desire of having him (Moira) in the Cabinet, and a general wish to admit many of the P.'s friends. I rather think Moira, whom I saw separately, added hopes of time bringing about all. That Moira had declared explicitly that he could do nothing without me and my friends. I asked whether it was considered that any proposition had come from Pitt, to which either H.R.H. or I were to give any answer; this was answered by a most explicit negative; so that there was no difficulty for us—nothing having been said to us, there was nothing for us to say or do. Here there seemed to be an end, and a very good end, of all this folly; but I understood from Moira that he was again to see either Pitt or Melville, and to know positively whether or no the P. was to have a military command offered him."

This seems to disclose the motive for the Prince's eagerness for the reconciliation, in the hope of obtaining something substantial, and

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\* "Court and Cabinets," p. 366.

which he had set his heart upon. Mr. Fox thought that, "notwithstanding all these intrigues, the P. will be in essentials quite steady. But he also thought that Pitt would not get authority to offer him anything that will shake him." \*

The King now assuming that all had been arranged as regards the transfer of the young Princess to his care, drew up a plan for her education:

"Enclosure.—The Prince of Wales having, through the Earl of Moira, expressed his wish that the education and care of the person of his daughter should be placed under the immediate inspection of the King, his Majesty is willing to take this charge on himself, and has prepared a house at Windsor for the reception of the Princess Charlotte. The sum now issued each quarter, out of his Majesty's Civil List, for the maintenance and education of the young Princess, should in future be paid into the hands of the person who shall be named by the King to defray those expenses; and such additional charges as may arise from the change of establishment will be defrayed by the King.

"His Majesty proposes to name a bishop to superintend Princess Charlotte's education, as it cannot be that alone of a female; but she, being the presumptive heir of the crown, must have one of a more extended nature. His Majesty also thinks it desirable that the bishop should fix on a proper clergyman to instruct the young Princess in religion and Latin, and daily to read prayers: that there should be another instructor for history, geography, belles-lettres, and French; and masters for writing, music, and dancing; that the care and behavior of the Princess should be entrusted to a governess; and (as she must be both day and night under the care of responsible persons) that a sub-governess and assistant sub-governess should be named.

"These seem the necessary outlines, to form such a plan as may make so promising a child turn out, as it is the common interest of the King and his family, and indeed the whole nation, eagerly to wish."

When this paper was handed to the Prince he received it with much discontent. Mr. Fox learned from him what had occurred on the occasion:

"The Prince expressed, in a written note, his surprise that, after what had passed, such a proposition should be made to him, and

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\* "Memorials of Fox," iv, 62.

sent it back. Both Pitt and the Chancellor replied, first insinuating that the Prince ought to have shown more respect to a paper coming directly from his Majesty, and saying they had not understood Moira as the Prince did. The Prince sent an answer, disclaiming of course all intentional disrespect to the King, refusing peremptorily to give up his daughter, and for what had passed referring them to Moira, to whom he said he transmitted their notes. Luckily enough, Moira had left with the Prince a written summary of what had passed between Pitt and him, which entirely justified the Prince's interpretation. Since this I have heard no more; but I read in the newspaper that the preparations making for the Princess of Wales and the child at Windsor are discontinued."

From another account we find that Pitt sent the Prince a very harsh and uncivil rebuke for making such a reply to the King.

A very painful dispute then arose, in which a question of veracity was concerned, and as to whether the Prince had ever agreed to consign his daughter to the charge of the King. It was insisted that he had done so through Lord Moira. The truth seems to be, that the Prince was disgusted at the mode in which his advances had been received, and at not receiving anything by way of consideration for his concessions. Finding that all was to turn to the profit of the Princess of Wales, he was now eager to withdraw from what he had engaged. In such cases there almost inevitably arises a question of what has been promised or conceded. The version that his friends gave out now follows; but Lord Grenville, dining at Carlton House on November 29th, had from the Prince himself a fuller account of his grievances:

"He laid his principal stress on the following points—viz. that Lord Moira had been pressed to accept a Cabinet place, which he had refused, on the ground that the Prince would not separate himself from those whom he had advised with at the end of last session; that it had, therefore, been understood that the reconciliation was to have no political reference whatever; that he had found things at Windsor as bad as they had been represented—no cordiality (hardly common civility) towards himself; a power of restraining himself [i.e. the King's] and talking rationally for some time, and on some points, but no day passing without much of a different description, and many points very prevalent in his mind of a character extremely irrational; not a word said to him during three days' stay at Windsor of the arrangements making respecting his daughter, and on his return to town a message sent



to him through the Chancellor, referring to and misrepresenting what had before passed on the subject between Lord Moira and Mr. Pitt, which the King construes into a wish expressed by the Prince that his Majesty should take upon himself the entire direction of her education. This wish has been positively denied by the Prince, and thereupon they are at issue, the Prince having referred to Lord Moira, who is in Scotland, for the truth of his statement, and declaring that nothing shall induce him to put his child out of his own control, particularly under circumstances so little auspicious as those which result from the King's present state of mind. He desired you might know all this. How it is to end, I do not even guess."

The annoyance and even rage of the King at this sudden turn in matters is shown by his bitter letter of December 16th, to Lord Eldon. "The King," it ran, "though he has banished every spark of irritation and impatience, from feeling truth and fair dealing is the honorable line to combat misapprehension, chicane, and untruth, has with stoical indifference waited the arrival of some information," etc.

Lord Moira having arrived, the controversy warmed afresh; but it would seem that the harsh construction put on the Prince's behavior was not warranted, for it turns out that in the original proposal the young Princess was offered to the care of the King exclusively. This, as Lord Moira explained, was intended to bar all interference on the part of the Princess of Wales.\*

It was soon felt that this state of things could not continue. Some interviews followed between Mr. Pitt and Lord Moira, and soon proposals for mutual accommodation were made. Explanations took place between them, in which the former admitted that the Prince's view was more or less correct, and showed himself very anxious to come to an arrangement. The King, however, showed his bitterness by refusing to see Lord Moira.

This result, according to all accounts, was owing to Lord Moira, whose position was rather an awkward one. Discussions followed between the Prince and Chancellor, in which the former, referring to the statement that he had refused to see the Chancellor, used singular language, saying that it was "a strange fabrication of the

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\* In May, 1805, the King showed his regard for the Princess of Wales by presenting her with two beautiful Arabian horses and an elegant service of gold. He had also given her the rangeriship of Greenwich Park.

King," or a "malicious suggestion of some other person." He also stated very plainly that he had had legal advice as to his rights. However, he ended by graciously saying that his view was to gratify the King's wishes. In this happy disposition, though the King remained cold and wounded, it was not difficult to arrange matters.

The Prince had already a little encounter in the House of Lords with the Chancellor. In one instance the Duke of Clarence reminded the latter of the irregular frequency with which he left the Woolsack to address the House upon the same question. The Chancellor made no reply at the moment, but referred on a subsequent night to the expressions of the Duke of Clarence. Upon this the Prince of Wales, in explanation, disclaimed, on the part of the Duke, all personal offence, and declared that "he understood his noble relation as merely illustrating the necessity of a liberal and indulgent construction of the orders of the House." "The observations of the Prince of Wales were made with a facility and propriety which produced expressions of regret that he addressed the House so rarely."

#### THE KING TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

"(End of December, 1804.)

"His Majesty, in the paper which the Lord Chancellor communicated by the King's command on the 23rd November to the Prince, referred in the preamble to the Prince's wish, expressed through the Earl of Moira. That wish was expressed in the Earl's letter of the 17th July last, in which the Lord Chancellor was requested to tender the Prince's humble duty to his Majesty, with the profession that, if it was his Majesty's inclination, nothing could be more highly gratifying to the Prince than to see the Princess Charlotte taken under the King's especial direction.

"His Majesty, therefore, in the preamble of the paper, referred to the wish which had been so communicated on the part of the Prince, and has accordingly considered the communication through the Earl of Moira as representing that the Prince wished to see the Princess Charlotte taken under his Majesty's special direction, in consequence of the Prince's understanding that such was his Majesty's wish and desire.

"The King repeats, what he has before stated to the Lord Chancellor and Mr. Pitt, and which he has been informed they represented to the Earl of Moira, that his Majesty regarded the commu-

nication from the Prince, founded upon his desire to gratify what he understood to be the King's wishes, as a step very acceptable to his Majesty, and conformable to the sentiments of duty which the Prince had expressed.

"His Majesty has uniformly stated that, in his taking upon himself the care and management of the Princess Charlotte, he must be understood to do so in a sense consistent with all the attention due to each of the parents of the Princess.

"His meaning was to form the best plan he could for the education and governance of the Princess, and to refer that plan to the consideration of the Prince, and to make such communications respecting it to the Princess of Wales as the nature of their respective relations to the Princess Charlotte seemed to require. It will be his Majesty's earnest desire to act according to this principle.

"His Majesty has great satisfaction in believing that there is reason to think that the Prince is likely to concur in the measures proposed by his Majesty, if the misapprehensions which have been entertained are removed; and he trusts that the explanations which have taken place may effectually remove them. If that should happily be the case, his Majesty will proceed to state, for the consideration of the Prince, the names of the persons who may appear proper to fill the very important stations mentioned in his Majesty's paper; and as this measure originated and has been carried on in consequence of the Prince's having expressed a wish to meet his Majesty's inclination, it will be most satisfactory to the King that the arrangement should be completed upon the same footing, and that his Majesty's choice should be made with the Prince's entire concurrence."

The Prince's answer to this document has not been found; but its purport appears from the following letter of the King:

THE KING TO LORD ELDON.

"Windsor Castle, Jan. 5th, 1805.

"The King received the Lord Chancellor's note, accompanying the paper of the Prince of Wales, intended as an answer to the one drawn up by the Lord Chancellor and Mr. Pitt; which having met with his Majesty's approbation, he sent a copy of it on the 31st of last month to be delivered or sent by the Lord Chancellor to the Prince of Wales. His Majesty entirely joins in opinion with the Lord Chancellor and Mr. Pitt, that undoubtedly the paper contains



expressions liable to observations; but, if the King was to enter into such minute discussion, the main object might be retarded; and, as truth, and what he owes to his subjects, have alone dictated his conduct, provided right is effected, he will not stoop to cavilling on words, which is ever the path of those actuated by meaner sentiments. The King has therefore drawn up a paper this morning, which he trusts is consonant with the opinion contained in the Lord Chancellor's note, which if the Lord Chancellor views in the same light, he desires may be forwarded to the Prince of Wales.

“GEORGE R.”

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

1805.

THE person appointed to succeed Lady Elgin in the charge of the young Princess was the Dowager Lady de Clifford, a lady who had seen much of the French Court, and, while remarkable for firmness, and even intrepidity of character, seems to have possessed a charm and graciousness that was very attractive. Once travelling with her dying husband in France, she surprised a robber stealing into his room. She seized him by the collar and flung him down stairs. She is pleasantly described in her grandson's (Lord Albemarle) agreeable "Recollections."\*

On March 1st, 1805, the King had written to direct the Chancellor to inform the Prince. It is painful to find that he could not bring himself to communicate directly with his son, for he had harshly declared that "he could never forgive his conduct because it was impossible to forget it;" that in a week or two the Court Lodge would be ready to receive the Princess. The same evening Lady de Clifford received the following communication:

THE PRINCE OF WALES TO LADY DE CLIFFORD.

"MY DEAREST LADY DE CLIFFORD,

"I am only this instant returned home, and I have so many letters to write and so much to do this evening that will not admit of delay, in order to summon an early meeting to-morrow morning, that it will be too late before I have finished all my business, to attempt to come and see your little charge and you. However, at

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\* Under her there were two sub-governesses, Mrs. Udney and Mrs. Campbell. Dr. Fisher, then Bishop of Exeter, was the preceptor; and it is curious to find that Lady Pembroke, for whom the King had always a sort of *penchant*, was originally named as governess. Lady George Murray, whom he had spoken of so warmly to Mr. Rose, he seems not to have thought of. Mrs. Campbell had lamented her own unfitness for the post to the King, who replied in Johnsonian phrase: "Madam, I hope we can afford to purchase accomplishments, but we cannot buy principles."

one to-morrow you may be certain of seeing me and, I hope, Mrs. Udney.

"Pray, if possible, let me have the little watch that I may give it to Charlotte in your presence. I shall be most happy to do so for every reason, but I shall consider myself most fortunate the having it in my power thus early in life, after your very short acquaintance with her, not only to prove to her my readiness to acquiesce in, and to forward every reasonable wish she may entertain, but also the implicit confidence I place in you, as well as that you are the medium, and ever must be the properest medium, through which her wishes and inclinations must be conveyed to me. Excuse my saying anything more at present, for I am, as you may believe after so long and so very irritating a day, quite worried to death. If you wish for me later this evening—I mean by that between eleven and twelve o'clock—you will know where to find me.\*

"Ever most affectionately yours,

"GEORGE P.

"Carlton House, Friday, 8 o'clock, March 1, 1805.

"P.S.—Say everything that is most kind to the child and to Mrs. Udney, whose goodness in temporizing with her present situation I can never forget."

Here was again the recommencement of the old tortuous system; and it is scarcely surprising that the King wrote angrily to Lord Eldon, to declare that he must have full control over the child, declaring too his suspicions that the Prince "meant further chicanery."

Further, a few days before the Prince had been using language to his "dearest Lady de Clifford," which the King declared "he could not sanction." The latter seems to have had an idea of placing his grandchild under the formal guardianship of Lord Eldon, declaring also, that it was "quite charming to see the mother and daughter together, which he had seen on the day before." This extravagant partiality of the sovereign, which blinded him to her defects, explains, as was before hinted, the devotion of the Tories to the cause.

A few days later the Prince, full of good purposes, furnished Lady de Clifford with a paper of instruction for her guidance.

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\* At Mrs. Fitzherbert's in Tilney Street.



MEMORANDUM FOR LADY DE CLIFFORD FROM THE PRINCE OF  
WALES

" March 4, 1805.

"Lady de Clifford and the Bishop of Exeter having now entered upon the important functions committed to them, the Prince is desirous that they should from time to time lay before his Majesty such ideas as occur to him as to the details necessary for carrying into execution the general opinion adopted respecting the education of Princess Charlotte. This memorandum is intended to apprise them of the present state of the business, and to serve as a guide for them in such conversations as his Majesty may honor them with on this subject.

"In consequence of some previous intimation which the Prince had received of his Majesty's wishes, the Prince has expressed that without meaning to discharge himself in any degree of that duty of superintendence and control which nature imposes upon a father in all that relates to the education of his child, he was at the same time desirous of receiving the benefit of his Majesty's gracious assistance and advice in a matter so interesting to his feelings, and of giving the Princess Charlotte the full advantage of that affectionate interest which his Majesty is graciously pleased to take in her welfare. But a reason which it is not here necessary to particularize compelled the Prince to require that the person through whom this communication was made should respectfully but distinctly explain to his Majesty that the Prince could on no account agree to the interference of any other person whatever except his Majesty in the dispositions to be made on this subject, and that this point must at all times be considered as the indispensable condition of the Prince's consent to any arrangement present or future.

"What has hitherto been done on the subject has, as the Prince conceives, been intended to be regulated by this principle. The next point to be adjusted for giving effect to it is that which relates to the residence of Princess Charlotte, on which subject the Prince desires that Lady de Clifford and the Bishop will submit to his Majesty for his gracious consideration the following ideas:

"The Prince thinks that during the period of the year in which he is usually resident in London his daughter can nowhere so properly be placed as under her father's roof, where her education may be carried on without interruption, and where he himself will have the constant opportunity of observing its course and progress. His

Majesty's habit of doing business in London several days in each week during most part of the year will afford to the Princess Charlotte ample opportunities of paying her duty there to the King and Queen as often as they may be pleased to require it, and it is by no means the Prince's idea that this arrangement should exclude such short visits to Windsor during the season of holidays or on other temporary occasions as may be found not to break in too much on the course of her education.

"During those months when the Prince is usually not resident in London, he would have great satisfaction in his daughter's being allowed to reside with his Majesty at Windsor, Weymouth, or elsewhere, reserving to himself in the same manner as above stated the pleasure of seeing her sometimes, if he should wish it, on short and occasional visits.

"The communications already made to Lady de Clifford seem to give every reason to hope that these ideas are very little, if at all, different from those entertained by his Majesty on the subject. And at all events the Prince is confident that they cannot fail to be considered as fresh proofs of his respectful desire to meet his Majesty's wishes in every way consistent with his honor and with the feelings of paternal affection and duty toward his daughter."\*

Only a few weeks before this festival he expounded his views at the Antient Music Concert to the Speaker of the House of Commons; and Lord Colchester, in his "Diary," gives a rather favorable idea of the vivacity and even cleverness of his mode of expressing himself:

"*May 8th.*—The Prince of Wales entered into a long conversation with me, condemned the altercations in the House of Commons about naval papers, expressed his surprise at Mr. Pitt saying one day that he would not advise Lord Melville's being struck out of the Privy Council, and announcing upon a subsequent day that he had advised it. Spoke very favorably of Whitbread's manner of opening the charge and carrying on the proceedings against Lord Melville. Wondered Lord Melville did not offer himself for examination; thought that nothing was now left but impeachment. Spoke of the Master of the Rolls's two last speeches as having fallen much below his expectations. Endeavored to persuade all his friends not to meddle with these quarrels, but to look to the greater concerns of the country in these times of external danger. Ridiculed the idea

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\* Lord Albemarle, "Fifty Years of My Life," i. 264.

of Lord Barham, at eighty-two, becoming First Lord of the Admiralty and having a peerage for himself and daughter, accompanied with an intimation that he was only a temporary First Lord, and not to last many weeks. He mentioned also the Catholic question; said that he had so far prevailed with Mr. Fox as not to think of bringing forward the whole claim, but to soften it down to a question for a committee. That he had not succeeded quite so easily with his friend Lord Grenville, etc., and then went into high encomiums on his talents," etc.

After this we find him at Stowe, where Lord Buckingham entertained him magnificently, and assembled all "the Grenvilles" to meet him. The festivities began on August 25, and lasted for a week; the Prince, with his brother the Duke of Clarence, and some fifty guests, being welcomed by four hundred of the leading persons of the kingdom. Mr. Fox was also of the party.

We have a pleasing glimpse of him at this time in a picture drawn by the venerable Dr. Burney, Johnson's friend and admirer, who seems to have been enchanted with the polite attentions of the gracious Prince. This, again, is infinitely in his favor, and a mark of true good-nature.

"1805.—In May, at a concert at Lady Salisbury's, I was extremely pleased, both with the music and the performance. The former was chiefly selected by the Prince of Wales. . . . I had not been five minutes in the concert-room, before a messenger, sent to me by his royal highness, gave me a command to join him, which I did eagerly enough; when his royal highness graciously condescended to order me to sit down by him, and kept me to that high honor the whole evening. Our ideas, by his engaging invitation, were reciprocated upon every piece and its execution. After the concert, Lady Melbourne, who, when Miss Milbanke, had been one of my first scholars on my return to London from Lynn, obligingly complained that she had often vainly tried to tempt me to dine with her, but would make one effort more now, by his royal highness's permission, that I might meet, at Lord Melbourne's table, with the Prince of Wales. Of course I expressed, as well as I could, my sense of so high and unexpected an honor; and the Prince, with a smile of unequalled courtesy, said, "Aye, do come, Dr. Burney, and bring your son with you." And then, turning to Lady Melbourne, he added: "It is singular that the father should be the best and almost the only good judge of music in the kingdom, and his son the best scholar."



"But I heard nothing more of the projected dinner, till I met Lady Melbourne at an assembly at the Dowager Lady Sefton's; when I ventured to tell her ladyship that I feared the dinner which my son and I were most ambitious should take place, was relinquished. "By no means," she answered, "for the Prince really desired it." And, after a note or two of the best bred civility from her ladyship, the day was settled by his royal highness for July the 9th. The Prince did not make the company wait at Whitehall (Lord Melbourne's); he was not five minutes beyond the appointed time, a quarter-past six o'clock; though he is said never to dine at Carlton House before eight. The company consisted, besides the Prince and the lord and lady of the house, with their two sons and two daughters, of Earls Egremont and Cowper, Mr. and Lady Caroline Lamb, Mr. Lutterel, Mr. Horner, and Mr. Windham.

"The dinner was sumptuous, of course, etc.

"I had almost made a solemn vow, early in life, to quit the world without ever drinking a dry dram; but the heroic virtue of a long life was upset by his royal highness, through the irresistible temptation to hobbing and nobbing with such a partner in a glass of cherry brandy! The spirit of it, however, was so finely subdued, that it was not more potent than a dose of peppermint water; which I have always called a dram.

"The conversation was lively and general the chief part of the evening; but about midnight it turned upon music, on which subject his royal highness deigned so wholly to address himself to me, that we kept it up a full half hour, without any else offering a word. We were, generally, in perfect tune in our opinions; though once or twice I ventured to dissent from his royal highness; and once he condescended to come over to my argument; and he had the skill, as well as nobleness, to put me as perfectly at my ease in expressing my notions, as I should have been with any other perfectly well-bred man.

"The subject was then changed to classical lore; and here his royal highness, with similar condescension, addressed himself to my son, as a man of erudition whose ideas on learned topics he respected; and a full discussion followed of several literary matters.

"When the Prince rose to go to another room, we met Lady Melbourne and her daughter, just returned from the opera; to which they had been while we sat over the wine (and eke the cherry brandy); and from which they came back in exact time for coffee! The Prince here, coming up to me, most graciously took

my hand, and said, 'I am glad we got, at last, to our favorite subject.' He then made me sit down by him, close to the keys of a pianoforte, where, in a low voice, but face to face, we talked again upon music, and uttered our sentiments with, I may safely say, equal ease and freedom; so politely he encouraged my openness and sincerity.

"I then ventured to mention that I had a book in my possession that I regarded as the property of his royal highness. It was set of my "Commemoration of Handel," which I had had splendidly bound for permitted presentation through the medium of Lord St. Asaph; but which had not been received, from public casualties. His royal highness answered me with the most engaging good-humor, saying that he was now building a library, and that, when it was finished, mine should be the first book placed in his collection. Nobody is so prompt at polite and gratifying compliments as this gracious Prince. I had no conception of his accomplishments. He quite astonished me by his learning, in conversing with my son, after my own musical *tête-à-tête* dialogue with him. He quoted Homer in Greek as readily as if quoting Dryden or Pope in English; and, in general conversation, during the dinner, he discovered a fund of wit and humor such as demonstrated him a man of reading and parts, who knew how to discriminate characters. He is, besides, an incomparable mimic. He counterfeited Dr. Parr's lisp, language, and manner; and Kemble's voice and accent, both on and off the stage, so accurately, so nicely, so free from caricature, that, had I been in another room, I should have sworn they had been speaking themselves. Upon the whole, I cannot terminate my account of this Prince better than by asserting it as my opinion, from the knowledge I acquired by my observations of this night, that he has as much conversational talent and far more learning than Charles the Second, who knew no more, even of orthography, than Molière's 'Bourgeois Gentilhomme.'

"My next great concert was at Mr. Thomson's, in Grosvenor Square. Before I arrived, from not knowing there was a royal motive for every one to be early, I found the crowd of company so excessively great, that I was a considerable time before I could make my way into the music-room; which I found also so full, that not only I could not discern a place where I might get a seat (and to stand the whole night in such a heat would have been impossible for me), but also I could not discover a spot where I might look on even for a few minutes, to see what was going forwards, without

being bodily jammed; except quite close to the orchestra, where alone there seemed to be a little breathing room left. To gain this desirable little opening, I ventured to follow closely, as if of their party, two very fine ladies, who made their way (heaven knows how!) to some sofa, I fancy, reserved for them. But what was my surprise, and shame, when upon attaining thus my coveted harbor, I found I came bounce upon the Prince of Wales, from respect to whom alone no crowd had there resorted! I had no time, however, for repentance, and no room for apology; for that gracious and kind Prince laughed at my exploit, and shook me very heartily by the hand, as if glad to see me again; and obliged me to sit down by him immediately. Nor would he suffer me to relinquish my place, even to any of the Princes, his brothers, when they came to him! nor even to any fine lady! always making a motion to me, that was a command, to be quiet. We talked, as before, over every piece and performance, with full ease of expression to our thoughts: but how great was my gratification, when, upon going into a cooler room, between the acts, he put his hat on his seat, and said, "Dr. Burney, will you take care of my place for me?" thus obviating from my stay all fear of intrusion, by making it an obedience. And his notions about music so constantly agree with my own, that I know of no individual, male or female, with whom I talk about music with more sincerity, as well as pleasure, than with this most captivating Prince.

"Another time, at the Opera, the Prince of Wales, perceiving me in the pit, sent for me to his splendid box; and, making me take a snug seat close behind his royal highness, entered with his usual vivacity into discussions upon the performance; and so reunited me by his gayety and condescension, joined to his extraordinary judgment on musical subjects, that I held forth in return as if I had been but five-and-twenty!"

To this may be added the better-known anecdote of his considerate behavior to one of his servants. It is thus related by Dr. Croly:

"Being at Brighton, and going rather earlier than usual to visit his stud, he inquired of a groom: 'Where is Tom Cross? \* Is he unwell? I have missed him for some days.' 'Please your royal highness, he is gone away.' 'Gone away!—what for?' 'Please your royal highness (hesitating), I believe—for—Mr. ——— can inform your

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\* This name is assumed.



royal highness.' 'I desire to know, sir, of you—what has he done?' 'I believe—your royal highness—something—not—quite correct—something about the oats.' 'Where is Mr. —? Send him to me immediately.' The Prince appeared much disturbed at the discovery. The absentee, quite a youth, had been employed in the stable, and was the son of an old groom who had died in the Prince's service. The officer of the stable appeared before the Prince. 'Where is Tom Cross?—what has become of him?' 'I do not know, your royal highness.' 'What has he been doing?' 'Purloining the oats, your royal highness; and I discharged him.' 'What, sir! send him away without acquainting me!—not know whither he is gone!—a fatherless boy, driven into the world from my service with a blighted character! Why, the poor fellow will be destroyed: Mr. —! I did not expect this from you! Seek him out, sir, and let me not see you till you have discovered him.' Tom was found and brought before his royal master. He hung down his head, while the tears trickled from his eyes. After looking steadfastly at him for some moments, 'Tom, Tom,' said the Prince, 'what have you been doing? Happy it is for your poor father that he is gone; it would have broken his heart to see you in such a situation. I hope this is your first offence?' The youth wept bitterly. 'Ah, Tom; I am glad to see that you are penitent. Your father was an honest man; I had a great regard for him; so I should have for you, if you were a good lad, for his sake. Now, if I desire Mr. — to take you into the stable again, do you think I may trust you?' Tom wept still more vehemently, implored forgiveness, and promised reformation. 'Well, then,' said the gracious Prince, 'you shall be restored. Avoid evil company: go, and recover your character; be diligent, be honest, and make me your friend; and—hark ye, Tom—I will take care that no one shall ever taunt you with what is past.' "

"Some years since, a gentleman, whilst copying a picture in one of the State apartments at Carlton House, overheard the following conversation between an elderly woman, one of the housemaids, then employed in cleaning a stove-grate, and a glazier, who was supplying a broken pane of glass: 'Have you heard how the Prince is to-day?' said he (his royal highness had been confined by illness). 'Much better,' was the reply. 'I suppose,' said the glazier, 'you are glad of that;' subjoining, 'though, to be sure, it can't concern you much.' 'It does concern me,' replied the housemaid; 'for I

have never been ill but his royal highness has concerned himself about me, and has always been pleased, on my coming to work, to say, "I am glad to see you about again; I hope you have been taken good care of; do not exert yourself too much, lest you should be ill again." If I did not rejoice at his royal highness's recovery, ay, and every one who eats his bread, we should be ungrateful indeed!"

On the news of the death of Nelson, he addressed the following effusive letter in answer to a person who suggested his attendance at the funeral:

THE PRINCE OF WALES TO MR. ALEXANDER DAVISON.

"I am extremely obliged to you, my dear Sir, for your confidential letter, which I received this morning. You may be well assured, that did it depend upon me, there would not be a wish, a desire of our ever-to-be-lamented and much-loved friend, as well as adored hero, that I would not consider as a solemn obligation upon his friends and his country to fulfil; it is a duty they owe his memory, and his matchless and unrivalled excellence. Such are my sentiments; and I hope that there is still in this country sufficient honor, virtue, and gratitude, to prompt us to ratify and to carry into effect the last dying request of our Nelson—by that means proving, not only to the whole world, but to future ages, that we were worthy of having such a man belonging to us. It must be needless, my dear Sir, to discuss over, with you in particular, the irreparable loss dear Nelson ever must be, not merely to his friends, but to his country, especially at the present crisis, and during the present most awful contest: his very name was a host of itself—Nelson and victory were one and the same to us, and it carried dismay and terror to the hearts of our enemies. But the subject is too painful a one to dwell longer upon. As to myself, all that I can do, either publicly or privately, to testify the reverence, the respect I entertain for his memory as a hero, and as the greatest public character that ever embellished the page of history, independent of what I can, with the greatest truth, term the enthusiastic attachment I felt for him as a friend, I consider it as my duty to fulfil; and therefore, though I may be prevented from taking that ostensible and prominent situation at his funeral which I think my birth and high rank entitle me to claim, still nothing shall prevent me, in a private character, following his remains to their last

resting-place; for though the station and the character may be less ostensible, less prominent, yet the feelings of the heart will not therefore be the less poignant or the less acute.

“I am, my dear Sir, with the greatest truth,

“Ever very sincerely yours,

“GEORGE P.”

His feelings on this subject were even more excited by meeting with Mr. Scott, Nelson's chaplain and attendant in the *Victory*. “I was once,” he says, “without preparation or the least knowledge of his royal highness, suddenly, I may say somewhat clumsily, in the midst of a party, introduced to the Prince. He immediately rose, grasped my hand, and shed tears; in short, his feelings were so acute, that I retreated into the crowd to spare him. I never can forget the pressure of his hand, nor the sensibility he evinced.” The poor chaplain was writing this appeal from the Charterhouse, the only retreat he could obtain from a grateful country. It would seem that he appealed vainly to the Regent and Lord Moira. Lady Hamilton's treatment is well known; Magrath, his medical officer, met with similar neglect. The midshipman Pollard, who had avenged Nelson's death by shooting the man that killed him, obtained a retreat at Greenwich: having no interest, he never rose higher than a lieutenant.

A long list, indeed, could be furnished of instances of the Prince's generous sympathy for cases of this kind; that is, where there was a certain dramatic element to stir his kindly emotions. Connected with the fate of Nelson was the hard treatment of Lady Hamilton—as to which the Prince declared that his desire was, that Nelson's last wishes should be given effect to in every particular. But, as may be conceived, he had no power and no influence at court, or with ministers. Mr. Warren Hastings was induced to lay his case before him, and bent his proud spirit so far as to set out what would atone for the treatment he had received, mentioning in particular a peerage. He describes in his diary the gracious kindly way in which he was treated. Lord Moira was instructed to do his best, but nothing came of it.



## CHAPTER XXXV.

1805.

WITH this year now came the first remarkable symptom of the change in the Prince's political opinions, and which have been generally associated with what is called his treatment of the Whigs five years later. This is a fair element in his vindication, and shows that not only was it the influence of Mr. Fox that had attached him to the party, but that even before Mr. Fox's death his views had been changing. That he should have changed his views can be scarcely urged as a serious reproach, when statesmen of importance did the same, and, without scruple, shifted from ministry to ministry. Nor is he to be judged as severely as a subject. The Catholic question was at this time being pressed, and became, as it generally did, the test or solvent of much clouded opinion. It was significant that Fox now should have doubts of his royal friend as to this crucial point. These misgivings are expressed in letters to his friends.

There was scarcely a year of the Prince's life in which, as Johnson would have called it, his "superfætation of activity," or rather his habit of thoughtlessly taking action where his feelings were involved, did not plunge him into some awkward embarrassment. Early in 1805, he found himself eagerly engaged in ardently forwarding a lawsuit, which related, says Sir S. Romilly, "to the guardianship of a daughter of Lord Hugh Seymour, who had remained, at the death of her parents while she was of very tender years, under the care of Mrs. Fitzherbert. With that lady she had been left by her family till she was between five and six years old, and they then required to have her returned to them. Being an orphan, and without a legal guardian, no person had a right to remove her, and the principal object of the suit was to have a guardian for her appointed. On the one side were proposed for this office Lord Euston and Lord Henry Seymour, who had been named by Lord Hugh in a will made before the birth of this little orphan; and on the other, Mrs. Fitzherbert, who had in truth become a mother to it. The Master, to whom the matter was referred,

approved of Lord Euston and Lord Henry Seymour as guardians; and from his decision Mrs. Fitzherbert brought the matter, by an exception to the report, before the Lord Chancellor, who, after a long hearing, and with less than his usual deliberation, confirmed the Master's report. While the cause was depending, the Prince of Wales, who lived at Mrs. Fitzherbert's house as his own, was extremely anxious about the event of it. He loved the child with paternal affection, and the idea of having her torn from him seemed to be as painful to him as it was to Mrs. Fitzherbert. It was upon the occasion of this cause that he desired once that I, who was one of the counsel for Mrs. Fitzherbert, would meet him at her house. I met him accordingly, and had a very long conversation with his Royal Highness." \*

It was thus that he was brought in contact with Romilly. Some years (as Lord Moira had told Lord Lansdowne) he had been eager to know some "sound lawyer of high character and judgment," in whom he might place unbounded confidence, and with whom he was desirous of forming a connection before his accession to the throne.† This was a prudent and praiseworthy idea, but, unluckily, it is not in the power of princes of his nature to secure advisers of this stamp, who, after a time, are alienated or whose advice becomes unpalatable. The Prince, however, during the course of the business took a great liking to him, and in September, 1805, offered to bring him into Parliament. Mr. Creevy was the person to whom the Prince proposed the idea:

"On Monday last, the day after his return from Weymouth and London, in the course of a very long discussion upon these matters, he said he had done one excellent thing during his absence—'he had got a seat in Parliament for Romilly.' He then went at great length into your history and your merits; pronounced you to be the chief of your profession, and a certain future chancellor; and expressed the greatest desire for himself to be the means of your coming into Parliament. He said he had mentioned this in an interview with Fox, in town last week, who had likewise expressed the greatest delight at it. You would have been amused had you heard the familiarity with which he handled the possible objections to this measure: he said your parliamentary business was principally in the House of Lords, with which it would not interfere, and that you seldom or never attended election committees."

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\* "Memoirs," ii. 117.† *Ibid.*, ii. 126.

Romilly, however, declined the offer on principle, not wishing to be a nominee of the Prince's, or to enter Parliament save through popular election. Though mortified at his refusal, the Prince's partiality was so great that he declared enthusiastically that, "if he was not permitted to give him a seat, he would take care that he should be sure of one when he wanted it." And presently he found his services useful in a most critical business, which we shall presently deal with.

Meanwhile this affair of young Miss Mary Seymour was engaging his attention. She was with Mrs. Fitzherbert at No. 6 Tilney Street. The present Earl of Albemarle, author of a most interesting book of "*Recollections*," was living close by, in Audley Street, with Lady de Clifford, the governess of the young Princess. Young Keppel was often found at Tilney Street.

"By my little hostess," he says, "I had the honor of being presented to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George the Fourth. His appearance and manners were both of a nature to produce a lively impression on the mind of a child—a merry good-humored man, tall, though somewhat portly in stature, in the prime of life, with laughing eyes, pouting lips, and nose which very slightly turned up, gave a peculiar poignancy to the expression of his face. He wore a well-powdered wig, adorned with a profusion of curls which in my innocence I believed to be his own hair, as I did a very large pigtail appended thereto. His clothes fitted him like a glove, his coat was single-breasted and buttoned up to the chin. His nether garments were leather pantaloons and Hessian boots. Round his throat was a huge white neck-cloth of many folds, out of which his chin seemed to be always struggling to emerge.

"No sooner was his royal highness seated in his arm-chair than my young companion would jump up on one of his knees, to which she seemed to claim a prescriptive right. Straightway would arise an animated talk between 'Prinny and Minnie,' as they respectively called each other."

This pleasant sketch shows the Prince in an amiable light. His affection for the child amounted to a passion. He offered to adopt it, and settle £10,000 on it, but Lord Henry Seymour, the guardian, was inflexible.\* Being thus opposed, he became more bent on having his way, and even swore an affidavit in Chancery, in which he set out that he believed Mrs. Fitzherbert was the best

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\* Auckland, "*Correspondence*," iv. 219.



person to have charge of the education of the child. The Chancellor having decided against the Prince, the case came before the House of Lords on appeal, before another Chancellor, Lord Erskine. The Prince indiscreetly made the most open exertions; canvassing all the peers to support him.\* This proceeding was much to the amazement of Romilly, who earnestly deprecated the step to Colonel MacMahon. In the arguments, the high character of Mrs. Fitzherbert received due acknowledgment on all sides. The objection was the entrusting of a Protestant child to her care. The peers mustered strongly; there were some seventy or eighty present. But there was no division, and the Chancellor reversed his decree. Thus was the child handed over to the charge of the Hertfords, who, it was known, would consign her to Mrs. Fitzherbert's care. For her, this day of triumph was to bear fresh troubles.

Mrs. Fitzherbert had indeed felt the matter acutely, and there were circumstances in the case almost of pathetic interest. Lady Horace Seymour had been her dearest friend, and, in the last stage of decline, had been ordered abroad in her husband's ship. Her last act was to confide her infant to her friend. She told Lord Stourton she had tried everything, but at last took a step by which she unconsciously was to sacrifice her own happiness. She had recourse to Lady Hertford, with whom she was formerly intimately acquainted. She requested her to intercede with Lord Hertford, as head of his house, to come to her aid, and demand for himself the guardianship of the child, to give it up to her upon certain conditions as to its education. "This long negotiation, in which the Prince was the principal instrument, led him at last to those confidential relations which ultimately gave to Lady Hertford an ascendancy over him superior to that possessed by Mrs. Fitzherbert herself, and from a friend converted her into a successful rival. Lady Hertford, anxious for the preservation of her own reputation, which she was not willing to compromise with the public even when she ruled the Prince with the most absolute sway, exposed Mrs.

\* THE PRINCE OF WALES TO THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

"Carlton House, Monday Morning, Jan. 8, 1805.

"MY DEAR DUKE,

"I have seen Lord Hertford, who will call upon you in the course of the day, or, at any rate, before the business is brought before the Committee.

"I am ever, my dear Duke, your very sincere friend,

"GEORGE P."

Fitzherbert at this time to very severe trials, which at last almost, as she said, ruined her health and destroyed her nerves. Attentions were required from her towards Lady Hertford herself, even when most aware of her superior influence over the Prince."

Returning now to the 10th of May, when the debate came on, we find that the Prince had actually sent the pliant Sheridan to his friend Fox to dissuade him from taking part in the matter. But Fox, ever manly, straightforward, and independent, sent the following reply, after stating that he was committed to the cause, from having presented a Catholic petition. He says:

"Now, therefore, any discussion on *this* part of the subject would be too late; but I will fairly own, that, if it were not, I could not be dissuaded from doing the public act, which, of all others, it will give me the greatest satisfaction and pride to perform. No past event in my political life ever did, and no future one ever can, give me such pleasure.

"I am sure you know how painful it would be to me to disobey any command of his Royal Highness's, or even to act in any manner that might be in the slightest degree contrary to his wishes, and, therefore, I am not sorry that your intimation came too late. I shall endeavor to see the Prince to-day; but if I should fail, pray take care that he knows how things stand before we meet at dinner, lest any conversation there should appear to come upon him by surprise." \*

There were "opportunists" then, as now, who looked to a convenient mode of shelving a question without sacrificing principle, as will be seen from what next occurred.

"Soon after the return of Mr. Pitt to office," says Mr. Wallace in his "History," "the following semi-official announcement appeared in a journal devoted to the Prince, and the known vehicle of party squibs and political notifications by Sheridan. 'The leading members of both (Fox and Grenville) Oppositions have declared themselves decidedly in favor of Catholic Emancipation, the personal friends of an illustrious personage alone excepted.' A second paragraph appeared in the same paper only a few days before the discussion of the question. 'The Irish Catholic question, we have reason to believe, will not for the present, at least, be brought under parliamentary discussion. Mr. Fox, we understand, is disposed to concede to the public opinion as to the inexpediency of

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\* Moore, "Life of Sheridan," ii. 333.

moving it at this time; and it is not improbable that Lord Grenville may also relax so far from his prejudices as to yield to the more discreet judgment of an illustrious personage, who, although he continues to approve the measure of emancipation, deprecates this polemical inquiry at so momentous a period.' ”

All this shows what suspicions there were of the change having taken place in the Prince's views.

By the death of Mr. Pitt, which occurred on the morning of January 24th, 1806, the long-deferred change in the Prince's fortune was at last to arrive, and his old friend and partisan, Mr. Fox, was now in power. It was unfortunate, however, that at such a time the old warmth of friendship should have abated, and that the Prince, through the agency of his henchman Sheridan, should have been making advances even during the last ministry to Mr. Addington. The first direct communication from Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox was received by Lord Sidmouth on the 29th:

“In consequence of a note received this morning,” wrote Lord Sidmouth, “from Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox, I am to see them to-day; but a connection with them will not result from it unless I have a perfect conviction that it would be advantageous to the country, and honorable to myself.”

A few days later he wrote to “Brother Hiley” the following amusing communication, by which it will be seen how admirably the family were provided for:

“Hiley has, I believe, explained to you how and by whom the overture was made to me.\* Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox were nearly inundated by the pretensions which poured in from their respective connexions; and I was, therefore, as moderate as I could be without unbecoming concession or sacrifice. I have laid a strong claim for you, which was readily admitted, to a situation of adequate importance whenever a vacancy may take place. For Hiley the joint paymastership is promised; and Vansittart is to return to his former station at the Treasury (at his own request), if his Majesty will dispense with the punctilio arising from his rank as a Privy Councillor, which I think very questionable.”

It was curious, too, to find him about this time warmly uniting with the head of the “centre” party, Lord Grenville.

“As early as the 23rd of January” (when Mr. Pitt was *in extremis*), “Mr. Sheridan told him by note that ‘he had been com-

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\* From the Prince of Wales, through Mr. Sheridan.



manded to have a confidential communication with him, and requested permission to wait upon him at Richmond Park for that purpose.' ”

What inspired this communication is indicated in a letter which Lord St. Vincent addressed to Lord Sidmouth on the 25th of January: “The Prince of Wales came to me at five o'clock, while I was dressing, and desired I would lose no time in giving you information that the ministry was entirely broken up, and that the King meant to send for Lord Grenville. . . . From all that passed, it appears your moderation has produced a good effect upon the new and old Opposition, amongst whom Windham is the most violent.” The next morning, January 26th, Mr. Sheridan was again commanded to write to appoint an interview. Two other notes shortly afterwards arrived from the same party, in the last of which, dated January 29th, he stated, “that he had something to communicate to Lord Sidmouth from the Prince and Mr. Fox.”

Mr. Grey Bennett, in his MS. Diary, writes: “Lord Aberdare told me that the Dukes of York and Cumberland, who told him, went to announce death of Pitt to King, who tears and said, ‘This will be my death-blow!’ When Grenville sent for Mr. Fox, the King required him to sign a paper in which he claimed right of refusing or accepting any plan of Cabinet. Lord Grenville and Fox said of course that this was unnecessary, as it was his constitutional right. This showed King’s alarm. . . . Fox, at his first interview, made a speech, in which he said he had been misrepresented, and yielded to no man in attachment to constitution for his Majesty. The King agitated, and said: ‘I believe you, Mr. Fox. I know you to be a man of honor, and thank you for what you have said.’ Lord Grenville told Lord Derby that the King expressed himself much pleased with the kind treatment he had received; and that he had not expected it.”\*

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\* From these curious and entertaining notes, kept during a number of years, I propose taking large extracts during the course of this work. They fill several volumes, and are full of parliamentary and other sketches, gossip, and bits of “secret history,” and I am indebted for them to Mr. W. J. Fitzpatrick, the author of the “Life of Dr. Doyle.”

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

1806.

WE are now arrived at one of the most singular episodes that has been connected with the royal family. The disagreements of the Prince and Princess of Wales had long passed from public observation, and it was assumed that the ill-assorted pair had settled down into a state of decent incompatibility and indifference. But about the summer of 1806 strange rumors got abroad of scandals at Blackheath, and that a secret tribunal had sat in judgment on the Princess. A committee of noblemen had actually tried her in her absence, brought her servants before them, and accepted their testimony without its being tested on her behalf. It is enough to state the terms of this truly Venetian proceeding, which was the first stage in the persecution that was for fourteen years to assail this unfortunate lady.

It is not necessary to go into the unpleasant details of what was called "the delicate investigation," or indeed of any of the other proceedings against her. A very simple statement will show what the character of the whole affair was. It will be seen that the Princess, becoming careless and reckless, had, with her usual indiscreetness, adopted strangers as though they were old friends. She had always an extraordinary fancy for children, and indeed up to her death she adopted some half-a-dozen, and was scarcely ever without a child of low degree in her train. This hobby, or folly—for such it was—notoriously gave rise to stories and speculations.

It was to be lamented indeed that, with the King and nation on her side, she could not have behaved with ordinary discretion among her neighbors. It seems that the Princess, now living at Blackheath, had heard that Lady Douglas—her neighbor, an utter stranger to her—had been confined, and introduced herself on the occasion. On this, an extravagant intimacy followed, which continued for some years, until the end of 1804, when the lady was suddenly dismissed and her letters returned unopened. Much exasperated at this treatment, Lady Douglas soon after declared

that she had received anonymous letters and drawings of a scandalous character. On which her husband threatened that he would expose the Princess, and informed the Duke of Kent that he would do so. The latter interposed, and begged that the matter would not be mentioned, as it would annoy the King. It should be noted that at this stage it was merely "a private squabble" between the parties, the Douglasses complaining of the Princess's slanders, and requiring redress. In November, 1805, the Duke of Sussex appeared on the scene, and waited on the Prince of Wales with a new and startling communication that Sir John had told him some facts relative to the Princess, and which "might affect the royal succession."

This must have been welcome information to the Prince, who felt himself bound by "duty" to move in the matter. On this Sir John and Lady Douglas made declarations before the Duke of Sussex at Greenwich Park, dated December 3rd, 1805. Lady Douglas's was virtually the "act of accusation," and it was of extraordinary length. It set out such charges that Lord Thurlow, to whom the Prince submitted the papers, called in the assistance of Romilly, now the Prince's legal friend; two men likely to come to an honest opinion on the matter, even though Thurlow was now the Prince's private adviser on every important subject. Colonel Macmahon and Lord Moira, two of the Prince's familiars, were also busy in the case. It may be said here that, when such a matter was brought to the Prince's notice, he could not avoid taking the matter up and investigating it.

Lord Thurlow's opinion, expressed with his usual coarse energy, was that "he did not believe Lady Douglas's account." There was "no composition," he said, "in her narrative—i.e. it did not hang together; no dates; that some parts were grossly improbable; that the Princess could hardly have said such things when he first knew her, but she might have altered. But to be sure it was a strange thing to take a beggar's child, but a few days old, and adopt it as her own; but that, however, the Princess had strange whims."

Upon the whole, his opinion was there was no evidence on which to found action, and the Prince must wait and see what facts would come to light in future. This was a sound and correct judgment. He then advised that evidence should be collected respecting her general behavior, and suggested that a skilled practitioner should be employed.

Thus, when we add the verdict of the later commission to the



declarations of the Prince's advisers, it is clear that the Princess was acquitted almost as soon as the charge was made.

This statement of Lady Douglas—filling some sixty octavo pages—is the most extraordinary document conceivable, and seems rather the rambling incoherence of some of those wild women who come into court as plaintiffs in strange and romantic trials, than that of a sober accuser. In this she raked together conversations of the most extraordinary kind—coarse and imprudent, which probably did take place. A single passage shows the spirit of the whole: "I now received, by the twopenny post, a long anonymous letter, written by this restless, mischievous person, the Princess of Wales, in which, in language which any one who had ever heard her speak, would have known to be hers, she called me all kinds of names—impudent, silly, wretched, ungrateful, and illiteral (meaning illiterate); she tells me to take that, and it will mend my ill temper, etc. etc. etc., and says she is a person high in this government, and has often an opportunity of (*sic*) freely with his Majesty; and she thinks my conduct authorizes her to tell him of, and that she is my only true and 'integer friend.' Such is the spirit of this foreigner, which would have disgraced a housemaid to have written."

Seeing that the case had broken down, it was determined to make one; and at this point it is difficult to acquit the Prince and his advisers. The solicitor to the Douglasses, this Lowten, was appointed to "get up" facts; and the amiable Romilly, who had declined to advise on this part of the business, was talked over into himself examining Lady Douglas. All the Prince's servants were "got at," and two—Bidgood and Cole—detailed stories of familiarities with visitors. On the truth of these and other charges it is impossible to decide; rather, it is beyond the province of a work like the present to decide. To this and the later investigations may be applied a development of the acute remark of Mary Lamb: "They talk of the Queen's guilt. I should not think the better of her if she were what is called innocent." But there can be no doubt that the whole was a most improper, unfair, and unjust proceeding.

More than five months were consumed in raking together these accusations and trying to strengthen them. Lord Grenville, Mr. Fox, and the Prince's friends were now in office. These were honorable and upright men, but it is certainly remarkable that no official action should have been taken till they were in power.

But Fox was dying, and the papers were at last submitted to her friend the King, who gave his consent to a commission of inquiry, naming, on May 29, 1806, Lord Erskine, the Chancellor, Lord Grenville, Lord Spencer, and Lord Ellenborough for the purpose. There was a certain impropriety in choosing Erskine, who had been consulted by Romilly on the papers, and who was one of the Prince's most devoted followers. Romilly assisted at the inquiry, and may be said to have been conducting counsel against the Princess; but his presence was a guarantee of impartiality. On the 7th of June it began. Six of the servants were brought from her house without notice to the Princess. The Duke of Kent communicated to her this resolution, and she said, with dignity, they were welcome to examine all. "The result," says Romilly, "was such as left a perfect conviction on my mind, and I believe on the minds of the four lords, that the boy in question is the son of Sophia Austin. The evidence of all the servants as to the general conduct of the Princess was extremely favorable to her royal highness, and Lady Douglas's account was contradicted in many very important particulars." This from the counsel for the prosecution is remarkable testimony. In fact the refutation of the charge was complete, and Lady Douglas's account was not only "contradicted"—the amiable word of Romilly—but seemed to furnish ground for an indictment for perjury.

On July 14th, 1806, the report was furnished to the King. They completely acquitted her of the charge of being mother of the boy, whose parentage they traced in the most convincing manner. But they added this singular censure: "We do not, however, feel ourselves at liberty, much as we should wish it, to close our report here. Besides the allegations of the pregnancy and delivery of the Princess, those declarations, on the whole of which your Majesty has been pleased to command us to inquire and report, contain, as we have already remarked, other particulars respecting her royal highness, such as must, especially considering her exalted rank and station, necessarily give occasion to very unfavorable interpretations, particularly from the examinations of Robert Bidgood, William Cole, Frances Lloyd, and Mrs. Lisle. Your Majesty will perceive that several strong circumstances of this description have been positively sworn to by witnesses who cannot, in our judgment, be suspected of any unfavorable bias, and whose veracity, in this respect, we have seen no ground to question. On the precise bearing and effects of the facts thus appearing it is not for us to

decide ; these we submit to your Majesty's wisdom ; but we conceive it to be our duty to report on this part of the inquiry as distinctly as on the former facts, that, as on the one hand the facts of pregnancy and delivery are to our minds satisfactorily disproved, so on the other hand we think that the circumstances to which we now refer, particularly those stated to have passed between her royal highness and Captain Manby, must be credited until they shall receive some decisive contradiction, and, if true, are justly entitled to the most serious consideration."

It is sufficient to quote these words, to show their injustice, for how were the charges alluded to to receive "some decided contradiction," unless opportunity was given ? They also attempted to vindicate the Prince from having had any share in the matter ; and it must be said that the Princess generously joined in this view.\* He is certainly entitled to indulgence in this respect ; for when the affidavits were laid before him, he consulted Lord Thurlow, who advised him to consult his father's ministers, on which the Prince asked Lord Grenville : "What am I to do ?" "I know what I must do," was the reply.

But during the investigation his favorite, Lord Moira, was busy examining witnesses for himself, and tried to intimidate one Edmeades, a doctor, who flatly contradicted one of the servants, by examining him in presence of a magistrate. The real view to take would seem to be this : That as the main charge had so completely broken down, it looked as though the rest had been "got up" as a supplemental accusation, and would naturally share the fate of the first.

All that followed was of a piece with the rest. After the process was concluded, the Princess was kept waiting for months a decision. It was not until the January of 1807 that the King was allowed to decide on the question.

An unfortunate and unusual accident now occurred, which might be considered of evil omen. Driving with Miss Cholmondeley and Lady Sheffield in September, near Leatherhead, the carriage was overturned ; the Princess herself was much contused, but the young lady was killed on the spot.

As she was not allowed to defend herself at the trial, it was determined that this should be done now. The Princess, however, had important friends to defend her, and none more warm and eager

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\* As she told Lord Minto. "Life of Sir G. Elliot," iii. 388.



at this time than the late Chancellor, Lord Eldon. He was in constant communication with her, and advised and supported her through these trials. It was to him that she complained of her papers being stolen, and later of the monstrous affront that she was forced to keep in her service the very servants who had made criminal charges against her.

But a more valuable ally was Mr. Perceval, afterward minister, who had now become her ardent champion. "To the tower or scaffold in such a cause," he had exclaimed enthusiastically to Lady Malmesbury, as they returned together from a visit to the Princess. The service he did her consisted in drawing up a statement of her case. It has always been considered one of the most masterly and powerful defences ever written, and indeed she was always fortunate in having such friends, whose adroit management nearly brought this and other incidents of her persecution to a successful issue, in the face of terrible odds. In this task he was mainly assisted by Mr. Plumer and Sir Vicary Gibbs, later so notorious for his prosecutions; but the chief credit must be given to Perceval.

In October she writes thus gratefully to Lord Eldon:

THE PRINCESS OF WALES TO LORD ELDON.

"Blackheath, Oct. 13th, 1806.

"The Princess of Wales, with the most grateful sense, is most sincerely obliged to Lord Eldon for his kind inquiry through Lady Sheffield.

"Her body as well as her mind have naturally much suffered from the last melancholy catastrophe, having lost in so short a time, and so unexpectedly, a most kind and affectionate brother and a sincere friend. The afflictions which Providence has sent so recently to her are very severe trials of patience and resignation, and nothing than strong feelings of religion and piety could with any sort of fortitude carry the Princess's dejected mind through this. She puts her only trust in Providence, which has so kindly protected her in various ways since she is in this kingdom.

"The Princess also has the pleasure to inform his Lordship that the Queen has twice made inquiry, by Lady Ilchester, through Lady Sheffield, about the Princess's bodily and mental state. The Duchess of York, through her Lady to Lady Sheffield, and the Duke of Cambridge, in the same way, made their inquiries. The Duke of Kent wrote himself to the Princess, which of course she answered herself. The Duke of Cumberland, who has twice been with the

Princess after the melancholy event took place, desired her to announce, herself, to his Majesty the unexpected event of the death of the Prince Hereditary of Brunswick. She followed his advice, and the letter was sent through Lady Sheffield to Colonel Taylor. The answer was kind from his Majesty, and full of feeling of interest for the severe loss she sustained in her brother."

By October 3rd it was ready for presentation to the King. "It was a matter of much delicacy, as it was difficult to avoid the appearance of impeaching the credit of those who conducted the inquiry, which was dangerous." He wrote to Mr. Rose: "The report was so framed that she could not acquiesce under it in silence without admitting its truth; and that, in fact, there was evidently so much disposition to be hostile to her manifested in the whole course of the proceeding, that looking forward to a new reign, there could be no possible security for her being permitted to hold her rank or station in this country, but from the existence of a strong sentiment in her favor throughout the kingdom; and that, therefore, her letter to the King should be so prepared, that if published, it should have the effect of producing rather than checking that sentiment. The copies of this letter, undoubtedly, unless it should be determined to publish it, ought to be kept very secret; but as soon as I conveniently can, I will endeavor to procure you a sight of one of them, as I really shall be very anxious to know your opinion upon it."

The admirable vindication was presented to the King early in October. The effect of reading it must have been complete and irresistible. As Lord Colchester said: "The answer renders the evidence on which the Lords have relied very incredible, from its inconsistency and absurdity."\* But no notice was taken of it. After waiting nine weeks, she once more appealed to the King; but still no answer came. The fact was the Cabinet felt themselves in a serious difficulty, owing to the awkwardness of two of their members having been concerned in the matter. Then arrived piteous letters from her father and mother, who acutely felt the disgrace, imploring a speedy decision in the case of their unfortunate child, but without result.

Not until January 28th, 1807, did she receive a letter from the King, announcing that the ministry had considered the papers and

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\* "Diary," ii. 106.

agreed as to report; that no further steps need be taken, save so far as it might be advisable to consider whether Lady Douglas should be prosecuted. He was advised it was no longer necessary for him to decline receiving the Princess into his royal presence. That the King saw with satisfaction the decided proof of the falsehood of the accusation of pregnancy and delivery, brought forward against her by Lady Douglas. But that there were other circumstances against her which he regarded with serious concern, and he desired and expected that such conduct might in future be observed by the Princess, as might fully justify those marks of paternal regard and affection which he always wished to show to every part of the royal family.

“Other circumstances stated against her”! This extraordinary phrase is her vindication. For if the accusations of the servants were to be accepted as true, then she was surely unfitted to be received at Court; if false, she did not deserve the reproof!

The Princess accepted it as it was, and wrote to be allowed to visit at Windsor; but the King said London would be more convenient. But now the Prince interposed, and on seeing the strength of her case, declared that he would put it into the hands of his lawyers, to make a reply. The King was induced to declare that he would put off receiving her until this was done—i.e. *sine die*. In another masterly paper, also drawn up by Perceval, she urged, with irresistible logic, that the tribunal to which the Prince had appealed had declared that “there was no longer any reason why his Majesty should not receive her. Why, then, was she not received months before, since but for this cruel, unjust, and unreasonable interposition of the Prince?” She then renewed her defence. Her position was logical; for the Prince had now come forward in person: hitherto it had been the proceeding of a neutral tribunal.

Some extracts from this powerful indictment of the Princess of Wales may be given here:

“There may be circumstances disclosed, manifesting a degree of condescension and familiarity in my behavior and conduct, which, in the opinions of many, may be considered as not sufficiently guarded, dignified, and reserved. Circumstances, however, which my foreign education and foreign habits misled me to think, in the humble and retired situation in which it was my fate to live, and where I had no relation, no equal, no friend to advise me, were wholly free from offence. But when they have been dragged



forward, from the scenes of private life, in a grave proceeding on a charge of high treason and adultery, they seem to derive a color and character from the nature of the charge which they are brought forward to support.

“In making that determination, however, it will not escape your Majesty to consider that the conduct which does or does not become a married woman, materially depends upon what is or is not known by her to be agreeable to her husband. His pleasure and happiness ought unquestionably to be her law; and his approbation the most favorite object of her pursuit. Different characters of men require different modes of conduct in their wives; but when a wife can no longer be capable of perceiving, from time to time, what is agreeable or offensive to her husband, when her conduct can no longer contribute to his happiness, no longer hope to be rewarded by his approbation, surely to examine that conduct by the standard of what ought, in general, to be the conduct of a married woman, is altogether unreasonable and unjust.

“What then is my case? Your Majesty will do me the justice to remark that, in the letter of the Prince of Wales, there is not the most distant surmise, that crime, that vice, that indelicacy of any description, gave occasion to his determination; and all the tales of infamy and discredit, which the inventive malice of my enemies has brought forward on these charges, have their date years and years after the period to which I am now alluding. What then, let me repeat the question, is my case? After the receipt of the above letter, and in about two years from my arrival in this country, I had the misfortune entirely to lose the support, the countenance, the protection of my husband—I was banished, as it were, into a sort of humble retirement, at a distance from him, and almost estranged from the whole of the royal family. I had no means of having recourse, either for society or advice, to those from whom my inexperience could have best received the advantages of the one, and with whom I could, most becomingly, have enjoyed the comforts of the other.

“Your Majesty’s confidential servants say: ‘They agree in the opinions of the four lords;’ and they say this, ‘after the fullest consideration of my observations, and of the affidavits which were annexed to them.’ Some of these opinions, your Majesty will recollect, are, that ‘William Cole, Fanny Lloyd, Robert Bidgood, and Mrs. Lisle, are witnesses who cannot,’ in the judgment of the four lords, ‘be suspected of any unfavorable bias;’ and ‘whose

veracity, in this respect, they had seen no ground to question;’ and ‘that the circumstances to which they speak, particularly as relating to Captain Manby, must be credited until they are decisively contradicted.’ Am I then to understand your Majesty’s confidential servants to mean, that they agree with the four noble lords in these opinions? Am I to understand, that after having read, with the fullest consideration, the observations which I have offered to your Majesty; after having seen William Cole there proved to have submitted himself, five times at least, to private, unauthorized, voluntary examination by Sir John Douglas’s solicitor, for the express purpose of confirming the statement of Lady Douglas (of that Lady Douglas whose statement and deposition they are convinced to be so malicious and false, that they propose to institute such prosecution against her as your Majesty’s law officers may advise, upon a reference, now at length, after six months from the detection of that malice and falsehood, intended to be made)—after having seen this William Cole submitting to such repeated voluntary examinations for such a purpose, and although he was all that time a servant on my establishment, and eating my bread, yet never once communicating to me that such examinations were going on—am I to understand, that your Majesty’s confidential servants agree with the four lords in thinking that he cannot, under such circumstances, be suspected of unfavorable bias?—that after having had pointed out to them the direct flat contradiction between the same William Cole and Fanny Lloyd, they nevertheless agree to think them both (though in direct contradiction to each other, yet both) witnesses, whose veracity they see no ground to question?

“Was it then noble, was it generous, was it manly, was it just, in your Majesty’s confidential servants, instead of fairly admitting the injustice which had been—inadvertently and unintentionally, no doubt—done to me by the four noble lords in their report, upon the evidence of these witnesses, to state to your Majesty that they agree with these noble lords in their opinion, though they cannot, it seems, go the length of agreeing any longer to withhold the advice which restores me to your Majesty’s presence?

“They agree in the opinion that the facts or allegations, though stated in preliminary examinations, carried on in the absence of the parties interested, must be credited till decisively contradicted, and deserve the most serious consideration. They read, with the fullest consideration, the contradiction which I have tendered to them; they must have known that no other sort of contradiction could, by

possibility, from the nature of things, have been offered upon such subjects; they do not question the truth, they do not point out the insufficiency of the contradiction, but in loose, general, indefinite terms, referring to my answer, consisting, as it does, of above two hundred written pages, and coupling it with those examinations (which they admit establish nothing against an absent party), they advise your Majesty, that 'there appear many circumstances of conduct, which could not be regarded by your Majesty without serious concern.'

"And here, Sire, your majesty will graciously permit me to notice the hardship of the advice which has suggested to your Majesty to convey to me this reproof. I complain not so much for what it does, as for what it does not, contain: I mean the absence of all particular mention of what it is that is the object of their blame.

"For my future conduct, Sire, impressed with every sense of gratitude for all former kindness, I shall be bound unquestionably, by sentiment as well as duty, to study your Majesty's pleasure. Any advice which your Majesty may wish to give to me in respect of any particulars of my conduct, I shall be bound and be anxious to obey as my law. But I must trust that your Majesty will point out to me the particulars, which may happen to displease you, and which you may wish to have altered.

"Surrounded, as it is now proved that I have been for years, by domestic spies, your Majesty must, I trust, feel convinced that if I had been guilty, there could not have been wanting evidence to have proved my guilt. And that these spies have been obliged to have resort to their own invention for the support of the charge, is the strongest demonstration that the truth, undisguised and correctly represented, could furnish them with no handle against me. And when I consider the nature and malignity of that conspiracy, which I feel confident I have completely detected and exposed, I cannot but think of that detection with the liveliest gratitude as the special blessing of Providence, who, by confounding the machinations of my enemies, has enabled me to find, in the excess and extravagance of their malice, in the very weapons which they fabricated and sharpened for my destruction, the sufficient guard to my innocence, and the effectual means of my justification and defence.

"I trust therefore, Sire, that I may now close this long letter in confidence that many days will not elapse before I shall receive from your Majesty that assurance that my just requests may be



so completely granted, as may render it possible for me (which nothing else can) to avoid the painful disclosure to the world of all the circumstances of that injustice, and of those unmerited sufferings which these proceedings, in the manner in which they have been conducted, have brought upon me.

"I remain, Sire,

"With every sentiment of gratitude,

"Your Majesty's most dutiful,

"Most submissive Daughter-in-law,

"Subject and Servant,

"(Signed) C. P.

"Montague House, February 16, 1807."

Such was this admirable defence. More effective, however, was the alarming declaration that she would lay her case before the public. Still a month more went by. The ministry was in its last agony. "The Book"—the name it was long known by—was actually printed, and five thousand copies were got ready to be launched on the town, under circumstances of extraordinary secrecy and mystery.

At last, irritated by these delays, the Princess wrote to the King, naming a particular Monday, after which the bolt would certainly be launched. Suddenly, the "Ministry of all the Talents" collapsed—turned out in the unceremonious fashion so often described. It is not unlikely that this very business and its embarrassment helped the other causes of the fall.

Lord Holland throws some curious light on the contending interests that were at work and causing the long delay. He is inclined to believe that it was at the suggestion of the King that

\* One Edwards, of Crane Court, Fleet Street, was the printer, and a Member of Parliament was "confidential assistant," or "reader." We may presume the proof-sheets were sent to an ostensible editor, and returned in same fashion. The whole impression, except two copies, was delivered at Mr. Perceval's house. These two copies were, later, destined to cause much embarrassment and annoyance. See Wilks' "Memoirs of Queen Caroline," i. 261, a work containing many curious and authentic details.

Another legend ran that it had been printed at a press set up in Lord Eldon's house. Mr. Canning seems to have disproved of the book, and when Mr. Perceval sent him a copy (and he seems to have shown copies to Mr. Abbott and others) he replied that he was sorry it had been printed; that it was certain to be published; and that, in order that he might not be held responsible, he returned his copy.

the Commissioners were named. Mr. Fox excused himself on the score of his health, business, and connections with the Prince. The report was evidently, he said, a compromise. The King adroitly referred the Princess's appeal to him to the Cabinet, saying he would be guided by them. Some were inclined to be severe. Lords Sidmouth and Grenville "thought that after so broad an acquittal upon the main charge, we would exceed our powers by touching on levities, and wished to decline giving an opinion at all. The King perceived our embarrassment, and dexterously insisted on an opinion. Then Windham sent in a separate minute acquitting her altogether, which was never made known." The Prince, Lord Holland adds, was dissatisfied with the report, and declared that he was not bound by it. He called on the Cabinet to say so, and acquit him of all complicity in the business. Lord Holland pressed that this should be done. On the last day the Cabinet met "a cold testimony to his conduct" was despatched to the King. This is a curious proof of his shrewdness, for some years later, when it was necessary to inquire into the Princess's conduct, this recognition of his having had no share in the business fairly gave him a ground for reopening it.

Now came her triumph. Never was an injured woman so happily rescued. Here were all her friends and champions in office—Lord Eldon, Mr. Canning, and Perceval. Within two or three weeks a minute of Council was drawn up, in which it was set out that:

"After the most deliberate consideration, however, of the evidence which has been brought before the Commissioners, and of the previous examinations, as well as of the answer and observations which have been submitted to your Majesty upon them, they feel it necessary to declare their decided concurrence in the clear and unanimous opinion of the Commissioners, confirmed by all your Majesty's late confidential servants, that the two main charges alleged against her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, of pregnancy and delivery, are completely disproved; and they further submit to your Majesty their unanimous opinion that all other particulars of conduct brought in accusation against her royal highness, to which the character of criminality can be ascribed, are satisfactorily contradicted, or rest upon evidence of such a nature, and which was given under such circumstances as render it, in the judgment of your Majesty's confidential servants, undeserving of credit."

In another minute they recommended that she should have apart-

ments in one of the palaces, and that she should be treated in a manner worthy of her high position.

Such was the ignominious repulse of this first organized attack upon the character and honor of the Princess; and the Prince of Wales had now the mortification of defeat to add a poignancy to his dislike.

In the mean time—to anticipate a little—Mr. Fox had died, and the disappearance of the Prince's chief friend and ally may have been connected with the decisions taken in her case.

Her friend, Lord Eldon, went specially to the King, and warned him of the dangers that would ensue if Mr. Perceval published "*The Book*," and there can be little doubt but that such intimation, coming from "my dear old master's devoted friend," would have secured the result, even had her friends not come into power.\* The threatened publication was of course suspended by the very terms of the menace, as the end was gained. It was often made a subject of reproach to Mr. Perceval and Lord Eldon that, when they had gained their aim and attained power, they found it convenient to abandon their advocacy of the Princess; and their suppression of "*The Book*" is put forward as a proof. The fact was, the "incident was closed," as the French say. The object had been attained. Unfortunately, too, the Princess, from this time forth, instead of profiting by this narrow escape, seems to have grown reckless, and herself was to furnish sufficient grounds for the desertion of her best friends.

This episode may be closed by the singular meeting that took place some months later between the parties to this quarrel. "Soon after the entrance of the Queen into the drawing-room, the Prince arrived, and conversed with her for some time. About three o'clock the Princess of Wales came, elegantly attired. After complimenting her Majesty and the Princesses, she entered into conversation with the Prince; during which there was a profound silence in the room; all eyes were fixed upon them. But nothing appeared beyond the forms of politeness; it was thence conjectured that further connection was impossible."

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\* Lord Eldon assured Lord Grey (who told Romilly) that his visit was for this purpose.—Romilly, iii. 104.



## CHAPTER XXXVII.

1806—1807.

WITH the death of Pitt, and the arrival of his friend Fox at the plenitude of power, the Prince might fairly look for a welcome change and a share in its enjoyment. We have seen that he was partly instrumental in introducing Lord Sidmouth, and seems to have been consulted in the arrangements. But Fox was near his last sickness and enjoyed but a brief snatch of office.

The Prince of Wales now set off on a sort of progress, leaving London on the 25th of August for Bushy Park, taking with him, by appointment, the Duke of Clarence on an extensive tour. They were attended by Colonel Lee and Major Bloomfield. Their royal highnesses slept that night at Benson, Oxfordshire, and passed through Oxford. They then proceeded to Blenheim, and drove through the park. The royal brothers next proceeded to the Earl of Guildford's, at Wroxton Abbey, where they dined. A round of entertainments was provided for the amusement of the guests during their stay, among which a play was performed. On their route to Ragley, the Marquis of Hertford's, they stopped at the Lion Inn, in Stratford, where the volunteers assembled to receive them. The Prince of Wales was waited upon by the mayor and corporation, who presented a loyal address to his royal highness, accompanied with an elegant box, adorned with an appropriate inscription, made of the celebrated mulberry-tree planted by the immortal Warwickshire bard. While at Ragley, the royal brothers visited Warwick and Warwick Castle. After leaving Ragley, they passed through Shrewsbury on their way to Ross Hall, the seat of Cecil Forester, Esq., M.P.; they were escorted by a detachment of the Shrewsbury Yeomanry. Their royal highnesses, leaving Ross Hall, proceeded to Loton, the seat of Sir Robert Leighton, Bart., and from thence to Trentham Hall, on a visit to the Marquis of Stafford.

Addresses were presented from various corporations, etc., and most graciously answered. The volunteers who turned out were noticed with great and peculiar condescension by the royal tourists.

The next visit was paid to Liverpool; to which place they went from Knowsley in a coach and six of the Earl of Derby's, followed by twenty other carriages. On their arrival they were received by the Duke of Gloucester, the Dragoon Guards, Devon Militia, Liverpool Volunteers, etc. After the royal brothers had inspected the docks and various other establishments, they partook of an elegant dinner provided by the Mayor, and in the evening returned to Knowsley. The entertainment cost the Corporation of Liverpool not less than £10,000. The number of persons who flocked to Liverpool upon the occasion was immense. Such was this gay progress.

Within a few months Fox had followed his great rival to the grave. The Prince was at Brighton when his illness had grown critical, and hurried to his bedside. Fox had rallied a little after the operation of tapping, and was encouraged by the Prince to hope for recovery. The other shook his head, and said the relief "only made room for fresh attack." That was the last time they saw each other. It was remarked, however, with some surprise, that the Prince did not attend his funeral, though this was said to have been owing to the interference of the King.

Not long before the Prince had lost another friend and useful favorite, one of his most faithful servants, Admiral Payne, "treasurer of Greenwich Hospital, warden of the Stannaries, and auditor-general to his master."\* The Prince seems to have had a deep regard for him, though, as we have seen, it was somewhat cooled by his lack of subserviency on the occasion of the Prince's marriage. The loss of Fox really marked an era in the Prince's life, for though his influence had been clearly waning, and was but precarious, there was no one left with equal power. Lord Grey's son, indeed, is inclined to accept, *au sérieux*, that sort of impulsive letter, which the Prince would deliver himself of at seasons of emotion, and appeals to one addressed to Mr. Grey in proof of the stanchness of the Prince's opinion, as well as friendship for his father. But such have little value, as a few months was to show.

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\*The world, we are told, called him "Jack Payne," the Prince "honest Jack Payne," and had his portrait painted for Carlton House. The Prince's deputy at the funeral attended in a coach-and-six. His own librarian and chaplain, Dr. Clarke, read the service, and he lies in St. Margaret's, Westminster. His place had been already taken by another favorite, who became far better known, Colonel Macmahon.

## THE PRINCE OF WALES TO MR. GREY.

"Knowsley, Sept. 18, 1806.

"MY DEAR GREY,

"I am hardly in state to write at all, much less to answer your very friendly letter. As to my feelings, it would be superfluous to say anything, as they exceed all belief, and all power of description. I consider the loss we have sustained as incalculable to the country, and irreparable to all his friends, and to myself in particular. Having from the earliest period of my life, when I first entered a political career, looked up to no one but to Fox; having been constantly and invariably attached to him and to his principles; having trodden that path which he marked out for me; and having been guided through it by the support of his hand; I do candidly acknowledge to you, that the difference is so prodigious, the loss so immense, that my thoughts are quite bewildered, and that as yet I have not been able to collect my ideas so as to bring them to any one point.

"As to Lord Grenville, for whom I entertain the very highest personal regard and friendship, I felt quite confident that you would find him everything that could be wished or expected from a strictly honorable and great-minded man; which opinion I have long entertained of him, and which induced me so anxiously to wish to bring him and our departed and forever-to-be-lamented friend together, and to frame and consolidate that union in which I afterwards so fortunately succeeded. But as to ourselves, my friend, the old and steady adherents and friends of Fox, we have but one line to pursue, one course to steer—to stick together, to remain united, and to prove by our conduct, in our steady and unshaken adherence to those principles which we imbibed from Fox when living, that now (though alas he is no more!) we were not merely nominally his friends, but that we are not unworthy of him, and that his memory will forever live in our hearts. In saying this, all I mean to convey is, what my sentiments are as to the line which it behoves us to trace, and abstractedly attaches to us, as the old, firm, and uniform adherents of Fox.

"As to my opinions, if I can form any at the present moment, and to which I profess myself perfectly unequal, it does appear to me that everything ought to be done which can be done, for every possible reason, to convince and to substantiate to our own nation, as well as to foreign Powers, that such is the respect, such the regard,



that the present ministers not only feel individually as men, but collectively as a Government, for the memory of our dear departed friend, and such the estimation in which they hold his principles, and the reverence with which they view the great and enlightened system which he had prepared, and was so indefatigably pursuing; and which no one was able to frame but himself; and which there is no doubt he would have successfully brought to the desired point; that they are resolutely resolved, steadily and firmly to adhere to, and to follow up those ideas, those views, those plans, which were laid down by his masterly hand, and which line will be attended, I have no doubt, with the happiest consequences, as it will infallibly be the means of establishing confidence at home, as well as all over the Continent.

“The simplest and most natural mode, it does, I confess to you, appear to me of effecting this in the first instance (subject always to better and wiser opinions than mine, and subject also to any subsequent arrangements that it might be thought necessary or advisable to make) would be, without any delay, not to make any change whatever just at the present moment, but to put the seals for the Foreign Department into the hands of Holland. You know Holland too well to make it necessary to say one word about him; but as far as I can allow or induce myself to view anything that tends to business under our present most distressing situation, this is what appears to me to be the most correct, as well as desirable measure, and it cannot but be attended with universal satisfaction, and peculiarly so to all Fox’s old friends, and, though last, most singularly grateful to myself.

“With respect to what you so delicately state to me, my dear Grey, concerning yourself, as you know me to detest all flattery and all prolixity of expression, I shall merely say that the regard and admiration with which I have viewed your talents, and the friendship which has always subsisted between us, decide my opinion upon the propriety and wisdom of those duties which rested upon that great and for-ever-to-be-lamented man, devolving upon you. It remains only for me to assure you how truly happy I shall be, and what comfort it will afford me, to communicate in the fullest confidence with you, and by every means in my power to aid and strengthen the views and wishes of the Government.

“I am, ever very affectionately yours,                   GEORGE P.”

My father (says General Grey) having told the Prince the plan

which had been proposed for reorganizing the ministry—the difficulties which interposed—and having alluded to the possible alternative of having to declare to the King that they were unable to form an administration capable of meeting the present crisis, his royal highness wrote in answer as follows:

THE PRINCE OF WALES TO MR. GREY.

“[PRIVATE AND SECRET.]

Doncaster, Sept. 22, 1806.

“MY DEAR GREY,

“Although it is now past three in the morning, and that I am quite knocked up with the long journey of this day, I cannot delay writing a few lines in answer to both your letters, the one of which I received at Knowsley this morning previous to my departure, and the other which I have this instant found on my arrival here. I think myself peculiarly fortunate that the cursory view I took in my letter to you of our present situation coincides so entirely with your opinions; but I must candidly and most confidentially acknowledge to you that it grieves me much that any of Fox’s old friends should, of themselves, think of retiring from their situations at a moment like the present; as there never was a moment, in my poor opinion, that could so imperiously call upon them to remain in office, were it only by every exertion on their part, to further and bring to bear, as far as lay in their power, that general system, but more especially that system upon the Continent, which the great and powerful mind of our poor friend would soon have effected. I think it is a duty they owe his memory, and a duty they owe to this country, as well as to Europe. For God’s sake talk not to me of such an alternative as you mentioned in the letter which I received from you this morning. I really conceive it would be ruinous in every point that I can view it; ruinous to the country in the first instance, and ruinous to your own reputations in the second; and I am certain, were he alive, it would be what he would deprecate more than anything else; and last of all it would be considered as a miserable copy of the grounds which the last despicable and odious administration took, upon the death of Pitt, for sending in their resignations.

“My dear friend, this is a strange world we live in, and nothing can be done in it without a little temper and a little policy. We must do the best we can, and because we cannot have everything our own way, we must not, therefore, instantly throw up the whole game, and by that means become the tool of others. This would

not be consistent with what we owe to our own characters; to the language we have held; to the line we have publicly pursued; and, last of all, to what we ought never to lose sight of—the precepts we have learnt from Fox, and what I am confident, were he now able to advise, would be his wishes. At the same time that I say this, I desire, my good friend, that you will clearly understand me—that I by no means mean that we should relax, in any one instance, to carry such points as may be necessary to the completion of those great views, nor in any effort that may tend towards the accomplishment of them: though there may be difficulties and delays, still we must not be disheartened, but boldly meet them, and, if it should be necessary, reasonably to submit to them. I should hope that when you mentioned such an alternative to me, you were influenced by the distress under which we were both suffering, and which may mislead the very best judgment. Besides what I have already said, reflect one instant how fatal it would be to me, in this peculiarly delicate and awful moment, to be left in such a situation by all my friends, exposed to the accumulation of distress both public and private. I need not, I am sure, my dear Grey, say more to you than this—only to call upon you to rouse all the energies of your mind—but, proudly and with cool judgment, let us meet whatever may arise, thereby performing, to our best, our duties to the country, as well as those which we owe to the memory of our departed friend.

“I really am so fatigued that I cannot answer for any inaccuracies you may find in this letter; but I will answer for my firm and steady adherence to these principles and opinions.

“I am ever, my dear Grey, most truly yours,

“GEORGE P.”

It is amusing to find what hopes always filled the Prince's partisans on any news of change. Writes Mr. Grey Bennett:

“My father told me, September 27, 1806, that when at Alnwick, the Duke of Northumberland had said that upon the death of Mr. Pitt, and during the first plan of the formation of the present administration, Lord Moira passed through Alnwick, being sent for to town from Scotland. As he passed through the town he sent a note to the Duke, expressing his sorrow at not being able, from his anxiety to get forward, to call upon him, but to assure him of his regards, etc., and that, as no administration could be formed



without his presence and concurrence, he was obliged to be in town with all speed. Soon after his arrival in London, he wrote again to the Duke, saying that he was kept quite in the dark; he had been neglected like all the rest of the world; and that, at last, they had offered him the place of Master of the Ordnance, with a seat at the Cabinet, which he considered as an insult, and would not have taken, had it not been joined to a promise of the patronage of Scotland. This is a strange mixture of vanity and falsehood. His place is as good as he had any title to expect, and the Scotch patronage was never offered to him. He expected it, and accordingly wrote to the Lord Justice-Clerk, 'Hope' (the gentleman with the ardent mind), to inform him that the patronage would go on in its old channel, that is to say, through him, Lord Melville's friend: so much for Lord Moira, his truth, his sense, and his principles."

To Fox's ministry was now to succeed the "composite" one—that strange mixture of Foxites, Grenvillites, and "Doctors," which, as Moore happily said, was more like the brass of Corinth in the variety of the metals than in their excellence. It of course provided handsomely for the "Prince's friends." He, indeed, pressed, it was thought rather with a want of dignity, for provision for too many of his followers. Lord Moira was in the Cabinet, and the Prince pushed the claim of his friend Erskine to the Chancellorship. It was certainly a most favorable state of things for his interests. He was also eager to see Mr. Tierney in the Speaker's chair.

But here, over the division of spoil, we trace the beginning of that coldness which reached to positive dislike between the Prince and Lord Grenville. This was mortifying, considering how recently had an alliance been cemented. Almost at once we find Lord Grenville speaking of his "most unreasonable demands." He particularly resisted the appointment of Mr. Calcraft, which he complained was pressed on him "in a mode amounting to persecution."\* The Prince assured Romilly, through the mouth of Colonel MacMahon, that he had owed his appointment as Attorney-General to him, to his pressure on Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox. But the downfall of the ministry becomes the more remarkable from the change that was to take place in the Prince of Wales's opinions. The death of Fox had removed the last influence which had any positive control over him; though, as we have seen, he had long

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\* "Court and Cabinets of George III.," 17.

been already wavering. On the Catholic question his views seemed to have advanced from regarding it as "inopportune" to positive hostility. Here we can believe he was sincere.

When the "Talents" Ministry fell, to no one was the news more welcome than to the Prince of Wales. His high regard for Lord Grenville had passed away; and how bitter his feelings were will be seen from the following manifesto, which he addressed to his friend Moira, and was of course intended to be shown:

THE PRINCE OF WALES TO LORD MOIRA.

"Carlton House, March 30, 1807.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"Although I think it perfectly beneath me to notice with any degree of personal anxiety the unfounded and calumnious reports, which, I have reason to believe, have been industriously propagated respecting my motives and purposes in the present important and unfortunate crisis, yet I think it fit to place in your hands, to be used at your discretion, the only notice or refutation of the misrepresentations I allude to, which I conceive it becomes my character and my sense of my own rectitude to give to any one.

"No one, my dear friend, knows better than yourself how much and how long I have been used to find myself the mark of the most false, contemptible, and, at the same time, the most malignant slanders; nor how little disposition has ever been shown to feel for me, suffering under these attacks, or to afford me the redress which I could not but conceive myself entitled to. The motives upon which I have acted, and my future intentions, I will explain to you, my friend, in a very few sentences. From the hour of Fox's death—that friend towards whom and in whom my attachment was unbounded—it is known that my earnest wish was to retire from further concern and interference in public affairs; still, however, I was induced (upon what grounds, what arguments, and what application is not now the question, but certainly upon no personal consideration) to continue my endeavors to give every countenance and assistance in my power to the new arrangements, and to persevere to place my trust in an administration still formed of men whom I respected and esteemed; and this most sincere and warm disposition of my mind and views I communicated in a letter to Lord Howick, written a very short time after the death of my ever-to-be-lamented friend. From that period, I must declare to you with the frankness with which I have ever opened my mind to you,

I have conceived myself to have experienced the most marked neglect (to use no stronger term) from the newly constituted Administration; having been, according to my own conception, neither consulted nor considered in any one important instance—a proceeding the more observed by me on account of the contrast it exhibited to the conduct of my dear friend Fox. But of this I desire distinctly to observe that I am not now complaining, because the recollection of it has no influence whatever on my present decision, nor on the course I have thought it incumbent on me to adopt.

“For the same reason I waive entirely all observations, however painful I feel those which at this moment arise in my mind, upon the extraordinary condition in which I have been so long kept, while a victim to the most envenomed attacks of malice and falsehood, during the investigation commanded by his Majesty, respecting the conduct of the Princess of Wales; so far am I from blending any feelings (and I wish they may have been mistaken ones) which may have arisen in my breast during the discussion, with the present question. The only remark I shall make is, that I consider the last minute of the Cabinet on this subject as evincing the justice and decision of men of the highest honor, entertaining a due interest of my private character and public estimation.

“I am, at all events, incapable of allowing personal pique or disappointment, whether such opinions have been entertained through my own misapprehension or otherwise, to interfere with the great duties of my situation.

“On the subject which has occasioned the unfortunate and, I fear, irreconcilable difference between the late Ministers and my father, my opinion was ever known to themselves respecting the agitation of this question; yet neither was my advice asked when it might have been of use in the commencement of the discussion, nor my interposition desired when it might possibly have prevented an ultimate mischief. Ministers quitting office on this ground of dispute with the King, it was not possible for me to appear as the advocate and defender of the ground they had taken. I determined to resume my original purpose, sincerely prepared in my own mind on the death of poor Fox to cease to be a party man (although in alliance with him it had been the pride of my life to avow myself to be so), and to retire from taking any active line whatever, at least for the present, in political affairs.

“To this extent I deemed it my duty to communicate my resolution to the King, accompanied by such expressions of duty and



affection to his person as I thought proper to use on the occasion. Whoever by insinuation or assertion has given a different turn, or ascribed a different motive, to the course I have adopted, and to the communication above referred to with his Majesty, has most ignorantly and presumptuously misstated the fact and misrepresented me.

"I have only to add, my dear friend, that you are too well acquainted with my heart, and the steadiness of my attachments where I have once professed a friendship, not to be convinced that I continue to cherish strong sentiments of regard and esteem for many of the late ministers individually, and which I trust I shall never have any occasion to alter; and still more confident am I that it is not necessary for me to renew to you any declaration of those sentiments of unalterable affection and regard which never have yet been interrupted, and never can cease but with my life. I am, my dearest friend,

Most affectionately yours,

"G. P.

"Earl of Moira, etc."

Nothing could be more distinct. He had ceased to be "a party man." No wonder it had evidently already gone about that the Prince had deserted his friends as well as his old principles.

This letter speaks for itself, and really amounted to a break off with the old Whigs, whom he so cordially disliked in the person of Lords Grey and Grenville. The paper was (as Mr. Moore tells us) written by Sheridan, and the arguments were, no doubt, found by him. He also shows that the key to the Prince's politics was henceforth to be found in men and "predilections."

Lord Holland, too, confirms this change of opinions, and frankly owns that not the Prince but the party were to blame.

"Grey has, perhaps, neglected consulting persons somewhat too much. He wrote, however, at my request, to the Prince; and the Prince is in better humor than he was. Sheridan has been behaving strangely, and will, I fear, do much mischief. But considering his connections, talents, and appearance of steadiness to the mob and the public, I fear there is too much disposition to set him at defiance, and a greater desire to get rid of him altogether than is either prudent or perhaps right. It must be owned that the manners and tone of our Administration, amidst its many wise and liberal measures, contributed very sensibly to accelerate [its fall]. . . . The Prince of Wales, who had been active in the formation

of it, was neglected, or thought himself so. Some symptoms of his ill-humor had transpired before I was in office. That circumstance was an additional motive with me for making his approbation a condition in my acceptance of the office. His letter to me on the occasion was more than gracious; it was kind and friendly. But though he approved my taking office, and expressed some good-will to the Ministry, he distinctly disclaimed all connection with them, and repeated above once his total indifference to politics since the death of Mr. Fox. . . . I paid my personal homage pretty constantly at Carlton House; but I never sought, or rather I avoided, being the channel of any intercourse between him and the Government. I believe I did wrong; I am sure I acted unwisely for the interests of the Administration. If I had been aware of Lord Moira's overstrained scruples, I should have recommended to my colleagues a more unreserved communication with Carlton House from motives of policy; but had I been apprised of the degree to which the Prince had been consulted, not only on the formation but on the principles of the Ministry, I should have thought every member of it bound to concert with him certain public measures more fully than they did. . . . Truth compels me to acknowledge that he had some reason to complain of the Ministers, and that their impartial historian has yet more reason to lament their impolicy in neglecting him."

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1807—1808.

ON the fall of the "Talents," fortune again favored the Princess by bringing into high office her trusty champion, Mr. Perceval. Had she shown common discretion, her position would have been unassailable, for she had with her the Ministry, the King, and the public. Unfortunately, as if grown reckless, and after having so narrowly escaped a great peril, she seems to have set out on a new and erratic course, lamentably distinguished by an utter absence of caution or prudence.

Since the investigation she had attracted but little attention. She lived at Kensington Palace, where she held a sort of court, and was duly attended by the Tory nobility, who, knowing that the King was on her side, made it a point to pay their respects. Among them were the Dukes of Beaufort and Rutland, Lords Harrowby and Eldon, Mr. Perceval, and others.

There could be no doubt that the influence of the good old monarch contributed to hold all parties in check, and that the Princess herself was thus restrained from imprudent proceedings. She lived in good state at her palace, keeping also her villa at Blackheath, to which she would make excursions and bring friends to dine. She was seen at fashionable routs and parties—a strange-looking personage at times. At a ball at Mr. Hope's, of "Anastasis" celebrity, she danced. "Such an exhibition," says Miss Berry, who was presented to her that night; "but that she did not at all feel for herself she should have felt for her. Such an overdressed, bare-bosomed, painted-eyebrowed figure, one never saw." But allowance should have been made for the consciousness of her false position, hunted and harassed and watched.

"Although," says one of her observers in a graphic passage, "during the last year of her life she was bloated and disfigured by sorrow and by the life she led, the Princess was in her early youth a pretty woman: fine light hair—very delicately formed features, and a fine complexion—quick, glancing, penetrating eyes, long cut



and rather sunk in the head, which gave them much expression—and a remarkably delicately formed mouth; but her head was always too large for her body, and her neck too short; and latterly, her whole figure was like a ball, and her countenance became hardened, and an expression of defiance and boldness took possession of it, that was very unpleasant. Nevertheless, when she chose to assume it, she had a very noble air.”

She had, however, friends that were really respectable, such as Lady Anne Hamilton and Mrs. Damer. But these were gradually supplanted by a “set” of persons whose characters were marked by instability and lightness, even eccentricity. Among these were the gay and airy Lady Charlotte, a *passée* beauty whose head was turned by vanity and admiration; Lady Caroline Lamb; Lord Abercorn, the odd nobleman who slept in black satin sheets; the volatile “Monk” Lewis; the singular Ward; Lady Oxford, whose name was “in the papers;” and the lively Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, with many more.

“Her conversation,” says Miss Berry, “is certainly uncommonly lively, odd, and clever. What a pity that she has not a grain of common sense, not an ounce of ballast to prevent high spirits and a coarse mind running away with her, and allowing her to act indecorously and ridiculously whenever an occasion offers.” These words describe her accurately. On these occasions she had with her the boy “Billy Austin,” who had been the cause of such troubles, and whom she ought to have sent to school. But there was a merit in the constancy with which she clung to those whom she had once taken up. She was fond of wild and indiscreet pranks, such as going to masquerades incognita.

She was at this time completely under the influence of some Italian singers named Sapia; the result of which was that no really steady persons could continue long in her establishment.

“The Princess,” says her friend, “is always seeking amusement, and unfortunately, often at the expense of prudence and propriety. She cannot endure a dull person; she has often said to me: ‘I can forgive any fault but that.’ And the anathema she frequently pronounces upon such persons is: ‘Mine God! dat is the dullest person God Almighty ever did born!’”

But all this was really a foolishly assumed exaltation to cover her woes, and the unhappy lady was seeking such excitement to forget her trials. By 1813 she had ruefully owned to a friend that her situation was hopeless, and that there was no issue save the

death of one of the two. This issue she used openly to discuss and long for and anticipate. "After dinner," says her attendant, "her Royal Highness made a wax figure as usual, and gave it an amiable addition of large horns; then took three pins out of her garment and stuck them through and through, and put the figure to roast and melt at the fire. What a silly piece of spite! Yet it is impossible not to laugh when one sees it done."

One of her ladies reported her eagerly coming in with one of Mr. Burke's works in her hand. "Read it," she said: "he has drawn the Prince's character exactly." The passage ran: "A man without any sense of duty as a prince, without any regard to the dignity of his crown, and without any love to his people; dissolute, false, venal, destitute of any positive good qualities whatever, except a pleasant temper and the manners of a gentleman." This was told everywhere—a lamentable indiscretion, to say the least.

Passages in her letters show a lively wit and observation. Thus: "Lord Deerhurst is quite a joke to the secret marriage of the *célebré* Mrs. Panton with a Mr. Geldi, and why it is kept a secret, and why it is made public, nobody can guess, as she was her own mistress—or that she thought that she was public property, and that it would be essential to have an Act of Parliament to make an enclosure to become private property at a moment's warning."

It is remarkable, and perplexing too, that she should have attached to her interests two men of remarkable ability and character, whose support through the troubles that followed were of incalculable advantage—Mr. Canning and Mr. Brougham. The former has been believed to enjoy a particular partiality, and his extraordinary devotion to her at a later crisis, almost to the imperilling of his interests, was remarkable, so that, as Lord Campbell tells us in one of his piquant narratives, "the Regent condescended to be jealous of him." That she should have carried on the struggle for the next eight years that followed, without Mr. Brougham's aid, seems unlikely, for though she had many champions as ardent she had none so powerful and sagacious. It was in 1809 that he began to resort to her house. He had for several years previously avoided being presented to her—not wishing, he said, to be mixed up in her quarrel—and was presented to her by Canning.

According to the same authority Mr. Brougham recommended himself highly to her by his sympathy and agreeable manners, and secured a promise that he should be her future Attorney-General. He himself affects to say he was drawn to her home by the pleasant

society found there, and the chance offered of meeting Mr. Canning, Rogers, and others. He noticed that she always spoke of Lord Eldon and Mr. Perceval, though they had abandoned her. Lord Grey and the Whigs keeping away, the popular barrister felt that here was an opening for his fortunes, not to come for him under the existing administration, and, considering the condition of the Liberals, not to be looked for until years had gone by. He also contrived to win the confidence of her daughter, in whose presence he was kindly welcomed as the greatest lawyer of the day, and she was taught to look on him with kindness as the friend and adviser of her mother. Lord Campbell declares that he was founding hopes upon the failing health of the Regent, as of the reigning King. This might seem uncomplimentary to the Queen's new champion, save for its being notorious that Brougham was thoroughly *chauvin*.

At this time also we begin to have some pleasing glimpses of her daughter, the engaging young Princess Charlotte, now a little girl some ten years old. The Prince at this moment was laudably solicitous as to her education, and the following letters show him moderate and temperate in reference to the proceedings of the Princess of Wales:

THE PRINCE OF WALES TO LADY DE CLIFFORD.

"Carlton House, Saturday night, Nov. 21st, 1807.

"MY DEAR LADY DE CLIFFORD,

"I have only this moment learnt from Lady Haggerston that Lady Albemarle is safely delivered of a son. Pray accept my sincere congratulations on this event, as I do assure you that no one can participate more truly in everything that interests you than

"Your very affectionate Friend,

"GEORGE P.

"P.S.—I hope the little lady and the new-comer are both quite well. I have ordered them to be inquired after to-morrow morning, for I only heard of the circumstance too late this evening to send sooner."

THE PRINCE OF WALES TO LADY DE CLIFFORD.

"Carlton House, Tuesday night, April 19th, 1808.

"MY DEAR LADY DE CLIFFORD,

"I am much obliged to you for the communication you were so good as to make me respecting the notification you received from the Princess of Wales. You not only have acted up to the sacred



trust imposed upon you by your office in acquainting me immediately with the circumstance, but you have shown your usual excellent judgment and good taste, as well in your way of meeting the message, as in signifying to me the proposed visit, without any comment. Indeed, it was impossible for you not to know how I must regard it when you notice the date of this letter, and the time at which you receive it. You will comprehend that I did not wish to explain my sentiments more fully to you till the visit was actually over, lest the Princess should put any question to you, and that thereby you should be subjected to embarrassment by the answer you would have been forced to give. The step having been taken by the Princess, it was my wish that the visit should not be interrupted, that nothing might appear discordant to the polite attention always to be observed; though I might have my suspicion that the visit was not really made from a misconstruction of the license I had granted in a special instance, but was an attempt to pass beyond the line established by me through the King. In the regulation laid down, and transmitted by his Majesty to the Princess, it is precisely defined that she is not to visit her daughter at Warwick House, that house being considered as part of Carlton House. Charlotte's illness, which prevented her from going to her mother at Blackheath, was a case not foreseen, and was sufficient reason for relaxation in this particular instance. But as my daughter has been for some time able to go about again, that pretext must no longer remain, and I cannot assent to the Princess visiting at Warwick House on any other grounds. Her apartments not being ready at Kensington can be no excuse whatever. Should you have any apprehension of a visit hereafter, I must request of you, my dear Lady de Clifford, immediately to ask for an audience of the Princess at Blackheath, when, with all that respectful delicacy which nobody knows so well as yourself how to testify, you will explain to the Princess the line herein enjoined you, and will entreat her not to come to Warwick House, which she cannot do without my previous assent, and which can only be given on some consideration as strong as what lately induced me to grant it. According to the existing regulation, Charlotte may always (in moderation) be sent for by her mother to Blackheath or Kensington, under the limitation of its not giving any peculiar interruption to her studies or the necessary train of her education.

"I remain, my dear Lady de Clifford, with the greatest truth,  
ever your sincere friend,

GEORGE P."

Here is a natural pleasing letter of the young Princess's, unpublished hitherto.\*

"January 28th, 1808.

"MY DEAR MR. CONWAY,

"As I find you admired Mrs. Udney's snuff-box, though I should not think of making you so shabby a present, I hope you will not look to the intrinsic value of it, but receive it as a mark of the sincere regard of

"Your ever affectionate

"CHARLOTTE.

"P. S.—Perhaps you will deign to acknowledge this in person, as I find you require some bribe to come to Warwick House; and now the bust is done there is little hope of the favor of seeing you, but by some similar motive. My dear friend Mrs. U. begs her kind compliments."

The creditors of the Princess of Wales assembled on the 17th July, in consequence of an intimation to them that Mr. Adam, the Prince's chancellor, would attend, when the plan which the Prince had adopted to pay their debts, and secure them in future, would be laid before them.

"Mr. Adam then stated that the Prince's treasurer had uniformly and regularly every quarter paid the allowance of £12,000 a year to the officers of her royal highness; that this had never been in arrear one instant from 1802 to the present time; that Mr. Gray (who was present) was the person who paid it; that the Prince had always paid this sum to the Princess without deducting the income-tax, although there was £12,000 per annum deducted from him at the Exchequer on that account. That his royal highness had now increased the Princess's income to £17,000 a year, to be paid quarterly, without deducting the income-tax. That the Princess was paid for personal expenses at the Exchequer £5000 a year, making in all an income of £22,000. Unless the Prince had spontaneously undertaken for the arrangement of their debts, the creditors would have had no redress. In doing this, the Prince stipulated that he should be fully indemnified against future demands, a claim which his royal highness was justified in making, because to the £41,000 there was to be added the sum of £34,000 which the Princess had

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\* MSS., Brit. Mus.

received from his Majesty's Droits of Admiralty, making together £75,000 of debt contracted by her royal highness; which, divided on the number of years, exceeded by many thousand pounds a year the greatest income ever proposed for her royal highness; that after the payment of £41,000 had been undertaken by the Prince, and guarantee against future demands arranged to his satisfaction, Mr. Adam said that toward the conclusion of the business it was stated to him by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to be by him (Mr. Adam) laid before the Prince, that the debt was £8000 more than the £41,000. On this the Prince gave his commands to Mr. Adam to represent to the King's confidential servants that the main and principal object which had uniformly directed his royal highness's determination, and which he had never for a moment lost sight of in any one part of this transaction, had been to prevent (in these times of great and necessary expenditure) any debt of his own, or any other for which he might be considered liable, becoming either directly or circuitously a burden upon the country. That he had been likewise greatly influenced by the desire of seeing justice done to the creditors of the Princess, although under no legal obligation whatever to pay those debts. On these grounds the Prince of Wales gave it to be understood to those of his Majesty's ministers concerned in the transaction, that his royal highness would spontaneously take upon himself the payment of the sum of £8000 in addition to the rest."



## CHAPTER XXXIX.

1809.

IN January, 1809, the public were to be entertained and shocked by another unfortunate scandal connected with the Duke of York. It is hardly desirable to revive the well-known business of Mrs. Clarke, or of Colonel Wardle and other performers in the business; and we shall pass it over as lightly as possible. Never was there an affair so unlucky for all concerned—for the Duke himself, the royal family, the Ministry, and the public—who, though by this time prepared to accept any amount of scandal, were shocked at the revelations now made. One Colonel Wardle, a Member of Parliament, was the industrious agent in bringing forward the matter. It was the fashion to make her out to be a person of no education, but she could write well, and there was issued in 1798 a prospectus of a poem, called "*Ianthe*," for the benefit of Colonel Frederick's daughters and children, dedicated to the Prince of Wales, by Miss Clarke.\*

Mrs. Clarke was a daughter or god-daughter of the unfortunate "*Colonel Frederick*," son of the ill-fated Theodore of Corsica. Curiously enough, Colonel Frederick seems to have been employed by the royal brothers in negotiating their Dutch loan. It was undisputed that this lady had engaged in the trafficking of promotions in the army. These charges were solemnly made by Colonel Wardle in the January of 1809, and but for the stupid and confident self-assertion of the ministers, who protested that it was "impossible that, after the result of the inquiry, any suspicion even would attach to his royal highness," it might have been contrived that the business should not at least have been thrust upon the public. A thick volume of testimony, letters, and details connected with promotions attests the corruption that was going on. The defenders of the Duke could urge that all these promotions were of persons deserving promotion and within the Duke's discretion to promote, and that he could not help an artful woman taking bribes and giving out

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\* Cyrus Redding, "*Yesterday and To-day*," i. 224.

that she had contrived them. The Ministry affected to be indignant at the technical charge which they said was raised of the Duke's sharing the profits of these transactions: but this was a false issue, the true corruption lying in his being influenced by such a person and knowing that she was making a trade of her influence. A man of the highest honor and sagacity had listened to the whole case, and his strict impartiality may be accepted—viz. Sir S. Romilly. After stating that even the accuser Wardle was anxious that they should go before a private committee, and that the Ministry, in their foolish confidence in the Duke's innocence, hoped not only to clear the Duke, but confound their opponents, he mentioned that "written evidence and documents, not known to be in existence either by Wardle or by the principal witness, Mrs. Clarke, were discovered, and produced by the witnesses who appeared for the Duke; and these did his royal highness more mischief than anything that was said by the witnesses against him. It was established, beyond the possibility of doubt, that the Duke had permitted Mrs. Clarke to interfere in military promotions, that he had given commissions at her recommendation, and that she had taken money for the recommendations. That the Duke knew that she took money, or that he knew that the establishment which he had set on foot for her was partly supported with the money thus illegally procured by her, did not appear otherwise than from her evidence. She, however, asserted the fact directly and positively, and her evidence was supported in many other particulars which seemed the most incredible by such strong corroborations, that her character, her resentment, and her contradictions were not sufficient to render her evidence altogether incredible."

All the incidents that led to the transactions, some years old now, were "raked up." The Duke had secured his release by promising an annuity, which was left unpaid. He paid no one. Exasperated by this treatment, she addressed threatening letters to Mr. Adam, declaring that she would publish everything:

"Yet, before I do anything publicly, I will send to every one of H.R.H.'s family a copy of what I mean to publish. Had H.R.H. only been a little punctual, this request had never been made." No answer being given to this, she used another form of threat:

"I have employed myself since, in committing to paper every circumstance within my recollection during the intimacy of H.R.H. and myself. The fifty or sixty letters of H.R.H. will give weight and truth to the whole. On Tuesday I have promised to give these

up, if I hear nothing further after this last notice; and when once given out of my own possession, it will be impossible to recall."

On no notice being taken of this, the letters were put in the hands of Sir R. Philips. A threat having been used of publication, Lord Moira was employed by the Prince to interpose. Noblemen and gentlemen were thus required by the royal brethren to degrade themselves by acting as agents in this description of business.\* It was understood that Lord Moira succeeded in his negotiations, and secured the documents and letters (said to be ninety in number) as well as the "disclosures," of which 18,000 were said to have been printed off. This, it might have been hoped, would have been a warning to a man of prudence. But she was again set at defiance—the annuity left unpaid—and the result was Colonel MacMahon also took a sort of mysterious part in the affair. Mr. Lowten, the agent who had hunted up evidence in the case of the Princess of Wales, was employed in this equally savory case.†

There is a piquancy in the following scene which Colonel MacMahon described to the House of Commons:

"In consequence of an anonymous note that was written to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, promising very important communications, I did, at the command of the Prince, lightly as he treated the note, nevertheless call at No. 14, Bedford Row, Russell Square, where the note was dated from. I was conducted upstairs, where I saw the lady, whose name I was told to be Farquhar. The lady in perfect good humor came out and received me, and entered into a conversation of so general and so extraordinary a nature, that I am confident this House would not for one moment entertain it, because the tendency and intention of it was to make bad blood between two illustrious brothers, whose affections could never be shaken by any such representation; at least, I am confident that the illustrious person I have the pride and glory to serve and love would be incapable. She then told me she would show me letters to prove and to establish that there was a hatred on one part to the other: I declined seeing any letters. In this interview, at first, I stated that she was a friend of Mrs. Clarke; she said, certainly she knew Mrs. Clarke extremely intimately; that

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\* See the letter given by Mr. Cyrus Redding, who furnishes some curious details in this and other matters.

† The names Dowler, Wardle, Lowten, were later adopted by the author of "Pickwick" from this very case.



there was nobody she loved and regarded as she did Mrs. Clarke; that she perfectly knew her. She then asked me if I knew Mrs. Clarke. I said I do not. 'Do you know her, sir, by person?' I said, I believed not. 'Do you know her by character?' Yes, said I, her fame is very celebrated. I said, 'I am confident I am addressing myself to Mrs. Clarke herself.' She laughed, and said, 'I am Mrs. Clarke.' I then begged her a thousand pardons for the portrait I had drawn, but disclaimed being the painter. 'I am sure you are not, for it was Adam and Greenwood that gave you my character.' She stated to me that Mr. Adam had called upon her, and in a very firm, but steady manner, told her that the Duke of York, if she retired into the country, and conducted herself with propriety and decorum, would allow her £400 a year; that she had accordingly so retired into Devonshire for several months, but failing to receive the remittances she expected, she had been driven to town for the purpose of gaining her arrear. Upon the fairness of this statement, supposing it to be true (I do not pretend to say what my opinion of it was), I said, if your statement, Mrs. Clarke, is correct and orthodox, I will certainly wait upon Mr. Adam, and state it to him, to know where the objection lies to the payment of your annuity. I had the honor of waiting upon the Duke of York, and telling his royal highness exactly what she had stated, not pretending to vouch for its veracity in any shape whatever. His royal highness's immediate and prompt answer to me was, her conduct is so abominable that I will hear nothing at all about her. Anything I could possibly offer after what I have now said would be superfluous; there is the conclusion, that is the epilogue of anything I have to state."

It would be beside the purpose of this work to deal with the voluminous trial; but a single passage in one of the Duke's own letters to the lady is convincing: a colonel "is mistaken in thinking that any new regiments are to be raised. It is not intended; only second battalions to the existing corps. You had, therefore, better tell him so, and that you were sure there would be no use in applying for him."

Further, the contents of Mrs. Clarke's desk disclose the most extraordinary collection of these corrupt applications from officers, soldiers, footmen, and divines.\*

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\*One clergyman had preached before the King and Queen at Weymouth, and with such success that the newspapers declared that "his lips were

It was unfortunate that the matter should have turned into a party question. It was believed that Wardle himself was not immaculate, and was put forward by the more respectable Radicals, who, except Mr. Whitbread, were cautious enough in the treatment of the matter. On the other hand, the Ministry affected to believe it was an attack on the Court and Constitution, and their enemies said they were secretly delighted at an event which completely diverted public attention from mistakes of their foreign policy. But to Mr. Perceval the accused may be said to have owed the unearthing of the really damning part of the case. Having discovered that a compromising letter was lost, he recollected a favorite device at Nisi Prius, and vauntingly put forward the person whom it would have compromised, challenging examination. A most

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touched with a live coal from the altar," and the royal family were melted into tears. A passage in the Duke's letters explains how this honor was attained. "Dr. ——— called upon me yesterday morning and delivered me your letter. He wishes much to preach before royalty, and if I can put him in the way of it I will. God bless you!" adds the Duke. Mrs. Clarke's "foot-boy," who waited and cleaned plate, etc., actually received a commission. Indeed, the picture of society that was unconsciously painted during this investigation would have delighted a cynic.

Mr. Donovan, who seems to have acted as a sort of broker for the system, writes in behalf of another reverend gentleman, who is willing to give £1000 for the Deanery of Hereford, just then vacant. So also with another clergyman, who was anxious to get the Deanery of Salisbury; "and a party of ladies, unknown to him, and headed by a well-known countess, subscribed 3000 guineas. He was chaplain to the Duke of Gloucester, and would be strongly recommended by many persons of fashion, and the Bishops of Norwich and Salisbury." After waiting three months this divine took the extraordinary course of calling on the Duke of Portland, leaving the following letter:

"MY LORD DUKE,

"I wished particularly to see your Grace upon the most private business. I cannot be fully open by Letter. The object is, to solicit your Grace's recommendation to the Deanery of Salisbury, or some other Deanery, for which the most ample pecuniary remuneration I will instantly give a draft to your Grace.

"For Salisbury, Three Thousand Pounds.—I hope your Grace will pardon this, and instantly commit these lines to the flames.—I am now writing, for the benefit of Administration, a most interesting Pamphlet. Excuse this openness; and I remain your Grace's

"Most obedient and obliged Servant,

"T. BASSELY.

"P.S.—I will attend your Grace whenever you may appoint, but sincerely beg your Grace's secrecy."

dramatic scene followed. By the arts of cross-examination the truth was wrung from the witness that this letter was in existence. He was sent with the messengers of the House to his bureau, whence he returned with a whole mail of letters.

Even the judgment of Sir A. Wellesley, then in Ireland as secretary, and likely to be influenced by *esprit de corps*, is decidedly against his chief. As the force of the evidence was cumulative, and all details pointing in the same direction, all denials and vindications on the ground of the Duke's character became comparatively of no avail. It was brought out that he was negotiating a loan for £70,000 through one Kennett, to reward whose exertions he was ineffectually trying to obtain places and offices of trust.

But what is more interesting for us is the behavior of the Prince. This was of course marked with his usual vacillation. At first, with one of his rather generous impulses, he espoused his brother's side *corps et âme*. Adam, his factotum, went about showing a letter of the Prince's, in which it was stated that he would consider "an attack upon the Duke an attack upon himself." After a time, however, the Prince saw that he could not safely indulge his fraternal feelings, and determined to take no part in the business whatever. What his views were may be gathered from the following dramatic conversation reported by Lord Temple:

"On Sunday, February 26th, upon my entering the room, and inquiring after his health, he said he was well, but worried to death. He then made me sit down, and told me he wished to converse with me on the horrible scene that was passing. Upon my expressing my humble thanks for his condescension in permitting me to approach him at such a moment, and upon such a subject, and my earnest wish to learn what his opinions and feelings were, so far as he would allow me to hear them, he told me that I could easily guess what his feelings must be at seeing this attack made upon his family at the moment when he was mounting the throne; that his opinions were that his brother had brought all this upon himself, that he had behaved shabbily to the woman to whom he had promised an allowance which, small as it was, he had not paid; that a 'gentleman's word was sacred, and that he could not talk of his honor as a Prince, who could not keep his promise as a gentleman;' that he had no wishes upon the subject, as he was determined not to interfere one way or the other. He had not been consulted either by the King, the Duke, or the ministers; and therefore he would not meddle in the matter. That his brother had not thanked him



even for communicating to him through MacMahon an anonymous letter which he had received, as appeared afterwards, from Mrs. Clarke, warning him of what had since happened; that ministers he detested, and would have nothing to say to them; and that from his father he had received no communication; that one of his sisters had written to pump him, and to her he had given no answer; and that the Duke of Cumberland had called upon him for the same purpose, to whom he had plainly said, that if the King wished to hear his sentiments, he would not communicate them to him through a third person.

“He said he considered the letter sent to the House of Commons as a most ill-advised measure, that it was a breach of privilege, and could not fail of calling the attention of Parliament; that he knew the circumstances attending the transaction; that the Cabinet had written a letter for the Duke, notifying to the House of Commons his resignation, but that the Duke had positively refused to sign it; that he had sent another form to the Cabinet, which they refused to agree to, and in their turn had sent a third, which was presented.\*

“I hereupon ventured to express my joy that he had determined to adopt the line he had suggested to me, that the times were tremendous, and that, however harsh it might appear to his ears, as an honest man I must tell him, the opinion of the country was taken as to the Duke, and that its eyes were now turned upon him; that if he pursued the line he had mentioned, he would be carried to the throne upon the shoulders of his people; whereas, if he joined in saving the Duke, provided his guilt appeared manifest, my firm opinion was, that he would have a struggle. In confirmation of this, I mentioned all I knew of the ferment raised in the country, the City of London, and in Westminster, and what was nightly the language in the debating societies.

“Of all this he said he was aware, but he could not rise upon his brother's fall, that vigorous measures must be resorted to, for the purpose of keeping the people in order, and mentioned the old Sedition Bills. I told him he must pardon me, such measures could not and must not be resorted to. The tranquillity of his people depended upon Parliament doing its duty, and his forbearance. He said that was true, and, however bitter the pill, it must be swallowed, but that the debating clubs must be kept in order. The occasion of the whole of this cry was Mrs. Clarke's becoming

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\* That this is accurate is shown by Lord Colchester's "Diary."

the instrument of the printers against whom prosecutions were pending on the Duke's behalf, and that Wardle, Folkestone, and Whitbread were at the bottom of the conspiracy. I said the real conspirators were the ministers, who, looking only to their own places, had, to secure momentary popularity, thrown the ball loose, and could not catch it again, and had put up the son of their King into a pillory for everybody to pelt and insult.

"He agreed with me, and said that if Pitt or Fox had been alive this would not have happened, and that if Lord Grenville had been minister he would never have suffered it. I replied that if Lord Grenville had been minister, or if Lord Grey had remained in the House of Commons, this would not have happened; that if the Duke had been guilty, his guilt would not have been screened, but that the peace of the country and the security of his crown would not have been put into hazard.

"To all this he assented. He said, however, it was hard that a man should be condemned without trial, and expressed his hope that an impeachment would be the measure resorted to. I told him it was my duty to tell him that I did not think that would be the case. I had not at all made up my mind upon the evidence, the whole of which I was not master of, but that I had no hesitation in saying that there was nothing which could implicate the Duke as participator, either directly or indirectly, in Mrs. Clarke's corruption. He said then that the Duke ought to have resigned, and have taken the chance of reappointment in case of his innocence being proved.

"He asked whether I thought there was any way of bringing the matter before the House of Peers. I told him certainly not—that ministers had now put the thing out of their own control, that it must take its chance and its course; that the cup must be drunk, and that all that could be done was to take care that he (the Prince) should not be forced to drink the dregs, and that that would be best avoided by his stoutly persevering in the line he had laid down, to take no part. I concluded by telling him that this neither would nor should be a party business. He then put an end to the conversation by the warmest expressions of kindness to myself, by authorizing me to say that he meant to keep an exact and a bonâ-fide neutrality, but expressing his hope that it would be recollected that the attack was made upon the throne, and that an attack upon the throne was an attack upon the vital principles of the country. We parted with many expressions on his part of thanks, etc.

"My conviction is that his alarm is very great, that he thinks extremely ill of the Duke's case, and is ready to give him up, if he could think that he would be supported in so doing, and that the fall of the Duke would not necessarily include a victory gained by the Republican party."

Such was this characteristic scene. No wonder the Prince was disgusted; on the other side he was being pressed by the King and the Court, who were in an agony of mind on account of the anxiety and impending disgrace. The Queen was writing to him, imploring him to come forward and shield his brother—that the King's life and health were in the balance. But the Prince was not to be moved. He determined to send his henchman, MacMahon, to vote for the Duke, to show that his master did not condemn his brother. But the votes he commanded, such as the Duke of Norfolk's and Duke of Northumberland's, he declined to interfere with.

At last, on February 23rd, the Speaker read an appeal from the Duke to the House:

"Horse Guards, Feb. 23rd, 1800.

"SIR,

"I have waited with the greatest anxiety until the Committee appointed by the House of Commons to inquire into my conduct as Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's Army had closed its examinations, and I now hope that it will not be deemed improper to address this letter through you to the House of Commons.

"I observe with the deepest concern that in the course of this inquiry my name has been coupled with transactions the most criminal and disgraceful; and I must ever regret and lament that a connection should ever have existed which has thus exposed my character and honor to public animadversion.

"With respect to my alleged offence, connected with the discharge of my official duties, I do, in the most solemn manner, upon my honor as a prince, distinctly assert my innocence, not only by denying all corrupt participation in any of the infamous transactions which have appeared in evidence at the bar of the House of Commons, or any connivance at their existence, but also the slightest knowledge or suspicion that they existed at all.

"My consciousness of innocence leads me confidently to hope that the House of Commons will not, upon such evidence as they have heard, adopt any proceedings prejudicial to my honor and character; but if, upon such testimony as has been adduced against



me, the House of Commons can think my innocence questionable, I claim of their justice that I should not be condemned without trial, or be deprived of the benefit and protection which is afforded to every British subject by those sanctions, under which alone evidence is received in the ordinary administration of the law.

"I am, Sir, yours,

"FREDERIC."

This appeal did not stay the march of the impeachment. This letter had been settled by the Cabinet, who in their private councils were much embarrassed as to what course to take. Lord Melville—whose own turn was to come a little later—thought the position so serious that he suggested, that after passing judgment, the House should deliver a homily to the royal brothers generally, with a hope that the unfortunate transaction might convince the various members that "right and decorous conduct" was essentially necessary. The most emphatic condemnation of the whole course taken came from Canning. His opinion all through was the sagacious one: that the Duke should have resigned after the charges were made, and have retired until he was cleared.\*

On March 20th, the ministers succeeded in carrying the acquittal of the Duke on the charges of corruption with a mild rebuke, which was in an encomium, for the third resolution gave praise to his exemplary conduct in the discharge of his official duties, with an allusion to the regret and concern expressed by his royal highness, and "a confidence that his future life," etc. This, however, would scarcely clear him with the public, and he at once resigned. It is amusing to find what view the Chancellor took of it. "While we were sitting together," he says, "a messenger arrived from Windsor with one of the most affecting letters from the King to his servants, enclosing another of the most affecting letters of the Duke of York to his father, I ever read, the latter offering the Duke's resignation, the former accepting it. People, as far as I have seen anybody, seem affected by this step, but whether the 'Bloodhounds of St. Stephen's,' " etc.†

Lord Dundas, a decayed veteran, was appointed in his place till the matter should be forgotten, which it speedily was, all interest being absorbed in the new struggle now at hand. It is pleasant to

\* See his admirable letter, "Life of Perceval," i. 323.

† "Life of Lord Eldon," ii. 71.

find that on the eve of the poor King's last aberration of mind, from which he never recovered, that his son should have addressed the following becoming and affectionate message. After signifying his concurrence in the King's choice of Archdeacon Short as Sub-Preceptor, the Prince proceeds:

"I cannot conclude this letter without expressing to your Lordship the sincere gratification with which I have received, through your Lordship, his Majesty's sentiments respecting this most interesting subject: and I trust to the very particular attention which has marked your Lordship's proceedings through the whole of this business, to take the most suitable course of conveying to the King, with the most profound respect and duty on my part, the feelings with which I am impressed on this occasion by his Majesty's most gracious and condescending attention to me.

"I am, my Lord, very sincerely yours,

"GEORGE P.

"Carlton House, May 8th, 1810."

## CHAPTER XL.

1810—1811.

TOWARD the autumn of the year 1810 there were symptoms that the aged King, now half blind, was fast hurrying to a renewed attack of his old illness. The more remote cause was the semi-religious agitation due to the dread of the Catholic claims. This itself seemed mania. But what plunged him into insanity was the fatal illness of his loved daughter, the Princess Amelia, whose last touching words: "Remember me, but do not grieve for me," must have helped the stroke. She died on November 2nd.

The illness of this amiable Princess, only twenty-seven years of age, caused much anxiety in her own family, by whom she was tenderly beloved. This is shown by an interesting unpublished letter: .

PRINCESS MARY TO MRS. ANNE SMITH.

"Augusta Lodge, Windsor,

"January the 9th, 1810.

"MY DEAR MRS. ANNE SMITH,

"I wish it was in my power to send you as good an account of dear Amelia as all those who love her must pray for. I think I may venture to say that she certainly is not worse since Sir H. Halford and Baillie have been called in; and, as they are gone, I trust I may add, the new plan does not disagree; but, until the constant pain in the side is removed, I never can feel happy about her. She has very unfortunately got cold this last week, which Sir H. Halford still hopes to keep off her lung. Amelia desires her most affectionate love, and begs me to say how much she is obliged to you for all the kind inquiries you have made at different times after her, and how happy she shall be to see you whenever she is well enough, but now she is unequal to seeing anybody but her own family, and . . . both Sir H. Halford and Baillie declared much depended on it. I hope you are quite well, and your little boy likewise. I am



sure Adolphus will be very sorry he was not at home when her Grace called. God bless you, and believe me,

“Your affectionate Friend,

“MARY.”

In these troubles the Princess of Wales came to offer her sympathy, and thus describes her reception:

#### THE PRINCESS OF WALES TO A FRIEND.

“DEAR ———,

“I am in a state of rage, being just returned from a visit to the Queen, who received me in a most cavalier manner. Luckily I restrained myself whilst in her august presence; but I could have abused her gloriously, so angry did I feel at the old Begum. I will not submit again in a hurry to such a reception. She never asked me to sit down. Imagine such a piece of ridiculous pride! And when I asked after my poor dear uncle, and said I should like to see him, she made me for answer, ‘The King is quite well, but he will not see you.’ I replied, ‘Madame, I shall ask his Majesty himself;’ she said *nothing*, but smiled her abominable smile of derision.

“Talking of kings and queens, I heard the other day, from a lady who lives a good deal at court and with courtiers, that a most erroneous opinion is formed in general of the Princess E——. The good-humor for which she has credit is only an outward show, and this is exemplified in her conduct to the poor Princess A——, who is dying—quite given over, though her decay may be slow and tedious. The Princess —— and S—— are devoted to her; but Princess E—— treats her with the most cruel unkindness and ill-temper. So much for court gossip. Thank God, I do not live with them! Everybody believes Princess A—— is married to Mr. F——y, and they say she has confessed her marriage to the King, who is miserable at his expected loss of his daughter, who is his favorite; and I do not wonder, for she always appeared to me the most amiable of the whole set. So she is destined to be taken away. Well—perhaps it is as happy for her, *poor ting*, that she should; for there is not much felicity, I believe, amidst dem all. When I left the royal presence, I thought to myself, You shall not catch me here again in a hurry. No, truly, I would rather have

*noting* to do with *de* royal family, and be treated as a cipher, than be subject to such haughtiness as I was shown to-day."

So early as October 25th, the old "hurries" and excited utterances showed that the disease had returned with some severity. Colonel Willis was sent for by the Prince on November 1st to Windsor, "to make some arrangements about wine for the Queen at Frogmore,"—Willis belonging to the Board of Green Cloth. He then talked freely of the situation. He said that the King was as ill as ever, that the Chancellor and Lord Wellesley had called him out of bed in the morning to tell him of the serious condition of the King. He added the significant remark, speaking "emphatically," that "there are times that require the entire vigor of Government, while its whole vigor cannot be exerted, and you must see that the present state of things cannot add to the strength of the present ministry." He then went to dine with the Queen. He returned about eight o'clock, with the Duke of Cumberland, "whose behavior and conversation, as was indeed to be expected, was of a nature as to coarseness as would have disgraced one of his own grooms." The Prince seemed suspicious of the designs of the ministers, though a letter sent by Mr. Perceval to inform him of what had been done in Parliament, gratified him. He was in spirits, talked of a variety of subjects, and gave an imitation of Grattan that Colonel Willis thought "would have done credit to the best actor of the day." The company broke up at midnight. The poor Princess died on the same day!

The painful task remained of communicating the sad news to the old King. When Sir Henry Hallford, the physician, came to break it to him, he anticipated him, saying: "I know what you would tell me, my poor girl is dead." But a more delicate duty remained. It was believed by the public that she had left a number of small bequests to her friends, to discharge which she had directed that all her jewels and trinkets should be sold. But "the Prince of Wales," said the newspapers, "which is another proof of the benignity of his mind, took upon himself to pay her debts and legacies, and presented the jewels and other ornaments to Princess Mary." "Benignity of mind" was, however, scarcely the motive. The truth was that she had bequeathed all her little property to a friend, and so unusual a disposition gave rise to gossip.

It has long been believed that this amiable Princess was secretly married, and that on her death-bed she confided the story to her

father. Of this there can be little doubt. Captain, afterwards General Fitzroy, was the person to whom she was thus espoused, to whom she had formed an attachment when thrown in his society at Weymouth and other places. We find the Princess repeating that "every one believes that Princess Amelia is married to Mr. Fitzroy." And the lady whom he subsequently married, and who survived him, often talked freely of the matter to persons now living. Nay, it has been confidently asserted that all, or nearly all, her sisters had contracted similar alliances with persons in private stations. Colonel Garth, it has been stated, was one thus distinguished, also a well-known physician of the Court, though on no foundation.

The following lines were written by her a little before her death:

Unthinking, idle, wild, and young,  
 I laugh'd, and danc'd, and talk'd, and sung;  
 And proud of health, of freedom vain,  
 Dream'd not of sorrow, care, or pain;  
 Concluding, in those hours of glee,  
 That all the world was made for me.  
 But when the hour of trial came,  
 When sickness shook this trembling frame,  
 When folly's gay pursuits were o'er,  
 And I could dance and sing no more;  
 It then occur'd, how sad 'twould be,  
 Were this world only made for me.

The original MS. was sold not long since at a public auction.

Sir H. Halford, who was now to take a leading, though not conspicuous, part in the transactions that followed, was one of those adroit physicians whom a court training forms, and of which there has been a regular succession about the English royal family. He had the confidence of the Queen and her family, and was employed in many delicate matters. The Queen dared not; Perceval and the Chancellor successively undertook the disclosure and shrank from it, imposing it on Sir Henry. "Never," he told Miss Wynne, "can he forget the feelings with which, having requested some private conversation with the King after the other physicians were gone, he was called into a window, with the light falling so full on his countenance, that even the poor nearly blind King could see it. He asked whether it would be agreeable to him to hear now how Princess Amelia had disposed of her little property. 'Certainly, certainly; I want to know,' with great eagerness. Sir Henry reminded him at the beginning of his illness he had appointed Fitzroy to ride



with her; how he had left him with her at Weymouth; how it was natural and proper that she should leave him some tokens for these services; that excepting jewels she had nothing to leave, and had bequeathed them all to him; that the Prince of Wales, thinking jewels a very inappropriate bequest for a man, had given Fitzroy a pecuniary compensation for them (his family, by-the-bye, always said it was very inadequate), and had distributed slight tokens to all the attendants and friends of the Princess, giving the bulk of the jewels to Princess Mary, her most constant and kindest of nurses. Upon this the poor King exclaimed, 'Quite right and proper.' " \*

It will be seen, too, how adroitly the physician contrived to steer his course between the Queen and Princes.

During the last years of the poor King's decay it is curious to note how an old romance had been called up, and added one more to his other delusions. Some fifty years before there had walked at his coronation a lovely young creature, just married—the fair Lady Pembroke—who seems to have then made a deep impression on his heart. This, through the long interval, had been well-nigh effaced, or consigned to the limbo of boyish fancies, until his recovery from the attack of derangement in 1787, when his family were surprised by his recurring to this *penchant*. The lady was then a mature matron.

Talking with Mrs. Harcourt, the dissatisfied Duke of Gloucester declared that "he had heard of a wicked plot of the Prince to gain over Lady P—— and govern the King through her, thus oversetting the Queen's influence. They had kept it out of their papers, but now they had disposed of his silence a few squibs had appeared.† It was at the Windsor Court that this *penchant* was manifested.‡

\* I have heard it stated, too, that after receiving the jewels from the too-confiding Fitzroy, the Prince turned his back on him at the next levee.

† "Diary," p. 42.

‡ Sir G. Elliot, writing to his wife, said: "That the Queen seemed uneasy, and tried to prevent it as often as she could; but that the Queen being at last engaged with somebody in conversation the King slipped away from her, and got to the other end of the room where Lady Pembroke was, and that Lady Pembroke seemed distressed." "One day," Sir H. Halford told Miss Wynne, "when the King fancied himself surrounded by servants only, and when a medical attendant was watching unseen, he took a glass of wine and water and drank to the health *conjugis meæ dilectissimæ Elizabethæ*, meaning Lady Pembroke. Here was a delusion clearly established and noted down immedi-

There is a strange tragic interest in the introduction of the physician who alone seemed to have possessed the art of restraining the royal patient. The Willises, as Dr. John Willis told Mr. Julian Young when an octogenarian, had excited the anger of the Prince by not allowing him access to the King, and also that of the Queen. When this new attack came on, the royal family at once thought of Willis, and the Chancellor came to him to say it was necessary he should attend. The other firmly refused, alleging the dislike with which he was regarded at Court. On which he was surprised one morning, when sitting down to breakfast in his house at Bolton, by seeing the carriage of the Regent drive up. The Prince entered, put on his most seductive and gracious manner, talked of everything that was amusing, and invited himself to breakfast. After that meal was over he came to business. "Putting his hand affectionately on my knee, he said: 'Old friend and faithful servant, I have risen early from my bed that I may have the satisfaction of saying *Peccavi!* . . . . The truth is, I have long felt angry with you, and I will tell you why. The last time the King was under your charge I was staggered by seeing a board with these words printed in large characters: "No one to pass this way without permission from John Willis, M.D." Knowing the objection the Queen had to my seeing my father, I fancied there must be some understanding between her Majesty and yourself as to my exclusion. The Chancellor, however, has explained everything to me. He assures me that the notice was never intended to apply to me or my brother.' And he then added, that after this explanation he hoped they would be friends. Touched by such condescension," goes on the doctor, "I knelt down, kissed his hand, and attempted to falter forth my gratitude. During his breakfast the Prince was playful and jocose."

The result was that the doctor proceeded once more to Windsor. He found his way to his old quarters, where the King was, the servants looking at him askance. He was ascending the stairs when he

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ately: the use of Latin, which was not to be understood by those whom he supposed only to hear him, affording a singular proof of the odd cunning of insanity. A few days after, Sir Henry was walking with him on the terrace. He began talking of the Lutheran religion, of its superiority to that of the Church of England, and ended with growing so vehement, that he really ranted forth its praise without mentioning that which Sir Henry believes to have been the real motive of this preference—the left-handed marriages allowed."

heard the sound of singing and whistling, and presently the figure of the King was seen arrayed in the blue coat, star, cocked hat, and top-boots, so familiar from pictures all over the kingdom. He had a whip, with which he was switching his boots carelessly. At the sight of the doctor he gave a piteous shriek: "Oh! John Willis again! God help me!" and fell on the ground in a fit.

The confusion and embarrassment caused by the King's malady may be conceived, and each party, helped by the experience of twenty years before, determined to take every advantage that was offered. The Queen and Court had begun by trying to conceal the illness, so that Lord Grenville, who on October 26th met the poor King riding, heard him talking so loud and fast as to be remarked at a considerable distance.

The Queen knew her power and the advantages of her situation, and determined to use them. With her son in her own camp and bent on carrying out his own aims, it may be conceived how painful was the state of things at Windsor. The position of the Prince of Wales attracted all eyes, and, indeed, was an embarrassing one. At first, recollecting the inconvenience and ill-success of the course he had before pursued, he had determined on the rather selfish one of remaining passive. When, on November 1st, the Chancellor came to condole with him on the state of things, the Prince said coldly: "He had only to lament it—it was for the King's servants to act." And the Duke of York reported to Mr. Perceval that his brother had told him, "he intended to be very moderate in all his proceedings;" while Lord Bulkely later on had heard that he was "very secret, guarded, and *boutonné*." Such behavior offended his "friends," who complained that "his conduct was not such as would benefit his interest. It professes not to interfere, and at the same time expresses a wish and hope that his friends will support his object. No object can be supported unless it is avowed." Still he had expressly given authority for saying that "he abhorred the present men."

It would appear, however, that this "game" failed, and that the Queen and Mr. Perceval were not to be won. They had determined to follow the course of 1789, and had no idea of leaving the Prince unfettered, more particularly as they now knew or suspected that his feelings to the more respectable wing of the Liberals had cooled. There were great delays however before he could be allowed to see their hand, for Parliament met on November 1st, and the debate was put off by successive adjournments until December



12th; during which interval it was announced that all was going on well "in that quarter, viz. the Prince's side, but that the cabal was rising rapidly, and was now become a scene of violent intrigue;" while the Duke of Cumberland went about praising the Prince for his "prudent and temperate conduct," adding that he had seen none of the Opposition, that he had no objection to the present ministry, and insinuating very strongly that his behavior in case of a regency would depend on theirs towards the Prince—that he should expect to be treated like a gentleman, and not like a ruffian. In addition, a correspondent of Lord Auckland's was of opinion that our present rulers were sagacious, and he forecasted that they should see Sheridan and Perceval "hand in glove." Lord Moira, who talked unguardedly in the first week of November, declared that the Prince did not mean to remove the present ministry, but "merely to introduce a friend into the Cabinet."\*

All these remarkable confessions showed pretty convincingly what the early intentions of the Prince were, and how they were anticipated. But now, on the 19th of December, he received a disagreeable surprise in the shape of a communication from the minister, which showed him that his moderate behavior had been in vain. He learned that he was to be tied and fettered by restrictions, almost the same as those which had caused him so much annoyance before.

The Prince did not throw away a single chance, and the Government complained of his open canvassing. The Duke of Cumberland assured one lord that it would be highly agreeable to the King if he voted against the restrictions. The other replied that that seemed strange, as the first act of the King, after his recovery in 1789, was to thank him heartily for the way in which he had defended his interests. †

The restrictions were these: 1. From making peers. 2. Granting offices in reversion or pensions. 3. The King's property to lie in trustees. 4. The care of the King to be entrusted to the Queen and a Council. To this he replied:

#### THE PRINCE OF WALES TO MR. PERCEVAL.

"Carlton House, Wednesday Evening, December 19, 1810.

"The Prince acknowledges the receipt of Mr. Perceval's detailed statement of those measures which, Mr. Perceval informs him, his

\* R. P. Ward, "Diary," i. 299.

† Ibid. 306.

Majesty's confidential servants have decided to submit to the Lords and Commons now assembled, as the means of providing for the exercise of the royal authority, should the King's indisposition unhappily be protracted.

"The Prince, though fully sensible of the attention of this early communication, cannot but in some degree feel embarrassed by it, inasmuch as it rests not with him to judge, nor does he deem himself entitled to assume, how far the wisdom of the two Houses of Parliament may think it advisable for the public welfare to adopt the plan communicated by Mr. Perceval. Were it not for this difficulty, the Prince would refer Mr. Perceval to the Prince's answer to Mr. Pitt's letter on the 30th of December, 1788, that letter containing the outlines of the plan intended then to be acted upon by his Majesty's confidential servants. But the Prince thinks it essential to observe that that communication was not made by Mr. Pitt till after the two Houses of Parliament had come to certain resolutions as the groundwork of that plan. That answer remains on record, and as the sentiments contained in it were founded on a solemn contemplation of the principles of the British Constitution, as well as an earnest desire to be able conscientiously to discharge the functions of government in behalf of his beloved and revered father and sovereign, in such a manner as might best satisfy his Majesty's well-known and constant anxiety for the advantage and honor of his people, the Prince has only to declare that these sentiments admit of no change.

"The Prince cannot conclude without expressing his deep affliction at the melancholy event which has rendered his communication from Mr. Perceval necessary, and without declaring that it will be the happiest moment of the Prince's life to be enabled, by the restoration of his Majesty's health, instantly to deposit at his feet those powers (and he trusts unimpaired) which the Constitution has pronounced to be inseparable from the exercise of the royal authority."

On the same day the following was drawn up:

"Carlton House, Wednesday Night, 12 o'clock,

"December 19, 1810.

"Sir,

"The Prince of Wales having assembled the whole of the male branches of the royal family, and having communicated to us the plan, intended to be proposed by his Majesty's confidential

servants to the Lords and Commons, for the establishment of a restricted Regency, should the continuance of his Majesty's ever-to-be-deplored illness render it necessary, we feel it a duty we owe to his Majesty, to our country, and to ourselves, to enter our solemn protest against measures that we consider as perfectly unconstitutional, as they are contrary to, and subversive of, the principles which seated our family upon the throne of these realms.

"FREDERICK,                      WILLIAM,

"EDWARD,                      ERNEST,

"AUGUSTUS FREDERICK,      ADOLPHUS FREDERICK,  
"WILLIAM FREDERICK."

On the following day the House met and the three resolutions were debated, namely, the incapacity of the King, the right of the House to supply for it, and the mode of giving the royal assent. The last resolution constituted "the Phantom," namely, the investing the Great Seal with a kingly magic.

On January 1 the restrictions were debated, and to the great delight of the Opposition; for a proposition that there should be no restrictions was defeated by only twenty-four votes. This defeat became a victory when it was proposed to entrust the entire household to the Queen, the Opposition being willing only to concede to her the direction of such officials as were necessary "for the care of the King's person." In the House of Lords ministers sustained defeats. It was agreed that there was a certain stupidity and want of sense in their tactics, for when they found the Prince in so favorable a mood they might have been expected to conciliate him. This view is also supported by what he allowed to escape him to Lord Wellesley, now one of his ardent friends, who waited on him to explain that he had voted for the restrictions from principle. He became angry, "and expressed his concern and surprise that any friend of his could suppose he took his proffered restrictions well, but he could not help feeling, then, a personal want of confidence in himself which he did not deserve, and therefore took it personally ill of the ministry; that it would have been the pride of his heart if the King recovered to restore things to him as much as possible in the same state as he found them, without being restricted to do so, but that the ministers had now by their conduct rendered that impossible." The date of this utterance was early in January. Considering that Lord Wellesley was then one of the ministry it is scarcely surprising that this visit caused some talk.



The Prince is said to have dismissed him abruptly with the remark that he had business and would not keep him from his dinner.\*

Accordingly, we are not surprised to find the Prince thrown again into relation with his old friends of the Opposition and in earnest communication with the two leaders, "Lords G. and G.," as they were often spoken of in letters of the time—Grey and Grenville—solemn unbending figures that would have appeared uncongenial to the debonair Prince, who desired not to be teased, and above all not to be solemnly lectured. Even to the general reader these two nobles always appear to come on the scene in pedagoguish fashion, with long and solemn letters, arriving from "Dropmore" and "Howick," returning home to those residences after many a bootless errand.

Lord Grey, who had left town at the close of the debates, now returned. On his road he had been met by letters informing him that "the Prince had at last sent for Lord Grenville, and had also required his presence."† Both anticipated being called to power.

The Prince could not have been in the best of humors with Lord Grenville, who had just voted for one of the restrictions, after first voting against them, on some refinement. His position was embarrassing, as on the last Regency question he had taken a different course. But they were little prepared for the rebuff they were to receive almost at starting. That Sheridan had been the real moving influence through all these transactions was now to be shown in rather a mortifying way. Lord Grey himself tells the story of this first shipwreck, and the bitterness of his tone will be noted.

Writing to Lady Grey, on January 12th, he says: "I told you that Sheridan was acting in his usual spirit of mischief. The Prince had referred it to Lord Grenville and me to draw up an answer to the two Houses. We had prepared one accordingly, with some difficulty in reconciling our different opinions on the subject of restrictions. Lord Grenville, however, gave way as much as I thought necessary, and the answer, though it certainly needed correction, would, I think, with such corrections as might easily have been made, have done very well. I read it to the Prince on Thursday evening, saying I was at Holland's, ready to receive his commands if he wished for any alterations. Instead of taking this course he set to work with Sheridan and Adam after

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\* "Life of Lord Grey," p. 265.

† Ward, "Diary," i. 323.

dinner to examine it; and the former, after pulling it to pieces, paragraph by paragraph, finally persuaded the Prince to reject it, and to substitute one of his own. They came to me with the information of this result at Holland's between eleven and twelve, and desired me to read the answer that had been agreed upon. I did so, saying that I should do nothing more; that as the Prince had rejected the answer which I had framed with Lord Grenville, I could not concur in framing another, and that my opinion of that proposed was, that it was, in its whole tenor and character, utterly objectionable. I added that the Prince had certainly a right to adopt the answer which he approved most of, but that it must be understood that it was adopted without the concurrence of Lord Grenville and myself, and that we could not be responsible for it. Sheridan attempted some discussion, which I declined, seeing that he was pursuing it in a way which I thought extremely improper, and feeling that I could not very well command my temper. I therefore, after expressing these opinions, remained very silent, and showed what I hear he has represented, with less departure from the truth than usual, a good deal of haughtiness and ill-humor. I afterwards remonstrated privately with Adam on the impropriety of having the advice which Lord Grenville and I were called upon to give subjected in this manner to the examination of an inferior Council, and stated that if such was to be the practice, I must decline giving any in future. . . . I heard from Lauderdale that Sheridan afterwards resumed the discussion with Lord Holland, who expressed as strong an opinion upon the impropriety of the whole proceeding as possible. Yesterday morning I had a note from Adam, saying that he had been kept up till half-past three at Carlton House, and enclosing the answer which had been finally agreed upon. He called soon after, and then we went to Camelford House, from which place Lord Grenville and I sent a short note to the Prince.\* We afterwards sent a long written representation on the treatment that we had received, where the matter now rests.

“In the course of the transaction Sheridan's lying and baseness

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\* “Lord Grey and Lord Grenville desire Mr. Adam to express on their part their dutiful acknowledgments to the Prince for the gracious communication of the answer which his Royal Highness intends making to the deputation from the two Houses this day. On the tenour of that answer it would be presumptuous in them to offer any opinion in a case where their advice is not required by his royal highness. January 11, 1811.”

have been beyond all description. Adam, on the contrary, has behaved as well as possible. Upon the whole I think it lucky that the thing has occurred, as it has given us in the outset an opportunity of meeting and repelling a danger to which we should have been continually liable. The answer you will see in the papers, with its puling phrases of 'reverential delicacy,' etc., in the style of a vulgar novel, but it is infinitely less objectionable, bad as it still is, than in the way in which it first appeared."

The stand thus taken by Lord Grey and Lord Grenville against the interference of secret advisers seems to have greatly alarmed the Prince for the moment, and he called personally on Lord Holland the next day, and seemed, as Lord Holland wrote to Lord Grenville, "anxious to do away any unpleasant feelings on the subject of the answer to the resolution of the two Houses; and said he thought it best to have no more said on the subject. At the same time he observed, and authorized me and Adam to repeat to Lord Grey and you, that the misapprehension had arisen from the different views which he and you had taken of this stage of the proceeding: in which, according to his notions, you were not yet in a situation when his advisers would become strictly and constitutionally responsible, but which you had considered as placing you in that situation."

Of this explanation Lord Grey said, that it was "in fact acknowledging that he had no answer to give, and was, as anything would have been, short of defending the practice, sufficient for our satisfaction. What has happened will not, therefore, I think, be without its advantages."

There could be no doubt that the two lords had been treated unceremoniously, and in their complaint they reminded the Regent that he had distinctly allotted to them the duty of preparing his answer, a task signifying they were his advisers, and spoke of his concern that their wish should have been submitted to the judgment of another person, by whose advice he was finally guided. Lord Lauderdale happened to be present when Sheridan was at his task, and heard Lord Holland remonstrate earnestly, saying that the two lords ought to have been sent for if objection was taken to their work. "Sheridan muttered something about his thinking that the Prince was not yet in a situation to have a responsible adviser, which was flatly contradicted."\* And indeed there was so much

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\* General Grey, "Memoir," pp. 266, 439.



dissatisfaction, that Sheridan on January the 15th addresssd a vindication of himself to Lord Holland, which, if we can accept it, shows that the confusion arose from the vacillation of the Prince. "On Sunday the 7th, he says, he mentioned at Carlton House that the Prince ought to have his answer ready, and was told by Adam or Lord Moira, two of the 'intimate counsellors,' that the Prince had directed Lord Moira to prepare one. It then occurred to him that he would attempt a sketch of one, which on the Wednesday he read to the Prince. As it was rather artfully composed 'of expressions and sentiments which had fallen from the Prince himself in different conversations,' it naturally pleased. The Prince carelessly said that Lord Grenville had undertaken 'a sketch,' as had also Lord Moira. On his dining at Carlton House on Thursday the paper prepared by the two lords was shown to him. The Prince, however, who had read the noble lords' paper, proceeded to state how strongly he objected to almost every part of it. The draft delivered by Adam he took a copy of himself, as Mr. Adam read it, affixing shortly, but warmly, his comments to each paragraph. Finding his royal highness's objections to the whole radical and insuperable, and seeing no means myself by which the noble lords could change their draft, so as to meet the Prince's ideas, I ventured to propose, as the only expedient of which the time allowed, that both the papers should be laid aside, and that a very short answer indeed, keeping clear of all topics liable to disagreement, should be immediately sketched out and be submitted that night to the judgment of Lord Grey and Lord Grenville. The lateness of the hour prevented any but very hasty discussion, and Adam and myself proceeded, by his royal highness's orders, to your house to relate what had passed to Lord Grey. Before we left Carlton House, it was agreed between Adam and myself that we were not to communicate to the noble lords the marginal comments of the Prince, and we determined to withhold them. But at the meeting with Lord Grey, at your house, he appeared to me, erroneously perhaps, to decline considering the objections as coming from the Prince, but as originating in my suggestions. Upon this, I certainly called on Adam to produce the Prince's copy, with his notes, in his royal highness's own handwriting. Afterwards, finding myself considerably hurt at an expression of Lord Grey's, which could only be pointed at me, and which expressed his opinion that the whole of the paper, which he assumed me to be responsible for, was 'drawn up in an invidious spirit,' I certainly did, with more warmth than

was perhaps discreet, comment on the paper proposed to be substituted; and there ended, with no good effect, our interview. Adam and I saw the Prince again that night, when his royal highness was graciously pleased to meet our joint and earnest request, by striking out from the draft of the answer, to which he still resolved to adhere, every passage which we conceived to be most liable to objection on the part of Lord Grey and Lord Grenville.

“On the next morning, Friday—a short time before he was to receive the address—when Adam returned from the noble lords, with their expressed disclaimer of the preferred answer altered as it was, his royal highness still persevered to eradicate every remaining word which he thought might yet appear exceptionable to them, and made further alterations, although the fair copy of the paper had been made out.

“Thus the answer, nearly reduced to the expression of the Prince’s own suggestions, and without an opportunity of further meeting the wishes of the noble lords, was delivered by his royal highness.”

More artfully directed was Sheridan’s ridicule, and some well-known lines were admirably conceived to disgust the Prince with these advisers:

Then, if he'll help us to pull down  
His father's dignity and crown,  
We'll make him, in some time to come,  
The greatest prince in Christendom.

The matter, however, was smoothed over, though it was hard to put up with such treatment, which was really significant of worse, in case power were to come to the Prince. Mr. Moore seems to think that this discussion led at once to the retention of the present ministers. To this it may have contributed, but indirectly. Now that the matter was made up, or “patched up,” the Prince had engaged them to prepare arrangements for the new government; but, as we look closer into the transaction, it is impossible not to see how imperfect was what they proposed to substitute for the existing system. In the first place the two lords were not agreed in their principles—Lord Grenville being for deriving some assistance from his opponents; Lord Grey thinking he could stand alone. Things had, indeed, nearly arrived at such a pass that the difficulties raised, as Lord Grey’s son states, “more than once threatened

to compel them to declare their inability to form a Government." \* Nay, on the night of the 16th Lord Grey received a sort of manifesto from Lord Grenville, reaching to fifteen pages—one of those formidable documents of which the Prince stood in awe. Lord Grey owns that, had he sent an answer, "it might have endangered our connection, but in the course of the day they took fright, desired to withdraw the paper, and everything seems now more likely to go on well; but still there are difficulties. In the midst of all this turmoil I begin to feel that I am not, and ought not to be, afraid of them." In so happy and conciliatory a tone was this auspicious venture inaugurated. Add to this Sheridan and his friends plotting against the two lords—who will wonder that the Prince later declined to venture to sea in a craft so ill-formed?

On the 21st they were enabled to return answers to his questions, which were still not calculated to reassure him; and it will be noted the brusque uncompromising tone these awkward negotiations assumed. If he (the Prince) "was satisfied that the duties on which he was about to enter must, in all human probability, be of such duration as to impose on his royal highness an absolute necessity of exercising his own judgment on the policy and measures of the Government which he was called to administer;" in that case, the opinion they had always expressed of the system pursued during the last four years, founded, as it was, "on a full consideration of the state and interests of the country," would lead them to advise "an immediate and total change of public councils. Nor," they added, "would they decline to take upon themselves all the responsibility resulting from this opinion, if, upon full consideration, his royal highness should deem it expedient to carry this, their humble advice, into execution." In other words, a new and inglorious policy as regards the war was to be set on foot.

The day for reading this debated answer was now at hand; yet it was not ready.

In the secret councils of that eventful day and night, an amusing scene was taking place. Mr. Michael Angelo Taylor, a familiar figure in their circle, was sent for at about three o'clock on the morning the address was to be presented. He found the Prince, Sheridan, and Mr. Adam all in consultation. The Prince showed him a rough draft of the address, asking him to make two fair copies, adding, in his own style: "Those damned fellows will be

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\* "Life of Lord Grey," p. 271.



here in the morning." On Taylor's advice the Prince went to bed, while he himself proceeded with the task set to him. All the time Sheridan and Adam walked up and down, the latter occasionally stooping to whisper the scribe, "The damnedest rascal existing!" referring to his companion, while Sheridan would occasionally mutter, "Damn them all!" Taylor went home and repaired betimes to Carlton House, where he found the Prince in bed, but all the deputed members waiting below. "Are those damned fellows come?" his highness asked. "Yes, sir." After a little while came the ejaculation: "Damn them all!" Mr. Taylor was then directed to make fresh copies, as further alterations had been made.\* This amusing scene shows what embarrassment reigned at Carlton House councils.†

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\* Taylor thus related it to Mr. Moore, who reprints it in his "Diary."

† "MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

"I receive the communication which the two Houses have directed you to make to me, of their joint resolutions on the subject of providing 'for the exercise of the royal authority during his Majesty's illness,' with those sentiments of regard which I must ever entertain for the united desires of the two Houses.

"With the same sentiments I receive the expressed 'hopes of the Lords and Commons, that, from my regard for the interests of his Majesty and the nation, I should be ready to undertake the weighty and important trust proposed to be involved in me,' under the restrictions and limitations stated in those resolutions.

"Conscious that every feeling of my heart would have prompted me, from dutiful affection to my beloved father and sovereign, to have shown all the reverential delicacy towards him inculcated in those resolutions, I cannot refrain from expressing my regret that I should not have been allowed the opportunity of manifesting to his afflicted and loyal subjects that such would have been my conduct.

"Deeply impressed, however, with the necessity of tranquillizing the public mind, and determined to submit to every personal sacrifice consistent with the regard I owe to the security of my father's crown, and to the equal regard I owe to the welfare of his people, I do not hesitate to accept the office and situation proposed to me, restricted as they are, still retaining every opinion expressed by me upon a former and similar distressing occasion.

"In undertaking the trust proposed to me, I am well aware of the difficulties of the situation in which I shall be placed; but I shall rely with confidence upon the constitutional advice of an enlightened Parliament, and the zealous support of a generous and loyal people. I will use all the means left to me to merit both.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"You will communicate this my answer to the two Houses, accompanied by my most fervent wishes and prayers, that the Divine will may extricate us and the nation from the grievous embarrassments of our present condition, by the speedy restoration of his Majesty's health."

After the address was presented at Carlton House, it was noticed that there was an attempt at state, the room being full of gentlemen and attendants, all the Princes present; the Prince of Wales in his chair, flanked on one side by his Chancellors (Mr. Adam and Lord Moira), on the other by Sheridan and the Duke of Cumberland—his equerries grouped behind. The Prince assumed a cold ceremonious manner, and as he read marked all the significant portions with "very peculiar emphasis." Turning now to Parliament, we find the answer to the address was considered an indifferent one. It amused the men in office to hear it abused by the distracted Opposition. Lord Erskine said to Mr. Ward that it was indifferent, and Lord Grey, in the House of Lords, asked Lord Liverpool what he thought of it. "Not much in matter or composition," was the answer. "That," said Lord Grey, with an air of satisfaction, "is exactly my opinion." It was easy to see the jealousy caused by the preference shown to Sheridan; and it was reported openly at Brookes's that "they were all at sixes and sevens." There was indeed complete disagreement among the competitors, one great bone of contention being Canning and his party. The coming ministry had heard and persistently refused to take office with Canning. Such was the happy family of the Opposition.\*

By this time the two lords had advanced in their work, and made it a stipulation that there were to be no secret advisers,† and that they were to be sole ministers and advisers from that time.

On January 21, they were enabled solemnly to announce to him "that having considered the means of forming a new administration, 'they had concerted with each other such general outlines of the arrangements as they had found most practicable in the present divided state of parties, and under the very embarrassed state of public affairs,' and that they were prepared to enter, whenever required to do so, into the details of these arrangements.

"On the same day they had a long interview with the Prince, of which Lord Grey wrote that 'it was satisfactory in all respects;' and that, though they did not 'get the length of talking of particular arrangements, all the preliminary points were completely agreed upon. Lord Grenville and I,' he adds, 'understand one another so well, that, with respect to our views, everything will go on

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\* Ward, i. 329.

† Ibid. i. 335; Rose, ii. 47.

smoothly; but I foresee other difficulties, particularly a long list from Carlton House, which may produce great embarrassment.'"

With a characteristic want of tact they went about proclaiming what conditions they had imposed on him. But almost at once they found themselves embarrassed by engagements he had been making. He had pledged himself to Erskine for the Chancellorship—to Lord St. Vincent for the Admiralty—to Sheridan for the Irish Secretaryship. Of this they complained loudly. "The Prince," Lord Grey writes (22nd January), "is making an effort for Sheridan to go to Ireland as Secretary. To this it is impossible that we should agree." "I foresee," he repeats, on the 29th January, "so many difficulties with the Prince when we come to more close conference about arrangements, that I cannot see how they are to be got over. Sheridan they still fight for. If it were a mere question of giving him a place, however high, with large emoluments, nobody would be more ready to consent to it than I should be. But I really cannot make up my mind to sending a man with a lighted torch into a magazine of gunpowder. It would be impossible to prevent his communicating with the agitators of Ireland; and in the present disposition of that country, of which we receive daily more alarming accounts, who could look at the possible, or rather the probable, consequences of such communications without horror? If it were not for this, it certainly would be most desirable to get him out of the way; but, with such an apprehension on my mind, how could I hope for sleep or peace?"

For the disastrous failure the Grenvilles were chiefly responsible: as Sheridan told Mr. Creevy: "They were not the operative, but the contributory, cause of the Prince's conduct"—for the restrictions were certainly carried by their votes.

A zealous and active member of the party gives impartial testimony as to the rather summary style in which the Prince was dealt with. The Prince (says Mr. G. Bennett in his interesting MS. diary) objected to particular people, but they were all minor objections: to my mind all ought to have been yielded to him. He made a request for the Mastership of the Ordnance for Lord Hutchinson, which was refused, Lord Roslyn being designed for it; and he objected to Tierney being Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Calcraft going Secretary to Ireland. The principal persons were: Lord Grenville, First Lord of the Treasury; Lord Grey, Foreign Secretary; Ponsonby, Home Secretary; Whitbread, War Secretary; Lord Holland, Admiralty; Lord Lansdowne, Privy Seal; Lord Roslyn,



Ordinance; President of the Council, unknown; Tierney, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Auckland, India Board; Lord Lauderdale, Scotch Privy Seal, the patronage of Scotland. These persons formed the Cabinet. The Seals in Commission, Lord Erskine, Speaker of the House of Lords, not in the Cabinet; Lord Moira, to go to Ireland; Lord Manners, to continue Chancellor; Sir J. Newport, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Calcraft, Secretary; Lord Carysfort and Ponsonby, Postmasters; Lord Temple, Secretary of War; Mr. Fremantle, to be Paymaster, one abolished. The Boards were composed of bad people. The best—as Lords Milton, Althorp, Tavistock, Messrs. Ward (who was offered the Paymastership) and Lamb (as Under-Secretary)—refused office. Report said Sheridan refused the Treasurership of the Navy, and the Prince demanded it for MacMahon, which, as may well be imagined, was refused.

This was considered as the formation of the new Government, and the old were preparing to quit their places, unexpectedly, at least, to the public. It is difficult indeed to withhold sympathy from this minister, much harassed and baited during his troubled course, so soon to find a bloody termination. From the Regent, as well as from his ministers, he had to endure many humiliations.

This alone would show the difficulties of change. No wonder there was an impression abroad of uncertainty, and that a change after all might not take place. So early as the 17th of January, “the general opinion now seems to be that we are not to go out, the King’s recovery being so likely.”\* And one sagacious Mr. Brand, talking with Mr. Ward, prognosticated that the vigorous stand made by Perceval drew many admirers, that this would give him extraordinary influence, as the head of an Opposition which must give great trouble to the new Government. “Probably,” added Mr. Brand, laughing, “the Regent will keep Perceval three months as his father’s minister, and then fall so much in love with him, that he will continue him as his own.”† But the Prince, still unconscious of what the wiser heads foresaw, and resenting the mortification he was suffering, declared in his coarse way to Lord Grey: “By G—! they shall not remain an hour.”

It was now January 30th, and though ministers continued to think themselves virtually “out”—some were even packing up and preparing to go to their country houses—there was an element in the situation which had not been duly considered, viz. the improve-

\* Ward, “Diary,” i. 337.

† Ibid. 346.

ment in the King's health. This was of a marked kind, and seems to have begun about the 23rd. On the 26th the physicians had thought it desirable that he should see and converse with Mr. Perceval, which he did for the second time on the 29th. His conversation was certainly of a rational kind, and he grasped the awkward and painful character of his political situation, asking as to the particular line taken by every individual, saying he supposed the whole of the Opposition were ranged against him. On being told "Yes," he clapped his hands and said with great emphasis, "I am glad of that!"\*

On the 31st, Mr. Sheridan coming out of Carlton House and meeting Mr. Ward, gleefully assured him that the new Government was all settled, but it was their own fault that they were going. "If you had not been so anxious about the d——d precedent of 1789 you might have remained in"—that is, if they had not irritated the Prince with their restrictions. However, he added, oddly enough, that he did not know they were going. At White's, bets were made that ministers would remain in; and Lord Temple jocularly asked one of them, "Would they remain till they were killed, or retire gracefully?"

But during these few days a fresh intrigue was going on behind the old one, and the shifty Prince, who had been beguiling the two lords, with the aid of Sheridan and his *camarilla*, was now beguiling his own henchmen in a similar way. The agent in this business was Sir Henry Halford, and there can be little doubt that it was a good deal owing to his adroit management that the Court obtained its victory.† At this time he scarcely knew the Prince, and at the beginning of the illness was well aware, as he told Miss Wynne, that he was surrounded with spies from the Prince, and "that one we well knew and would little suspect" was living at an inn in the town. Finding his position awkward, if not painful, the physician took the course of going to the Prince, telling him everything concerning the state of his patient, adding an undertaking that in future he might depend on always having from him most accurate information, if he would promise not to seek it from any other source. The Prince, he said, was grateful, but he noticed that his

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\* Ward, "Diary," i. 371.

† It has been often confidently repeated that Sir Henry Halford was married to one of the Princesses. This, however, does not seem probable, as he was married in 1796, and his wife lived till 1833.

surprise at such candor was even more marked. He, however, gave the promise, and, "wonderful to say, kept it." Then Sir Henry went to the Queen, and told her what he had done. "She, with a tremendous frown, expressed great astonishment." Sir Henry stated the obvious reasons for the step he had taken. She paused, her brow cleared. "You are quite right, sir; it is proper that the Prince should be informed." "From that moment," as he says, "confidence and intimacy were renewed between mother and son."\* But it had been remarked that the Prince had been taking the opinion of the physicians, ostensibly through Mr. Adam; but was in secret communication with Sir H. Halford; as Sir J. Romilly says, all this time an intrigue was being carried on with great art through the *habile* physician, acting as the agent of the Queen. So early as the 30th of January Lord Grey had his forebodings when he learned that the Prince had received a letter from the Queen, saying that Mr. Perceval had seen the King the day before, and had laid before him the whole State business "now pending" in Parliament. She herself had not seen the King, so, as her son remarked, it was evident she had written under his dictation; and he rather acutely pointed out that the word "pending" was a lawyer's word, and was not likely to be used by the Queen.† She also added many compliments on his behavior, with which the King had been much gratified. Lord Grey calls this a barefaced plot; but he adds, "I believe it will be successful."

On the following day the Chancellor and Lord Liverpool went down to talk with the royal patient, when they found him rather more "hurried;" and it was remarkable that his anxiety and agitation was excited by curiosity as to the behavior of persons in Parliament. He asked whether the Prince would change the Government, and on being told "Yes," declared that he would bring his present servants back, but desired time.‡ Now, in favor of the Queen it must be said that this was significant, and betokened relapse; and it is scarcely necessary to presume "a barefaced plot." It was scarcely unnatural, therefore, that she should have written to press the son to stay his hand. She also dwelt on the approaching recovery of the King, and her conviction that a change in the Government would bring on such a paroxysm as she would not answer for the King's life. "The Prince was much affected on

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\* "Diary of a Lady of Quality," p. 213.

† Romilly, ii. 361.

‡ Rose, p. 477.



reading this letter, and is said to have thrown himself back in his chair, and shed many tears." \*

It was now that he consulted his lady friends, Mrs. Fitzherbert and Lady Hertford, and was assured by them that he ought to retain his ministers. Lord Hertford a few days later told Lord Camden that the Prince intended removing the ministers, in case there was a favorable prospect of his father's recovery, and had actually secured "Lords G. and G." as a reserve. It was noticed that the Duke of York had been with the Prince the whole of the day.† It was hard to resist such pressure. Accordingly, late on the night of February 1st, Lords Grey and Grenville were waited on by Lord Hutchinson and Mr. Adam, who bore a message from the Prince, that he now decided to make no change. "He cannot bear," he says, "the idea of doing a thing which may have the effect of throwing the King into a new paroxysm, or of being thought to do so"—the words, it will be recollected, used by the Queen. The reflections of the rejected Lord Grey on this mortifying situation are rueful enough:

"It is, I confess, a great relief to me. I am now exempted from the difficulty and danger of taking any part in the Government, and by no fault of my own. What has passed," he adds, "has given me such an insight into the probable state of things under a new Government, that I much doubt whether any circumstances could ever induce me to take a share in it. The Prince's feelings and his fears have been worked upon so powerfully and so insidiously, particularly by our friend Halford, who has proved himself a most consummate politician (I will not apply a harsher name), that his decision admits of much excuse. His situation was certainly an embarrassing one; and if he had not nerves to overcome his difficulties by facing them at once, he is to be pitied rather than blamed. There can rest upon him no imputation of deceit or treachery; his wishes were to act otherwise; his dislike of the present ministers is unaffected and strong; and everything he has done and said with respect to us has been as kind as possible. After all, he has only relieved us from a situation of great difficulty and danger. I have neither to complain of him nor to reproach myself."

This communication was private, and it is almost comical to find that the rank and file of the party remained for nearly a day longer in this fools' paradise, wrangling over places and adjusting contend-

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\* Grey-Bennett MS.

† Rose.

ing claims. Lord Moira on the following morning told Mr. Coutts's brother that he was going as Lord-Lieutenant to Ireland, and the Secretary and other officials were bidden to hold themselves in readiness to start!

But there were rumors in the air. At the Duchess of Gordon's the same evening, where there was a large party assembled, the news of disaster could be read in the angry and disappointed faces of "the wives of Opposition."

On February 4th Mr. Perceval received the following letter, which, it should be noted, was written by Sheridan, the present adviser, secretary, etc., of the Prince:

THE PRINCE OF WALES TO MR. PERCEVAL.

"Carlton House, February 4th, 1811.

"The Prince of Wales considers the moment to be arrived which calls for his decision with respect to the persons to be employed by him in the administration of the Executive Government of the country, according to the powers vested in him by the Bill passed by the two Houses of Parliament, and now on the point of receiving the sanction of the Great Seal.

"The Prince feels it incumbent upon him at this precise juncture to communicate to Mr. Perceval his intention not to remove from their situations those whom he finds there as his Majesty's official servants. At the same time the Prince owes it to the truth and sincerity of character which, he trusts, will appear in every action of his life, in whatever situation he may be placed, explicitly to declare that the irresistible impulse of filial duty and affection to his beloved and afflicted father leads him to dread that any act of the Regent might, in the smallest degree, have the effect of interfering with the progress of his sovereign's recovery.

"This consideration alone dictates the decision now communicated to Mr. Perceval.

"Having thus performed an act of indispensable duty, from a just sense of what is due to his own consistency and honor, the Prince has only to add that, among the many blessings to be derived from his Majesty's restoration to health and to the personal exercise of his royal functions, it will not, in the Prince's estimation, be the least, that most fortunate event will at once rescue him from a situation of unexampled embarrassment, and put an end to a state of affairs ill calculated, he fears, to sustain the inter-

ests of the United Kingdom in this awful and perilous crisis, and most difficult to be reconciled to the general principles of the British Constitution."

This was acknowledged the following day by the minister in complimentary terms, admitting the reason so pointedly given by the Prince for this step, and offering handsome excuses for the restrictions put upon him.

As a comment on these transactions let us listen to the bitter complaints of the neglected Sir P. Francis, addressed to Lady Downshire, about this time: "And you believe he is honest, and, moreover, has a heart of English mould, expansive enough to contain, and stout enough to retain, those principles that I have been trying to implant in his heart long before you were born, and very soon after he was. . . . Your wishes deceive you, as mine have done me. You have often witnessed the apparent docility and conviction with which he listened when I laid before him at his own seeking the principles that English monarchs should bring to the throne or—they may learn them somewhere else. He was out of conceit with the ministry of that day, as he is now with this; they had spited him, and he relished a doctrine which contemned them: he is in the same predicament now. Our friend will first forget our principles, and then our persons, and the sooner for having contracted debts to us, not only of honor, but promise to pay. Have I not attended his call whenever he was in any extra difficulty, and wished to astonish his usual counsellors by his wisdom? Have I not left my bed early, and late taken rest, and waited on him long after the *mezza notte*? And has not my pen, my experience, knowledge, and judgment, such as they are, been at his service, and when did I ever claim my own if it could gain him credit? Your ladyship and MacMahon only knew of the letters at the time, or that I have many other claims on him; but so much the worse. Is it past doubt that he hates C. and raves at P.? . . . Yet it is something that he still seeks you, and has not yet given me up, which I am sure he will do when he deserts those principles which he knows are dear to me. I have his command to visit him this autumn, and shall then find out whether the change that E(rsine?) and I talked of has really taken place. I expect there will be one ere long in his situation, but not, I trust, in his political views, till power and flattery have their usual effect on him. No thanks to E(rsine?) and S(heridan?) if he be not as

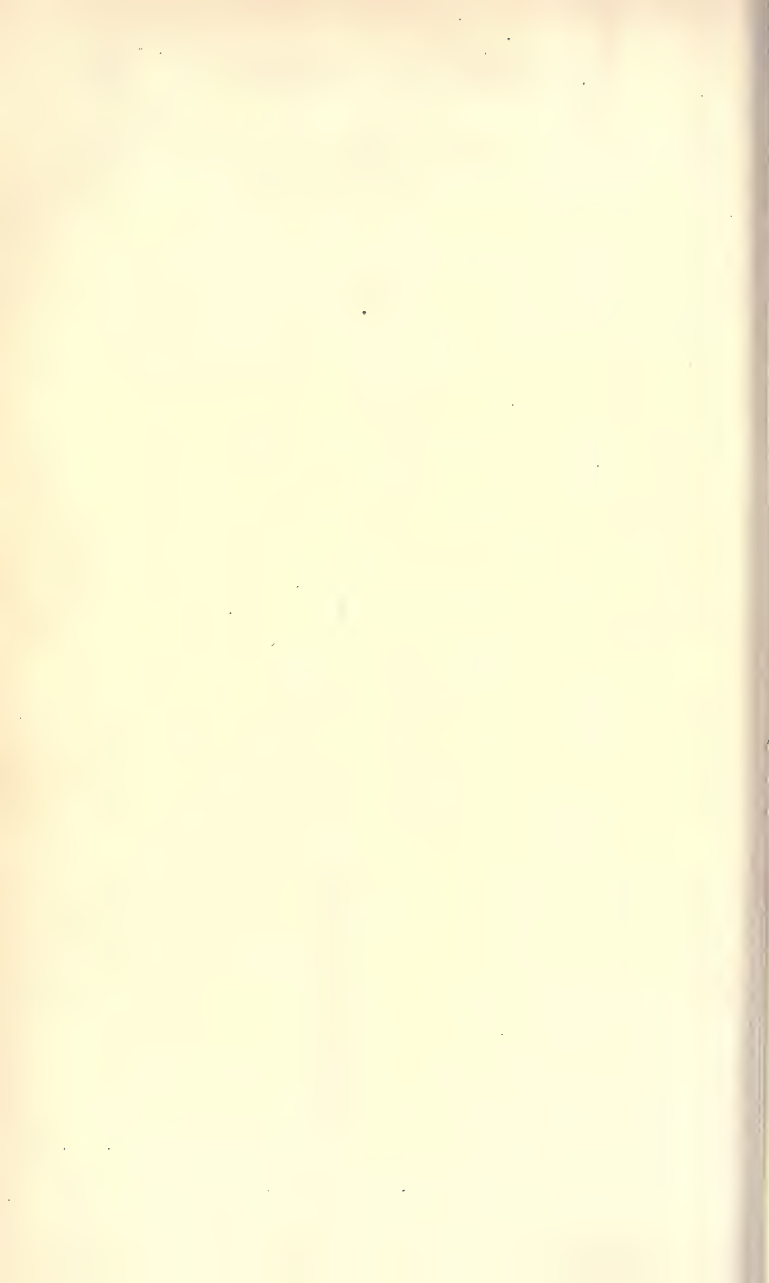


all his fathers were. But do not mind a word they say. M(oira?) is not much better. Trust S. as you would a jack-a-lantern, E. as a quicksand, and M. a mirage in the desert. These three friends have been his worst enemies. They have counteracted all the good I might have done."

Here closes the long and important era of some thirty years, during which the Prince had run his strange erratic purposeless course of riot and pleasure. He was now virtually on the throne: his reign had begun. Unhappily the twenty years of rule that were to follow were to offer no improvement.

## BOOK II.

*REGENT.*—1811-1820.





## CHAPTER I.

1811.

ON the 5th of February, the day appointed for swearing in the new Regent, a curious scene was witnessed at Carlton House. It was attended with some state—the band of the Grenadier Guards (the performers having “white gaiters” on) playing in the courtyard, the yeomen of the old King’s Body Guard lining the stair, in attendance on their new master. All the Dukes were there, and nearly all the Privy Councillors in town, about a hundred in number. Lord Camden was sent to the Prince’s room, and a long delay succeeded, during which we are informed the company “were highly gratified with seeing the Princess Charlotte on horseback, accompanied by two grooms, make the tour of the beautiful gardens in the rear of the palace.”\* At last the Prince arrived in grand procession, preceded by the officers of his household—Lords Moira, Keith, Cassilis, Hutchinson, Messrs. Sheridan, Michael Angelo Taylor, Tyrwhitt, MacMahon, Bloomfield, Hulse, etc. Mr. Adam was unaccountably absent, by accident it was believed, though the Prince’s eagerness to see him was noted. The reason for this absence, it will be seen, was characteristic and a substantial one: “He kept the Council waiting two full hours—the King never detained any one a minute—while he was looking after Adam to make him a Privy Councillor, who shrank away declining the honor, as he would have been obliged to have given up many of his agencies and would have lost to the amount of £2000 per annum.”†

Thus there appears to be always something almost singular in these public manifestations of the “first gentleman”—the spectacle of the eager Prince’s anxiety seeking his subordinate to the delay of the important proceedings, and the anxiety of the latter to keep out of the way, must have been ludicrous enough. Then the pro-

\* Huish, ii, 32.

† Bennett MS.

ceedings commenced, the Prince seating himself at the top of the table.

Nor must a fitting incident of the scene be omitted. The Prince, among other documents, handed to the President "a certificate of his having received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper at the Chapel Royal, on Sunday, the 27th of January, which was also countersigned and deposited with the other documents in a box." \* Then he also subscribed the declaration mentioned in an Act made in the thirtieth year of King Charles II., entitled "An Act for the more Effectual Preserving the King's Person and Government by Disabling Papists from Sitting in Either House of Parliament," and which declaration his royal highness audibly made, repeated, and subscribed. The Lord President signed first, and every one of the Privy Councillors in succession signed these instruments as witnesses—and the same was delivered into the hand of the Keeper of the Records.

But during this ceremonial there were some significant tokens which showed what were the real feelings of the principal personage. The ministers must have been confounded to see ostentatiously displayed at the head of the room the busts of Mr. Fox and the Duke of Bedford, which they learned had been introduced only an hour or two before by the Regent's order.† The situation of the ministers, too, was awkward. Upon some one wishing Lord Harrowby joy, he replied: "Joy! how can I feel it? We have to do business with a man who hates us, and only wishes to turn us out." He was very civil and friendly to some of those that kissed hands, and very rude to others, particularly to the Speaker and to Mr. Perceval, turning his head away while they kissed his hand.‡

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\* "The Lord President then approached the Regent, bent the knee, and had the honor to kiss his hand. The royal Dukes followed, and afterwards the Archbishop of Canterbury, and all the rest according to the order in which they sat at the long table, advancing to the chair on both sides. During the whole of this ceremony his Royal Highness maintained the most dignified and graceful deportment; and it was remarked that there was not the slightest indication of partiality of behavior to one set of men more than to another.

"The ceremony being closed a short levee took place in the drawing-room, where his Royal Highness addressed himself to the circle; and afterwards he gave an audience to Mr. Perceval, who had the honor of again kissing his hand as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer."

† Bennett MS. His brother, Lord Ossulston, was present.

‡ The Speaker in his diary reports the scene in terms that show he was

However idle all this may appear—and certainly the introduction of the busts was as boyish a mode of protest as could be conceived—it illustrated more clearly than anything that has gone before that his late political step was a matter of humor and prejudice rather than of principle; and that the ruling motives had been dislike to individuals, and a wish to avoid trouble and annoyance.

But in his conversation with the Prime Minister the Prince had also taken care to show his humor. After offering some business-like suggestions as to the Parliament, he adverted to all that had passed, saying that “it was impossible for him to alter the opinions he had entertained for so many years; but that now it was done and over.” He also insisted that the speech to be made for him should not be made to utter any sentiments that he was known not to entertain. Neither would he deliver it, as he did not wish to go down to the House and exhibit himself as a pageant during the illness of the King.\*

In pursuance of the same policy he showed his distaste to his ministers by communicating with them through his henchmen, MacMahon, Tyrwhitt, etc., an affront which they resented, and were determined not to submit to. They made serious representations, and he had of course to give way, in a dignified and distant manner.

When he did see the speech made for him he declared that it could not be better. On some high-handed proceedings of the Irish Government he entered seriously into discussion, but subsequently approved the Government’s proceeding. When Mr. Perceval suggested an additional allowance, the Prince rather ostentatiously declined to add to the burdens of the nation.

Meanwhile the King was not mending; though the regular bulletins were issued announcing that he continued to go on very well. It was stated, indeed, that he himself had fixed May as the date when he would resume office; but it is evident from a letter of the Queen’s to Lord Eldon that his condition was not promising.†

It was natural in the case of one so afflicted that an excessive jealousy of his son should appear, the ministers indiscreetly praising to him the good conduct of the Prince, his capacity, modera-

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offended. “The Regent repeated, or appeared to repeat, the oath.”—Lord Colchester, “Diary,” ii. 318.

\* Colchester, “Diary.”

† “Life of Lord Eldon,” ii. 165.



tion and ability, as well as his filial affection. This was duly repeated by the Queen; but it presently inflamed the King into a demand for the instant resumption of his authority, "on which head he became quite furious and unmanageable." \*

The levee which had been postponed owing to the Regent's lameness, a horse having trodden upon him, was now held. The scene, however, was splendid, and very numerously attended by men of all parties. He put on a most gracious appearance, all who had not been presented kissing hands. Indeed, Sheridan had industriously sent it about that members of all parties were expected to call at Carlton House. The magnificence of the spacious and sumptuously decorated rooms struck every one, and strangers and foreign ministers declared that they exceeded Versailles. Count Münster thought that it excelled the palace at St. Petersburg in its decoration. It was, however, noticed that at a ball given by Mrs. Montague on February 20th, he looked worn and dejected, so that some wit declared that "they ought to make the King Sub-Regent." At the end of April he appeared at the Royal Academy dinner, where he gave a long speech on the advance the arts had made, and was complimented in almost fulsome terms by the venerable President West.

But he had now determined to exhibit such a gala to the country as would make his name celebrated. The Carlton House fête of June 19th, on which nothing that could contribute to the display of magnificence or state was spared, is even now recalled; there are some alive who were present. His whole energies were given to the preparations for this entertainment. The object given out was to promote the use of national manufactures. It was originally fixed for the 5th of June, but as the day drew near the King's condition became worse, and decency required that it should be put off, if not given up altogether; but an expense of £10,000 had been already incurred. The frivolous world was all agog with the subject, and there was a sort of furor to obtain invitations. It was at first intended to ask no lady under the rank of a peer's daughter; but this distinction gave offence. "There must be," writes Mr. F. Jackson, who supplies a lively account of them, "manœuvres to secure tickets, cutting and jostling among the fine ladies to be in at the fête. I know that the Prince said he would invite fifteen

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\* "Buckingham Papers—The Regency," i. 58. The account is given by the anonymous and sagacious correspondent of Lord Temple.

hundred persons. There used to be at Buckingham House no one under the rank of earl's sons and daughters." \*

"Those who are invited," he goes on to say, "and still more those who are not, are making an outrageous fuss. Husbands invited without their wives; mothers without their daughters; in some instances, daughters who are not out; in others, people who are dead and buried." In the midst of this hum of preparation a rumor got abroad that the King was dead, believed to be a ruse of the shopkeepers, who succeeded in selling all their crape. Again there was a postponement. It was at last fixed for the 19th. As the day drew near "the hopes and fears of the *beau monde* rose and fell with the bulletins." A *mot* was circulated to the effect that the old phrase, "fixed as *Fête*," must be now quite exploded, as there was nothing so uncertain. But at last the exciting evening came round, and the show began, and before eight o'clock the streets were crowded with company. One of the guests shall describe the scene:

"The fête, then, as a whole, was the handsomest thing I have ever seen in this country, or, of its kind, in any other. There was greater brilliancy and richness of dress amongst the women, though not so much taste as elsewhere. The supper surpassed anything I ever saw or ever heard of at other Courts. At eight o'clock there was a string of carriages that reached to the top of St. James's Street, and by nine to the top of Bond Street. I went out for a walk amongst the crowd at the latter hour. The jostling and pushing to get a sight of the women, especially when accompanied by a star or a riband, was something extraordinary; and the remarks of the people on the occupants of the carriages, as the latter crawled or jolted on at a snail's pace, were sometimes very droll and apt, though not always complimentary.

"To the royal family of France every refinement of attention was shown. The Prince wrote to Louis XVIII. with his own hand, and sent the letter of invitation by a general officer. The letter was addressed '*A Monsieur le Comte de Lisle*;' but *Sire* and *Votre Majesté* were used in the letter itself. Louis slept at Monsieur's house in South Audley Street. Going to and returning from Carlton House, he was escorted by an officer's detachment of hussars. The party consisted of the King, Monsieur, the Duc and Duchesse d'Angoulême, the Prince de Condé, Duc de Bourbon, and Duc de

Berri. The Prince, who wore a very rich scarlet uniform, of not very good taste or very well made, but with a most magnificent star, badge, aigrette, and sabre, received them in an apartment fitted up for the occasion with rich blue silk, *parsemé* with fleurs-de-lis in gold.

“The King, for a time, declined sitting, saying he was only Comte de Lisle. The Prince, placing a chair for him, replied; ‘*Ici votre Majesté est Roi de France.*’ Amongst the pictures that ornamented the reception-room was a Rembrandt, for which a few days before the Prince gave five thousand guineas.

“The Duchesse d’Angoulême looked interesting, and something like the best portraits of her mother, therefore, not very pretty; but she was evidently embarrassed, and her dress and demeanor were those of a person who had not been much in the world. In fact, she may be said to have stepped from a prison—and what a prison!—to Carlton House; for she was never before in a company of a hundred persons. I know, from a perfectly trustworthy source, that for some time she was in agony at the idea of going to this fête, and that it was only at the most pressing entreaties of her family that she consented. Both she and the Duke, who is a mean-looking little man, are of a very retiring disposition, and devote almost the whole of their time to works of piety and charity. The Duchess of York sat with her a good deal, and looked very well; her ‘*sposo fido*’ as easy in his manners and as much like a gentleman as usual. Amidst the blaze of diamonds, those of the Queen were wanting; though all there—*en masse*—are said to have exceeded in value anything ever before assembled. As the Queen did not come to the fête, of course the Princesses were absent, and by the conversation of everybody from Windsor, it was easy to collect that there people thought the fête ill-timed.”

“The Grecian hall,” says another account, “was adorned with shrubs, and an additional number of large lanterns and patent lamps. The floor was carpeted; and two lines, composed of Yeomen of the Guard, the King’s, the Regent’s, the Queen’s, and Royal Dukes’ servants, in their grandest liveries, formed an avenue to the octagonal hall, where yeomen were also stationed, and which was decorated with antique draperies of scarlet trimmed with gold-color, and tied up by gold-colored cords and tassels. In the hall were also assembled, to receive the company, Generals Keppell and Turner, Colonels Bloomfield, Thomas, and Tyrwhitt, together with Lords Moira, Dundas, Keith, Heathfield, and Mount-Edgcumbe.



The Prince entered the state-rooms at a quarter past nine arrayed in a field-marshal's uniform; just after the Prince came in, the royal family of France arrived. During the evening the Prince Regent passed from room to room, devoid of all ceremony, conversing with the utmost cheerfulness with his guests. The general amusement of the company for some time was perambulating the halls and apartments on the principal floor. The grand circular dining-room excited particular admiration by its cupola, supported by columns of porphyry, and the superior elegance of the whole of its arrangements. The room in which the throne stood was hung with crimson velvet, with gold lace and fringes. The canopy of the throne was surmounted by golden helmets with lofty plumes of ostrich feathers, and underneath stood the state chair. Crimson and gold stools were placed round the room, which contained pictures of the King, Queen, Prince Regent, and Duke of York. The ball-room floors were chalked in beautiful arabesque devices. In the centre of the largest were the initiale G. III. R. It was divided for two sets of dancers by a crimson silk cord; but owing to the great number of persons, and the excessive heat of the weather, no dancing took place in this room, nor were the dancers numerous in the ball-room. The first dance was led off by Earl Percy and Lady F. Montague."

The Queen his mother, and his sisters the Princesses, viewed the affair as unbecoming, if not indecent, with the unfortunate King distraught, if not dying. This did not much affect the host, though he would have been glad of her presence for the display of the matchless crown diamonds amid the general blaze of jewels. However, he was attended by the Dukes his brethren—that worthy cohort who did not fail him except when their jealousies interposed.\* The next person excluded was the Princess, who made a jest on the matter, declaring she was like an archbishop's wife, who does not partake in her husband's honors.† She even allowed her suite to go, and furnished them with new dresses, saying, "That they should certainly obey the Regent's commands." His only daughter—now a maid of blushing fifteen, who might have been allowed to look on from "the pen" at the show, if not to take part in it—was also tabooed. An artless letter, written to her "dear Miss Hayman," shows how this exclusion was felt:

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\* It is evident that all Windsor is highly displeased on the occasion.—Jackson, "Diaries," i. 267.

† Ibid. i. 273.

"MY DEAR HAMY,

"But a few lines, as I will write you a longer one soon again, only to tell you that the Prince Regent gives a magnificent ball on the 5th of June. I have not been invited, nor do I know if I shall be or not. If I should not, it will make a great noise in the world, as the friends I have seen have repeated over and over again it is my duty to go there; it is proper that I should. Really I do think it will be very hard if I am not asked."

But there was a fourth lady whom his treatment on this festival occasion kept away. The theatrical chivalry that made him welcome the royal exiles did not extend to those with real domestic claims upon him. "Upon all former occasions," Mrs. Fitzherbert told Lord Stourton, "to avoid etiquette in circumstances of such delicacy as regarded her own situation with reference to the Prince, it had been customary to sit at table without regard to rank. Upon the present occasion this plan was to be altered, and she was informed through her friends at court that at the royal table the individuals invited were to sit according to their rank. When assured of this novel arrangement, she asked the Prince, who had invited her with the rest of his company, where she was to sit. He said, 'You know, madam, you have no place.' 'None, sir,' she replied, 'but such as you choose to give me.' Upon this she informed the royal family that she would not go. The Duke of York and others endeavored to alter the preconcerted arrangement, but the Prince was inflexible." \* Thus terminated this fatal ill-starred connection.

That this was done on purpose there can be no doubt. The mean-

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\* "They no longer hesitated to agree with her that no advantage was to be obtained by further postponement of her own anxious desire to close her connection with the Prince, and to retire once more into private life. She told me she often looked back with wonder that she had not sunk under the trials of those two years. Having come to this resolution, she was obliged, on the very evening, or on that which followed the royal dinner, to attend an assembly at Devonshire House, which was the last evening she saw the Prince previously to their final separation. The Duchess of Devonshire, taking her by the arm, said to her: 'You must come and see the Duke in his own room, as he is suffering from a fit of the gout; but he will be glad to see an old friend.' In passing through the rooms, she saw the Prince and Lady Hertford in a tête-à-tête conversation, and nearly fainted under all the impressions which then rushed upon her mind; but, taking a glass of water, she recovered and passed on."

ing of this was the present ascendancy of Manchester House, of Lady Hertford, and her son Lord Yarmouth. It actually led to what the Regent was no doubt wishing for, a final breach. It will be seen that he had now begun to think of a divorce from the Princess, and the intimacy with Mrs. Fitzherbert might be inconvenient. Meanwhile the guests noted her absence, and lightly repeated that "the two wives were sitting at home."

It was characteristic that the object of this Prince's enmity should be so often women, while those that controlled and "led" him were women also.

But to return to the fête. The hour of supper had arrived, when the Prince led the French king and royal family to the table. The supper was announced at two, when the company descended by the great staircase to the apartments below and the temporary buildings on the lawn. The room at the bottom of the staircase represented a bower, with a grotto lined with a profusion of shrubs and flowers. The grand table extended the whole length of the conservatory, and across Carlton House, to the length of two hundred feet. Along the centre of the table, about six inches above the surface, a canal of pure water continued flowing from a silver fountain beautifully constructed at the head of the table. Its banks were covered with green moss and aquatic flowers; gold and silver fish swam and sported through the bubbling current, which produced a pleasing murmur where it fell and formed a cascade at the outlet. At the head of the table, above the fountain, sat his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, on a plain mahogany chair with a leather back. The most particular friends of the Prince were arranged on each side. They were attended by sixty servitors; seven waited on the Prince, besides six of the King's and six of the Queen's footmen, in their state liveries, with one man in a complete suit of ancient armor. At the back of the Prince's seat appeared aureola tables covered with crimson drapery, constructed to exhibit, with the greatest effect, a profusion of the most exquisitely-wrought silver-gilt plate, consisting of fountains, tripods, épergnes, dishes, and other ornaments. Above the whole of this superb display appeared a royal crown and his Majesty's cipher, G. R., splendidly illumined. Behind the Prince's chair was most skilfully disposed a sideboard, covered with gold vases, urns, massy salvers, etc.; the whole surmounted by a Spanish urn, taken from on board the "Invincible Armada." Adjoining to this were other tables running through the library and whole lower suite of rooms,



the candelabras in which were so arranged that the Regent could distinctly see and be seen, from one end to the other. The Regent's table accommodated one hundred and twenty-two, including the royal Dukes, the Bourbons, and principal nobility. On the right hand of the Regent was the Duchess of Angoulême; on the left the Duchess of York, the Princess Sophia of Gloucester, etc. From the library and room beyond branched out two great lines of tables under canvas, far into the gardens, each in the shape of a cross, all richly served with silver plate, and covered with the delicacies of the season. When the whole company was seated, there was a line of female beauty more richly adorned, and a blaze of jewelry more brilliant, than England ever probably displayed before. Four handsome marquees were pitched on the lawn of Carlton House, with chevaux-de-frise, to prevent all intrusion; bands of music were stationed in the tents; and when dancing commenced, the gay throng moved through thickets of roses, geraniums, and other fragrant sweets, illumined by variegated lights that gleamed like stars through the foliage. The upper servants wore a costume of dark blue, trimmed with broad gold lace; the others wore state liveries. The assistants out of livery were dressed uniformly in black suits with white vests.

"It is said," adds Mr. Jackson, "that near two thousand persons supped; but the extraordinary part of it was, that so large a number should have been served in such a style; tureens, dishes, plates, even soup-plates, were everywhere of silver, with as many changes of everything as were wanted. There were hot soups and roasts; all besides cold, but of excellent and fresh cookery. Peaches, grapes, pine-apples, and every other minor fruit in and out of season were in profusion. Iced champagne at every three or four persons, all the other wines also excellent. There was no crowding, hurry, or bustle in waiting; everything was done as in a private house.

"The ropes that, in various directions, supported the tent were all gilded, and were ornamented with wreaths and festoons of flowers without end. The lustres were large and very handsome, and of the finest glass, and were so numerous that every part of the tent was not only well but brilliantly lighted.

"After supper the general company walked round those parts of the tent where they had not supped, and to the apartments *de plein pied*, which are the Prince's private rooms, but formed on this occasion ante-rooms to the tent, where also tables were laid. In

this way we were led on to the conservatory, where the Prince's party supped, consisting of all the royalties, dukes, and marquises, with their wives, and as many earls and countesses as could be stowed in.

"The conservatory was really like what one would imagine a fairy-hall to be. It is a building of the lightest Gothic, resembling the choir of a cathedral. Its defects, if it has any, were concealed, and its beauties revealed by innumerable small colored lamps placed all round the little cornices, and in the niches of the Gothic work. In the centre were lustres of the finest and most brilliant glass that can be made. The table was served with gold and silver-gilt; the Prince's own state service, and which I had before seen at the silversmith's. Where china and glass were used, they were of the most magnificent kind, and at the top of the room was a sort of buffet, on which each piece of the massive sideboard *vermeille* was separately placed.

"The Serpentine river you hear so much of was on the plateau, a paltry thing of bad taste, but which amused the *badauds*, especially as it was full of real fish—roach, dace, and gudgeons—the dying and the dead. Day broke while we were at supper."

This river excited general ridicule, Mr. Tierney likening it to a Sadler's Wells display; but like the Pavilion and the Pagodas in the park (later, his uniforms) his so-called "taste" was of the gew-gaw order. "However," says one of the guests (Lord Colchester), "it was oriental and fanciful towards the Prince's end, particularly as in that part the table widened, and the water also fell by a succession of cascades into a circular lake, surrounded with architectural decorations and small vases burning perfumes."\*

"Nothing was ever half so magnificent as this supper scene," wrote home Thomas Moore, now at every entertainment in London, and who had obtained the Prince's patronage, for a time at

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\* "Before the company rose a ridiculous scene took place, for there was a grand crowd from the supper-room (beyond the brass railing) of fine ladies, who came to lean and look over the railing at our superior lot, and to endeavor at descrying the gudgeons in our river. 'There, I see them!' 'Look, look!' 'Don't you see?' by all the misses and company, old and young, not to mention Lady Mansfield, Lady Buckingham and niece, old Mr. Hastings, and many other souls, whose eager and ridiculous curiosity was very entertaining."—"Diary of Lord Colchester," ii. 333. It is impossible not to contrast the pleasant vivacity and even humor of the letter and diary writers of this time with the inert style of more modern days. Every one seemed to write with the *gaieté du cœur* that was found in the comedies of the time.

least, and was dazzled with the spectacle. He writes some time after that it was reported that Waithman, "the patriotic linen-draper," had got a card, and every odd-looking fellow that appeared, people said: "That's Mr. Waithman."

An amusing incident was Sheridan's hoaxing invitation of the half-cracked "Romeo" Coates, to whom a well-imitated card had been sent. The poor coxcomb arrived in his finest fantastic dress, —the hoaxter watching him near the entrance—but was repulsed by the officials, who detected the imposture. The Regent learned the trick that had been played, and with gracious good feeling sent excuses to the victim, with a kind and earnest invitation to come and inspect the adornments of the entertainment.

This occasion prompted the lively muse of the poet:

Come to our fête, and bring with thee  
Thy newest, best embroidery!  
Come to our fête, and show again  
That pea-green coat, thou pink of men!  
Which charm'd all eyes, that last survey'd it;  
When B——l's self inquired "who made it?"—  
When cits came wondering, from the East,  
And thought thee Poet Pye *at least!*

Oh! come—(if haply 'tis thy week  
For looking pale)—with paly cheek;  
Though more we love thy roseate days,  
When the rich rouge-pot pours its blaze  
Full o'er thy face, and, amply spread,  
Tips e'en thy whisker-tops with red—  
Like the last tints of dying day  
That o'er some darkling grove delay!

Bring thy best lace, thou gay Philander!  
(That lace, like H—rry Al—x—nd—r,  
Too precious to be wash'd!)—thy rings,  
Thy seals—in short, thy prettiest things!  
Put all thy wardrobe's glories on,  
And yield, in frogs and fringe, to none  
But the great R—g—t's self alone!

Who—by particular desire—  
*For that night only*, means to hire  
A dress from Romeo C—tes, Esquire—  
Something between ('twere sin to hack it)  
The Romeo robe and Hobby jacket!  
Hail, first of actors! best of R—g—ts!  
Born for each other's fond allegiance!



*Both* gay Lotharios—*both* good dressers—  
Of Serious Farce *both* learn'd Professors—  
*Both* circled round, for use or show,  
With cocks'-combs, wheresoe'er they go!

Thou know'st the time, thou man of lore!  
It takes to chalk a ball-room floor—  
Thou know'st the time, too, well-a-day!  
It takes to dance that chalk away.  
The ball-room opens—far and nigh  
Comets and suns beneath us lie;  
O'er snowy moons and stars we walk,  
And the floor seems a sky of chalk!  
But soon shall fade the bright deceit,  
When many a maid, with busy feet  
That sparkle in the lustre's ray,  
O'er the white path shall bound and play  
Like nymphs along the Milky Way!—  
At every step a star is fled,  
And suns grow dim beneath their tread!  
So passeth life—(thus Sc—tt would write,  
And spinsters read him with delight)—  
Hours are not feet, yet hours trip on,  
Time is not chalk, yet time's soon gone!

But, hang this long digressive flight!  
I meant to say, thou'lt see, that night,  
What falsehood rankles in their hearts,  
Who say the P——e neglects the arts—  
Neglects the arts!—no St——g! no:  
*Thy* Cupids answer "'tis not so:"  
And every floor, that night, shall tell  
How quick thou daubest, and how well!  
Shine as thou may'st in French vermillion,  
Thou'rt *best*—beneath a French cotillion;  
And still com'st off, whate'er thy faults,  
With *flying colors* in a waltz!  
Nor needst thou mourn the transient date  
To thy best works assigned by fate—  
While *some chefs-d'œuvre* live to weary one,  
*Thine* boast a short life and a merry one;  
Their hour of glory past and gone  
With "Molly put the kettle on!"

But, bless my soul! I've scarce a leaf  
Of paper left—so, must be brief.

This festive fête, in fact, will be  
The former fête's facsimile;  
The same long masquerade of rooms,  
Trick'd in such different quaint costumes

(These, P—rt—r, are thy glorious works!),  
 You'd swear Egyptians, Moors, and Turks,  
 Bearing good taste some deadly malice  
 Had clubb'd to raise a picnic palace;  
 And each, to make the oglio pleasant,  
 Had sent a state-room as a present!—  
 The same fauteuils and girandoles—  
 The same gold asses,\* pretty souls!

That, in this rich and classic dome,  
 Appear so perfectly at home!  
 The same bright river 'mongst the dishes,  
 But *not*—ah! not the same dear fishes—  
 Late hours and claret kill'd the old ones!—  
 So, 'stead of silver and of gold ones  
 (It being rather hard to raise  
 Fish of that *specie* nowadays),  
 Some Sprats have been, by Y—rm—th's wish,  
 Promoted into *Silver* Fish,  
 And Gudgeons (so V—ns—tt—t told  
 The R—g—t) are as good as *Gold*!

So, prythee, come—our fête will be  
 But half a fête, if wanting thee!

The public were admitted on the following days to see the decorations, which was lauded as an instance of “the Prince's feeling and good-nature.” Much of this must be credited to a natural wish that all should see and admire his state. The crush was tremendous on this occasion, and the excitement exceeded that of the festival itself. Some thirty thousand people assembled outside, filling up Pall Mall and the Haymarket. All were so packed, the fine ladies and the mob, that the situation became alarming; many fainted; shrieks and cries were heard. Lord Yarmouth came forward and made a speech. When the gates were opened a rush was made—the ladies thrown down and trampled on—an elderly lady had her leg broken, while those of the fair sex who were rescued could not leave Carlton House, their clothes being torn from their backs. The Duke of Clarence then came forward, and in a speech tranquillized the crowd. But great mischief had been done, and many disasters occurred.

Such was the great Carlton House Fête.

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\* “The salt-cellars on the P—e's own table were in the form of an ass with panniers.”

## CHAPTER II.

1811.

WHILE all this revelry had been going on the King was growing worse; the bulletins indeed told the public that he "remains in the same state as during last week," or that his Majesty is "no worse." On review of the whole, there can be no doubt that his condition often could be fitly described as that of insanity, with occasional lucid intervals, rather than, as his family and the ministers tried to represent it, that of sanity with relapses into that malady. Yet the persons most interested in his recovery—the Queen and Mr. Perceval—in their eagerness were forcing him into premature exercise of his faculties, experiments which could only be injurious. Thus they had tried him "by proposing to him to hear the Catholic debate read, to which he said he had no objection, that he knew he must practise self-command." This was one of the topics that had actually produced his insanity. But Mr. Perceval gave out that he was now well enough to be restored, but that by business he might relapse.

While these intrigues were proceeding, the Prince's political principles were to be almost at once put to a very awkward test. It was not unnatural that the Catholics, finding that the "friend and follower of Fox" was now ruling the kingdom, might reasonably expect that his principles would at least find sympathy. They were now "agitating," and the Irish Government had been compelled to forbid an election of delegates for "an unlawful assembly," called the Catholic Committee; which, with other repressive proceedings, excited discontent and symptoms of rebellion. These measures were duly sanctioned by the Regent, somewhat to the surprise of the public and indignation of those who were affected by it. Lord Grenville, moodily looking on from Dropmore, wrote an explanation to his friends.



## LORD GRENVILLE TO LORD AUCKLAND.

"Dropmore, August 18th, 1811.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I believe the fact about the Irish business to be, that the Prince Regent sanctioned the proclamation\* on the ground of having agreed to let the ministers go on their own way, and reserving to himself his own more tolerant principles and opinions. For myself (and my friends, too, for I should be ashamed to indulge a feeling merely personal on such subjects, but for all of us), I am persuaded that we have great reason to rejoice in an additional obstacle to our being called upon once more to undertake to serve the Crown, without possessing its confidence, and to act honorably on our side towards those who are hourly betraying us."

But in truth the behavior of the Prince all through this year of restrictions was a series of fluctuations. Now friendly to the minister, now turning on him; now with the King, now going against him; now with the people, now against them. Thus he had received a deputation from the Lord Mayor and Common Council, in presence of the ministers of state, when it was urged that "the present representation of the Commons House of Parliament, which was termed a ready instrument in the hands of the minister for the time being, whether for purposes of nullifying the just prerogatives of the Crown, or of insulting and oppressing the people, and a reform in which representation is therefore absolutely necessary, for the safety of the Crown, the happiness of the people, and the peace and independence of the country." To which he returned a dignified answer, assuring the City that he should esteem it the happiest moment of his life, when he could resign the powers delegated to him into the hands of his sovereign; and that he should always listen to the complaints of those who thought themselves aggrieved.

Again, when a Radical address at a meeting held at Westminster, and presided over by the well-known Major Cartwright, was presented to him, pointing out the dangers of delaying reform, it was

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\* "The question of Ireland is parried judiciously enough for a short time; but come it must, and I know, as I dare say you do equally, that the Prince is pledged as strongly as man can be (even of a very late date) to support the Catholics."—Mr. Fremantle to Duke of Buckingham,—"Buckingham Papers—Regency," i. 134.

printed in the official Gazette, a most unusual circumstance, and considered to be owing to the positive command of the Prince himself.\*

On a contest for the Chancellorship of Cambridge, he gave all his support to his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, as against the Duke of Rutland, who had received the promise of the King's support, as well as the Prime Minister's. This the candidate published in a letter, adding, with great candor, that "he had no merit but the good-will of these personages."

Then, by another turn, when the Gold Coin Bill came on in July, "the Prince's friends" abandoned the Opposition and voted steadily with the Government, Sheridan speaking against Tierney. "Except on the Regency they have never attended so zealously. . . . In short the whole Carlton House interest has been most actively exerted," wrote Mr. Brougham, "with what views I think it not very difficult to guess."† It might fairly be surmised that he reckoned on aid from the ministers in two plans that were now in his thoughts, viz. the hope of getting rid of the Princess of Wales by a divorce, as well as of having his debts paid once more and receiving a handsome allowance. As to the first of these plans, he might think it feasible now that her only friend and protector was disabled, and that the excellent Perceval, so lately her champion, had "thrown her over."‡

It is not remarkable, therefore, that now he should make approaches to the minister, and, to the astonishment and disgust of the Liberals, had actually promised to dine with him. But the King's state became so serious that at half-past nine on the 19th a message was despatched to Mr. Perceval from the Regent, excusing himself from dining with him on the morrow, but strangely adding that "when this was over, whether the event was favorable or unfavorable, his royal highness would consider the engagement to dine with him as still holding."§ Such was his singular character. Yet only a month before there had been "a serious misunderstanding-

\* Huish, ii. 41.

† "Autobiography," i. 524.

‡ "It appears," wrote this usually well-informed person, in August, "that he is bent upon a divorce, and will make any man minister who will assist him. I have heard he intends bringing the Princess to trial as soon as his father and her mother are gone, and that then, though her life, as she knows, would be forfeited, he should only confine her in Holyrood House forever."—Jackson, "Diary," i. 275.

§ Colchester, ii. 342.

ing between them, which had risen to such a height that one or other must give way." \*

During the recess the Regent paid a visit to Brighton, and enjoyed himself very much, casting off business. Mr. Jackson, who was there at the time, furnishes a glimpse of the life at the Pavilion.

"The Regent, in fact, has been very gracious, and we have been invited to all his evening receptions. On Sunday, just as he seemed ready to dismiss the party, he kept them waiting a full half-hour whilst he was in very animated and familiar conversation with my brother and Elizabeth.

"He is now returned to London, highly pleased with his stay here, and regretting especially that he must go just as the weather is becoming fine, for it has rained hard part of every day he has been here. He had the Duke of Cumberland with him, Lord Yar-mouth, and two or three gentlemen of his family, with only a small retinue of servants.

"The evening's entertainment consists in hearing the Regent's private band play. The band is a part of his establishment confined to this place. It is composed only of wind instruments. We heard some of the finest music, executed in the very finest manner; all the performers being musicians of the very first talent. On one or two evenings, Miss Chinnery, who possesses great musical ability in addition to her many other accomplishments, was asked to play on the pianoforte. This was considered a very great compliment, and, as you will readily understand, was the cause of much envy and backbiting amongst the women. Many soft sleepy eyes opened, many arched brows were raised higher, and amongst the dowagers many significant glances were slyly exchanged. But Miss Chinnery performed splendidly, and without any of the airs and graces with which I have seen some girls prattle with the keys. She was complimented greatly, and particularly so by the Regent. On one occasion we heard Viotti, the celebrated performer on the violin. About twelve o'clock, sandwiches and some light refreshments are brought in, and the Prince retires; having made the tour of the room to speak to the company, both before and after the performance of the band. I think the company never exceeded a hundred, and sometimes not more than thirty persons were present."

These Pavilion concerts showed not only his taste for music, but



his good-nature. It was at one of them that Kelly—"Mike," of pleasant memory—ventured to introduce a little girl who was eagerly curious to see the Prince, and concealed her among the musicians. The Prince however spied her, and with affected anger taxed Kelly with this intrusion. But he presently had the child on his knee, put her in a good place, and took care that she enjoyed herself. To this Kelly he contrived in a delicate gracious way to give an annuity of £100; that is, by ordering him to take a free benefit annually, to which he always contributed £100.

An instance of the Prince's lavish tastes may be quoted here. At the Duke of Queensberry's sale of wine in 1810 it was found, to the surprise of the public, that his cellar had been rather poorly furnished; but there were twelve lots of Tokay, which Mr. Christie, after an appropriate harangue, informed the amateurs had cost the noble duke three guineas per bottle at Paris, half a century back. The liquor was put into lots of a dozen, and put up at fifty guineas, on which biddings were immediately made, and it was knocked down at ninety-six guineas; another succeeded at the same enormous price, when two gentlemen agreed to take the whole between them, as they had no opponents; they were found to be an agent of the Prince of Wales, and a friend of a cabinet-maker of the City: his royal highness having eight lots, and the other four.

Though there was hardly any other wine worth notice, it sold for immense sums. The sale wound up with a couple of dozen of liqueur, the name of which was unknown, but which fetched a guinea a bottle.\*

Mrs. Fitzherbert was also at Brighton during the season, though perhaps not at the same time as the Prince. Not by any means in low spirits, she gave suppers and balls—one of the latter kept up until five in the morning. Here was also the beautiful Lady Charlemont—much admired, and still recalled by many now living—and the lively Lady Alborough.†

A new influence had now begun to direct his policy and inclinations, and which grew stronger with successive years—that of Lady

\* See that curious work, "Personal Memoirs of Pryse Gordon, Esq."

† The agreeable Mrs. Trench described an awkward scene at Cheltenham, where Mrs. Fitzherbert had been judiciously invited by a *gauche* colonel to a fête in honor of the Princess Charlotte's birth. He first introduced his guest as "Regentess," by leading her in before all the ladies of rank, then gave toasts, and descanted on the merits of the Prince and Princess of Wales and "the lovely fruit of their union."

Hertford, which has been before alluded to. This was a decorous lady of quality, whose connection with her admirer must be accepted as that of a correct and "platonic" kind. Shrewd observers had noticed what Lord Holland calls his usual symptoms of devotion—sufferings from illness and bad health. He would submit to be bled two or three times in the course of a night, and "the surgeons were introduced unknown to each other, to obviate any objections." The reader will therefore understand the supposed attempt at suicide when he was burning with his early flame for Mrs. Fitzherbert. It was always considered that Lady Hertford had worked on him to confirm him in his change of political views. This regard he extended to all belonging to her—as in the instance of a later attachment—and Lord Yarmouth, the maturer son of this elderly dame, was long one of his bosom friends and companions.

It was at Manchester House that he became acquainted with an entertaining being—Theodore Hook—whose gifts were after his own heart: those of mimicry, story-telling, and joking. This was to prove a most valuable intimacy, and to bring him profit during the years of conflict with his Queen. Then Hook starting the *John Bull* did his cause infinite service. "We believe," writes Mr. Barham, in the more unpretending sketch in the "Quarterly Review," which preceded his "Life of Hook," "he owed his first *entrée* to the impression made on Sheridan by his improvisation at the Piazza Tavern; he soon afterwards became familiar with Sheridan's amiable and richly-gifted son Thomas, and through him with various young men of his own standing, who moved in the atmosphere of fashion. Some of these made mention of him to the Marchioness of Hertford, and after he had justified their eulogies by the display of his musical and metrical facility in her ladyship's presence, he was called upon to minister in like fashion to the amusement of the Regent at a supper in Manchester Square. We have heard him describe his presentation to the Prince—his awe at first was something quite terrible—but good-humored condescension and plenty of champagne by-and-by restored him to himself, and the young man so delighted his royal highness that, as he was leaving the room, he laid his hand on his shoulder and said: 'Mr. Hood, I must see and hear you again.' After a few more evenings at Lady Hertford's, and, we believe, a dinner or two elsewhere, the Regent made inquiry about his position, and, finding that he was without profession or fixed income of any sort, signified his opinion that 'something must be done for Hook.'

"The ladies' tact soon discovered that, though there might be something like petulance in his first address, there was no real presumptuousness in his composition. The wonder had passed rapidly into a favorite throughout Mayfair. He had seen its boudoirs as well as its saloons—and narrowly escaped various dangers incidental to that career—among the rest, from at least one duel (with General Thornton), in which transaction, from first to last, he was allowed to show equal spirit and temper. We have some records of his airier existence also in 'Gilbert Gurney.' The whole scene of the Countess of Wolverhampton's party, at the end of the first volume, is copied from what occurred at the late Lady Buckingham's—not forgetting the bullock substituted for the cow, and the royal Duke's supper devoured by the Pandæans. But the richness of the harvest he had gathered is apparent in the whole series of his novels. It was in the midst of these gayeties that the Regent smiled on him."

When he was on a visit to Lord Hertford at Hagley a curious incident occurred. Two of the tenants begged to be allowed to have a "good view" of the Regent, and were accordingly stationed in an ante-room through which he was to pass. The hostess having informed the Prince of their eagerness to see him, he good-naturedly and affably advanced to speak to the village lasses: one was so overcome that she fell to the floor fainting, the other remained in a state of daze or stupefaction.

It was in this year that the most important changes in the metropolis were planned; and the bold scheme for adding a new quarter with a park, and streets laid out with taste, which now forms the most effective portion of London, seems to have been prompted by the Regent.

But it was in the year 1813 that the scheme of laying out magnificent streets and buildings, joining a large tract of waste fields, known as Marylebone Park, by one spacious thoroughfare was entered on. Nothing so welcome to the Regent could have been conceived. It opened up prospects of building and planning, and his own architect directed the whole, though the undertaking was under the direction of "The Woods and Forests." Nash conceived the plan of long façades, broken into blocks, then again subdivided into houses, and it must be said that Waterloo Place and the ascent up to Regent Street proper, and the Quadrant (a most effective device, with its original colonnade now removed) all combine to make a most satisfactory and successful design, which modern architects, with the new developments and all the Queen Anne vagaries, have



not succeeded in even approaching. Stucco and paint may indeed be the chief "notes," but there is a dignity and effect that is not unworthy of a great city or of a leading and busy quarter full of glittering shops. This important enterprise was completed in a surprisingly short time. Within fifteen years the park was laid out and terraces built.

These improvements included the erection of the houses forming Cumberland Place and Crescent, and the Duke of Portland's property was then built over. Manchester Square was begun by the erection of Manchester House. Lisson Grove and the district about was gradually covered with houses; there remained, where Waterloo Place is now, some blocks of old mean-looking streets and dingy houses, quite unsuited to Carlton House, which itself, as the new streets spread away from it, began to look dingy and shabby enough, and was dwarfed by the more pretentious buildings, and by the towers of Westminster, which could be seen rising over its roof.

Some were scandalized at the rash and daring character of the new plans; and it is characteristic to find that some lamented the loss of the new milk, butter, and other produce, purveyed from the fields and market-gardens past Wimpole Street, and which would now have to be supplied from many miles beyond. Some were sarcastic, too, on the number of new churches projected, and which formed a feature in all the plans. But these projects were now only being talked of, and had not yet been put in action.

## CHAPTER III.

1811.

A TRUE estimate of Mr. Perceval as a minister has now been pretty fairly arrived at, viz. that he was a man of mediocre or respectable ability, inclined to 'trade,' as it is called, on a reputation for being a good father and husband, and perhaps for piety.\*

It is amusing to read the extravagant terms in which his humble admirers speak of him, and record his various performances. The raptures of men like Mr. Plumer Ward would have been exaggerated if applied to Lord Chatham or his son. Nothing, too, is more unfounded than the statement made by Lord Eldon and others as to his gradually winning his way with the Prince, or the latter "falling in love with him" politically. The truth is the Regent looked on him as his father's minister, and though for a time he had hopes he might find him a pliant tool, he soon was on the verge of a quarrel with him, or intriguing to supplant him. This latter proceeding we will now consider, and a very curious intrigue it is.

To understand the Prince's political conduct, one principle may be assumed: that he was never guided by men of principle, but led by boon companions or men of pleasure—Sheridan, Lords Wellesley, Moira, and Yarmouth; the tribe of MacMahons, Tyrwhitts, Knights; scheming women, needy officers, adroit doctors—these were his counsellors and directors. Grey, Grenville, Erskine, Romilly, Fox, were tried and found unsuitable. They were too consistent, too straightforward, too honest, to become mere instruments or advisers of what was agreeable. But even when he had committed himself to guides of this description, there was, as we have seen, a *camarilla* within, who controlled and checked them, and thus the foolish Prince was ever led by his humors and whims, and the aims of others.

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\* Sydney Smith has expressed this popular view in a well-known and most pleasant passage, praising him for his dutiful and conscientious behavior "to Mrs. Perceval, the Master and Miss Percevals."

On the Prince's graciously allowing Mr. Perceval and ministers "to wear his uniform," the smart pen of Moore was again at work :

#### NEW COSTUME OF THE MINISTERS.

Having sent off the troops of brave Major Camac,  
With a swinging horse-tail at each valorous back,  
And such helmets. God bless us! as never deck'd any  
Male creature before. except Signor Giovanni—  
"Let's see," says the R—g—t (like 'Titus, perplex'd  
With the duties of empire), "whom *shall* I dress next?"

He looks in the glass—but perfection is there,  
Wig, whiskers, and chin-tufts all right to a hair;  
Not a single *ex-curl* on his forehead he traces—  
For curls are like Ministers, strange as the case is,  
The *false*r they are, the more firm in their places.

His coat he next views—but the coat who could doubt?  
For his Y—rm—th's own Frenchified hand cut it out:  
Every pucker and seam were made matters of State,  
And a grand Household Council was held on each plait!

Then whom shall he dress? shall he new-rig his brother,  
Great C—mb—rl—d's Duke, with some kickshaw or other?  
And kindly invent him more Christian-like shapes  
For his feather-bed neckcloths and pillory capes?

Ah no!—here his ardor would meet with delays,  
For the Duke had been lately pack'd up in new *stays*,  
So complete for the winter, he saw very plain  
'Twould be devilish hard work to *unpack* him again!

So, what's to be done?—there's the Ministers, bless 'em!—  
As he *made* the puppets, why shouldn't he *dress* 'em?  
"An excellent thought!—call the tailors—be nimble—  
Let Cum bring his spyglass, and H—rtf—d her thimble;  
While Y—rm—th shall give us, in spite of all quizzers,  
The last Paris cut with his true Gallic scissors."

So saying, he calls C—stl—r—gh, and the rest  
Of his Heaven-born statesmen, to come and be dress'd.  
While Y—rm—th, with snip-like and brisk expedition,  
Cuts up, all at once, a large Cath'lic petition  
In long tailors' measures (the P—e crying "Well done!")  
And first *puts in hand* my Lord Chancellor Eld—n.

Lord Wellesley, a man of pleasure and dissipated, but certainly of talents, independent and manly, had two creditable ends for his policy, which he always kept in view—the one a fair and generous



support for his brother, then fighting the battles of his country in Spain, the other a loyal and liberal treatment of the Catholics. From this latter position he never swerved. He was now a member of a Government where neither of these principles was considered, and was doing his best to thwart the head of it. In September, when Mr. Perceval and his friends were comforting themselves with having gained the Regent, he was already being closeted with him, and forwarding his own favorite ends. He had pressed on him the possibility of a bold and dazzling foreign policy, which would add prestige to his regency.

In the meantime he continued to be a thorn in the side of the Prime Minister, and at councils was studiously obstructive and haughtily insolent. After a quarrel, owing to his having contested a grant of a million in aid of his brother, wrung from the minister "like drops of blood," the latter amiably offered him two places in succession for his son, which were declined, with the contemptuous speech that he would consult the Prince upon it. When the ministers begged the Regent to be allowed to wear the Regent's uniform in honor of his birthday, and for that occasion only, the haughty nobleman declined to sign the application, but asked it in person, and was graciously privileged not only on that but on all other occasions.\*

It becomes entertaining to follow the network of speculation and intrigue that was thus set on foot by "the Prince's old friends," "the Prince's friends," and the Prince's advisers, who were neither old nor new friends. They were all working against one another, so it was hard for the distracted Regent to know how to act. But new influences were fatal to the old. Lord Moira, one of the "friends," thus gravely lectured the old friends on his policy:

"Let me honestly say," wrote Lord Moira, "that Lord Grenville's immediate connections have to charge themselves considerably with the present state of things. Then a tone so unconciliatory was used towards the Prince, as inevitably repelled his dispositions, and laid him open to the representations of those who insinuated that he would put himself into thralldom if he persevered in his original plan. To clinch the matter there came that impolitic opposition, by Lord Grenville's particular friends, in the House of Commons, to the reappointment of the Duke of York."†

"One thing seems evident," wrote Lord Bulkely, "that our

\* "Buckingham Papers," pp. 120, 127.

† Auckland, iv. 371.

friend of Dropmore has no chance of being our future pilot, and that the Prince will proscribe him and Grey." \* But Lord Grey was quite sanguine, and believed that the Prince intended to bring in his old friends. "Our friend of Dropmore," on the other hand, took the gloomiest view, and declared that the Prince had not the smallest disposition towards what are called his old friends. "He has, I am confident, no plan of conduct whatever, but is governed from day to day by the two people that have taken him." In aid of these various schemes, negotiations were going on with the Whig Dukes, and it was given out "with great exultation that the Prince had gained over the great houses of Norfolk, Percy, and Cavendish." All the royal family too were eager to have Lord Wellesley at the head of affairs, for patronage was to be given over to the Prince, and he was besides to be handsomely treated as to debts and allowances, and established by some brilliant *coups* of foreign policy.

All, therefore, was *couleur de rose* when, owing to the influence of the Duke of Cumberland, a coolness took place. The Chancellor was called in, and these champions of ascendancy succeeded in touching the Prince in his Protestant feelings, and persuading him that the late behavior of the Catholics was insolent and offensive, so that he was heard to declare that he considered their conduct purely hostile to him, as showing a distrust of him when he should become his own master; that so long as they assumed this menacing attitude, there should be no change that would favor their objects. It was thought that this afforded him a plausible pretence for "opportunism," of leaving things as they were, the part most consonant to his love of ease and personal timidity of character.

This was practically destroying the old party of the Prince's friends. "I can now tell you," wrote a judicious observer, "for I know it, that your friends are distinctly excluded from any chance of success, whatever change may take place. On this depend." † And he added a characteristic reason which showed he was not unskilled in human character. It was because the Prince had already used his friends so ill that no concession or recommendation on his part could set such a compound fracture as had taken place. ‡

\* Auckland, iv. 373.

† "Buckingham Papers," p. 157.

‡ This was from that anonymous correspondent who writes such piquant letters, the authorship of which has puzzled Sir G. Cornwalli Lewis and others. A clue may be found in the following. Many years ago, when the papers and correspondence of the Buckingham family were put up to auction, there was among the lots in the catalogue one thus described: "126—Stuart (Mr.), editor

With this may be contrasted the behavior of the otherwise worthy Perceval, which was certainly undignified.

His eagerness to conciliate Lord Wellesley will have been noted. In this view he seems to have put up with very brusque treatment and many snubs; as, when the bishopric of Oxford fell vacant the Prince at once thought of his old tutor Jackson (?), and in an interview with the minister announced his intention of conferring it on him. The following animated conversation took place: "On that point, sir, I am positively pledged," objected Mr. Perceval. "Positively pledged, Mr. Perceval!" said the Prince, "positively pledged to give away one of my bishoprics? I don't understand you." "I mean," said the other humbly, "that it was the King's positive and declared intention to give it to Dean Legge." "Mr. Perceval," replied the Prince insolently, "if I had any direct intimation of what were really the King's wishes upon the subject, I would not only make Dean Legge Bishop of Oxford, but Archbishop of Canterbury, if it were in my power. But as that is not the case, I shall make my own bishop. And further, I desire never more to hear what were the King's wishes upon such subjects through a third person."\* This sharp rebuke shows that the Prince was shrewd and sagacious enough; but the secret of this bitterness was really owing to what was a sore subject with him, refusal of money; and here the minister, no doubt looking to his own interests with the nation and the King, declined to be complaisant. He had consented to a grant of £150,000 to defray the extra expenses of the regency, but had suddenly changed his views and reduced it to £100,000. On this the Prince made the following angry speech. "Sir, I am not afraid of your bringing the whole of my debts before the country, provided you don't misrepresent me." No one seems to have recalled the magnanimous declaration in which only a few months before the Regent had declined to burden the nation with any fresh demands, saying he was not eager for money.

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of 'The Oracle,' Secret Correspondence with the Marquis of Buckingham, 41 letters. These letters are mostly of great length, many being of ten or twelve pages; they enter very fully into the details of the political movements of the day, and evince a degree of close intimacy with persons of high position. A large portion of the correspondence, most relative to private affairs of individuals, is unpublished." This is an almost exact description of the published anonymous documents. Before the sale the letters were withdrawn. Stuart was brother of the "Dan Stuart" so pleasantly described by Charles Lamb.

\* "Buckingham Papers," p. 172.



The most singular incident in the history of cabinets is that one member of the Government should have constituted himself the Prince's official advocate and champion, in opposition to its chief and the rest; Lord Wellesley insisting on the Prince's rights in an almost hostile manner. As the Regent's agent he informed Mr. Perceval that what was required was that the King should have a suitable establishment, sufficient for his comfort and rank; but that the full Civil List, state, etc., should be transferred to the Regent, who would give up his allowance as Prince of Wales. The Queen and Princesses, as the Prince had taken care to assure them at the beginning, should have separate allowances.\* This view the minister declined to accept in its entirety, and proposed that the Regent should maintain the King out of the Civil List to the extent of £100,000 a year. He agreed, however, to add £50,000 from the Prince's old allowance, so that the balance would only be £50,000.

But the strange incidents of this little struggle to overthrow by personal influence and favoritism the constituted Government is minutely unfolded in a curious account given by Lord Wellesley himself to a friend, colored, no doubt, by his impulsive habit of viewing things. From it we get a clear idea of the turns and shifts of this uncertain prince.†

"When the turn of good fortune on the Continent had come the Prince Regent learned from Count Münster, the Hanoverian minister, what great openings there were for adding to England's prestige. On this topic Lord Wellesley used to enlarge until the Prince grew fired with enthusiasm. This, Lord Wellesley says, was a bond of union. The Prince and his brothers were even anxious to send out an army to Hanover, but from this Lord Wellesley dissuaded him. He proposed even that all these plans should be kept secret from the other ministers; but this his friend dissuaded him from. Meanwhile Mr. Perceval was complaining to Lord Wellesley "that he despaired of getting anything done; that the Prince Regent talked incessantly, and would seldom listen to business; that he frequently went away without having shown one of his papers."

Towards the end of the summer the Prince Regent began to speak to him on the subject of the ministry he proposed to form at

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\* Lord Wellesley to Perceval, "Life of Perceval" ii. 227.

† It seems to have been drawn up by Colonel Shawe, his secretary and friend, and will be found in the Duke of Wellington's "Supplementary Despatches," vii. 257.

the end of his restrictions; he pressed for Lord Wellesley's advice without stating his own intentions. Lord Wellesley, after alluding to his favorite principles of carrying out a bold policy on the Continent, still advised him, if he had given a pledge to any particular set of men, to keep his word and commence his government "with unblemished honor." This the adviser felt would throw him out of office, and he fancied the Prince's idea was to have Lords Grey and Grenville, who had too many of their own friends to provide for to offer him anything. The Regent, he believed, proposed to retain the present men with an infusion of his own friends, but getting rid of Perceval. No doubt he wished to have a little party of his own in the Cabinet whom he could influence, just as he was now working on Wellesley. He wished to put an end to the distinction between the Pitt and Fox parties, and was continually saying: "For God's sake, is it not time to leave at rest the ashes of the two great men, now no more, who are quoted at every step?" In these councils the Prince pressed his friend for his opinions on the Catholic question, who enforced on him that something must be done for the Catholics, not, certainly, so long as there was a chance of its being painful to the King; but once the restrictions were removed, he would have an opportunity. The result of all this is amusingly described. The Prince took up these views rapturously; "they were exactly his own," except—an important exception too—that the matter was not to be touched at all during the King's life. Lord Wellesley applauded this filial delicacy, but urged: "You cannot refuse to listen to the Catholics; if you create peers and give away the garters, the same reasoning applies to both." This staggered the Prince, who declared that the argument convinced him.

"This was now become the favorite topic at Carlton House. Lord Wellesley was made to repeat his intended arguments over and over again; the Prince always swearing the suggestions were all his own (as is usual when anything pleases him). He was desired to state in the House that such were the Prince's own opinions." But he excused himself, saying it was inconsistent. Even when the Prince found that Lord Wellesley's speech had made a noise, he complained that "Wellesley had not dealt fairly by him in concealing his share in it." The trusting foolish lord came at last to think that he was certain presently to dislodge the minister, and he himself to be placed at the head of affairs.

Meanwhile all this talk and flourish might have been accepted as "certain forecast of the Regent's going no farther in that direc-

tion." Other talk and councils were going on at Hertford House, and it was artfully suggested to the Prince, that now that he was wanting money allowances for the household, it was more likely that one of Perceval's "reputation for economy and frugality would be more readily followed by the House than Lord Wellesley, who is considered an extravagant fellow." The Prince determined prudently therefore to retain Mr. Perceval until he had carried the Bill. Thus in every part of these transactions he was veered about by his own interest. His friend now began to have misgivings. He was naturally on cold and distrustful terms with the colleagues he was undermining, but disdaining to act cordially, absented himself as much as he could. He took the same course with the Prince.

At this time a horse had trodden on the Prince's foot, and indeed, apart from this, he had been far from well, complaining of strange symptoms in his head. His fingers had so swelled that his rings had to be sawn off. It was during his convalescence that Lord Wellesley found occasion to strengthen his influence, dwelling on topics likely to touch his vanity—the war in Spain, combinations with the Northern Courts, etc.\*

On Nov. 27th, he writes the Prime Minister: "As I reached Oatlands this morning at half-past twelve, the Princesses arrived from Windsor, which event prevented me from seeing the Prince until a very late hour. I am but this moment arrived in town, and have had no dinner, and am so much tired (partly from the extreme heat of the room at Oatlands) that I should have no power of rendering justice to any subject of public business to-night, even if I could reach you in any reasonable time. The subject of my audience to-day was Sweden; but the Prince generally stated to me the same ideas which I have already mentioned to you, with much increased earnestness, and indeed on some points with considerable force. He informed me that he had seen the Queen yesterday, and that her Majesty entirely approved all his views respecting the King, the household, and the settlement for the Queen and the Princesses. He continues to think that the dignity of the King and the comfort of his situation will be best provided for by a separate establishment, under a new office of the highest rank. That the Regent should have the whole Civil List, and the full state, as well

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\* See Mr. McCullagh Torrens' interesting memoir, "The Marquess Wellesley," p. 465 *et seq.*, from which I take what follows.



as power, of the Crown, and should resign his allowances as Prince of Wales. That the Queen should have an independent allowance, and the Princesses the same. He considers this part of the arrangement to be inseparable from the settlement of the Regency on a permanent basis. He will state many very strong considerations in favor of his plan, and appears intent on carrying it into execution. He said to-day that, after the discussion with you shall have taken place (unless you agreed), he should wait to receive your propositions in writing, in order that he might answer them. I rather understood this to be a proof of his determination to abide by his own ideas than a symptom of any intention to depart from them in consequence of what he might receive in writing from you. . . . The Prince Regent," he writes again to the Prime Minister, "sent an order to me, which reached me at this place last night, directing me to attend his royal highness at Oatlands, at twelve to-day. He began by asking me whether I had seen the paper which he had received from you respecting the new settlement of the Regency. I said (as you know I must have said) that I had not seen the paper, but that I was acquainted with the substance of its contents. He then communicated your paper to me, and said that he intended to state his ideas in writing on the whole subject; that he was aware of the impropriety of desiring me to offer any advice in the present state of the question, but that he wished to declare his sentiments freely to me. I thought it was my duty to inform his royal highness that I could not, in this stage of the discussion, offer any opinion on the subject, either of your paper or of his intended answer; and as this sentiment agreed with his own feeling he did not ask any opinion from me; but he proceeded to express nearly the same views of the subject which he had stated to you and to me on former occasions. I collected from his royal highness's conversation that your paper had produced no change in his opinion, and that he entertained a strong persuasion that his statement would have great weight, and would satisfy you that you had taken an erroneous view of the question."

Mr. Perceval replied: "I thank you for your letter, and regret extremely that his royal highness continues so attached to his former opinion respecting the new settlement of the Regency. I had called a Cabinet meeting for this day, at two o'clock." On this he repaired to him, remaining "four hours" at his first sitting, on which the prudent Yarmouth hinted "that nothing annoyed the Prince so much as a long audience; he could not bear the sight of a man for

a week after." He also offered to give him hints in future of the same kind. It was, of course, the Prince that declaimed the most part of the time; he was eager for his "old Cornwall arrears." But his adviser pointed out to him that he could not in honor ask for them, as his claims had been abandoned by his agent in the House of Commons. The Prince said this had been done without his authority ("a favorite expedient of his," says his friend). Seeing that *tracasserie* of some kind was on foot, it was natural that Perceval and his colleagues should not take Lord Wellesley much into their confidence. The latter pressed to be allowed to resign, but neither the Prince nor Mr. Perceval wished him to retire. He really knew not what to do, as he might lose all chances by withdrawing. He wished, of course, to avoid the mortification of finding Mr. Perceval chosen as minister, and of being dismissed by him; and thus, in an irresolute way, weakly consented to stay on, little suspecting that they were only waiting to arrange their plans. He owns that he was tormented with reports of Lord Castlereagh being offered his place; but the Prince kept on assuring him that he should have full notice of any attempt of the kind being made. When he learned from his friends that Mr. Perceval was telling every one he was to be retained as Prime Minister, it was too late.

## CHAPTER IV.

1812.

PARLIAMENT met on January 7th, with great irritation and excitement on both sides. The Catholic question came at once to the front; and the other questions of the household, the debts, together with his own illness, almost distracted the unhappy Regent, whose situation was deserving of commiseration. His early and continued excesses were telling on his health. He was growing large and corpulent; his recent attack filled him with nervous apprehensions; and the numbness in his head he fancied was a symptom of paralysis. The Queen, too, now representing a distinct interest, but feeling that her rule was slipping from her, was working through the Chancellor and the Council to retain as much power and influence as possible for herself, and, as the Speaker said, was voracious in her claims, harassing her son even when he was ill. She was most eager that her daughters should not have independent establishments; while the Prince was inclined to grant them. On the Catholic question it seems he would have preferred the old *laissez-faire* policy. Many of the Cabinet were beginning to adopt this view; and the Prince himself, loudly complaining of the way he had been treated, affected to declare that the Papists ought to get relief, but at the proper time. He and Colonel Tyrwhitt, another of the "Prince's men," in a conversation with the Speaker about the same time, expressed the same view—that "it was to be wished the other ministers would agree to resist it only on the point of time. Could not the Prince say that in the King's present state it was not to be done?" To which appeal the Speaker sensibly replied that there must be a *solidarité* between the Prince and his ministers, and that what they said must be accepted as his views; in short, finessing would not do. Further evidence of his irresolution was, that after offering himself to dine with the Prime Minister, and fixing a day, he now excused himself, "conscious," as Colonel Tyrwhitt said, "that he was watched, and that misinterpretations would be put



upon his dining at this time; but he would dine with him on some other occasion." \*

But the Opposition were not inclined to adopt this waiting policy. Lord Grenville had forced the question on, and the leader of the Opposition in the other House also brought it forward. It was no doubt pressed on the Regent that this was an affront. The introduction of so embarrassing a question would make it impossible to have such men as advisers. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that by the 20th of January Colonel Tyrwhitt was giving out that "the Regent would not increase his father's miseries by granting the Catholics' demands, but would not deny them so as to extinguish hope." Anyhow, the struggle for supremacy between Lord Wellesley and the ministry of which he formed part became more interesting.

In reference to this matter Mr. Ward gives a curious statement. "There was," he says, "a meeting, it seems, at Ponsonby's at which he, among ninety gentlemen, was present. Ponsonby sent for them in order to relate a message which he had received through Sheridan from the Regent. The message was, 'that the Catholic question was so far given up by the ministers that it was no longer to be considered as a ministerial question; and that every one was to be allowed to take what line he would, without being considered as renouncing engagements to the Government.' Ponsonby, however, added that at the same time that he received this, he had also received a communication from some, either of the ministers or persons nearly connected with them (I did not learn which), by which he was given to understand this was all a misapprehension."

"The next day (Sunday), upon Lord Moira's calling at Carlton House by the Prince's order, the Prince sent out his page-in-waiting to him, to tell him that he had been so drunk the preceding night, he was not well enough to see him, but ordered the page to tell him that he (the Prince) had settled the Catholic question, which was not any longer to form a Government question. The Prince, later on Sunday, said the same thing to Sheridan, who asked if he might be authorized to say that from the Prince to Ponsonby; and the Prince said, 'By all means.' You see in this we have only the story of one side; but it remains to see what Perceval's story will be."

It was a bold game that he was playing, but it was to fail. He

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\* Colchester, "Diary," ii. 354.

saw that the only way of release from his troubles would be in getting ministers to adopt this new-found principle and thus save his own consistency. He accordingly insisted that Lord Wellesley should meet Perceval, Lord Liverpool, and the Chancellor at Carlton House to consider the matter. A very warm discussion was opened by the Prince desiring that the question should be considered on its merits, without regard to the opinions previously expressed by any of the parties present. He himself cordially seconded his friend's views on the "opportunist" theory, and the matter ended, as might be expected, by Mr. Perceval and the Protestant party adopting this view.\*

Lord Holland seems to have gauged the Prince thoroughly in his fluctuations on the Catholic question, and describes how he came to warn him seriously that his popularity in Ireland, at least, would be in peril, if a belief got abroad that he was against the claims. The Prince declared to him that, "if he took an active part, it might occasion a relapse in the King, and expose him to imputations which he could not bear. He announced that he would never take any part in a subject that was hostile to the King, and by that declaration he would abide. He then seemed to hint that Lord Moira's declaration in the House had been authorized by him." Later, Lord Holland brought Lord Fingall, the representative of the Catholics, to Carlton House, where "the Prince spoke for an hour and a half by the French clock. He recounted at great length, but more adroitly than distinctly, the history of his opinions on the Roman Catholic question." He did not say distinctly that he was for admitting them to Parliament and offices, but "implied his opinions," such as would satisfy Lord Fingall. He censured the ministry of 1805, but authorized his visitor to repeat that his opinions were unchanged. He doubted the policy of bringing matters on now; but he hoped he was mistaken. He denied that he had prompted Lord Moira. "Of course he will vote with you. He cannot do otherwise." Lord Fingall departed "highly satisfied." The Prince's conduct at this interview gives an excellent idea of his cleverness and art. No one knew so well how to ring the changes on "opportunism," and make that useful auxiliary serve as covert for denial. In this device, however, he had many to imitate him.

The result was most mortifying for the Catholic champion; for

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\* "Buckingham Papers," p. 216.

thus the ground was, as it were, cut from beneath his feet, and the lever for supplanting the ministry lost. The Regent, forgetting all that he had held out to his friend, only thought of his own comfort, which had been secured. The other at once informed him that he could no longer serve under Mr. Perceval, and would only delay his resignation until new arrangements could be made. But Perceval, perceiving that the man who had plotted against him was baffled, now saw his advantage, and insisted on his immediate resignation, declaring that the Government could not go on. The Prince, scenting fresh troubles, objected, declaring that his resignation was "only *in petto*," and "that it would put him in great difficulty, and produce him much uneasiness of mind," etc.—a characteristic reason. Perceval insisted pertinaciously on getting rid of his colleague, and the Prince had to yield. When Lord Castlereagh was named as his successor, the Regent praised the choice, as indeed he might, for he was connected with the Hertford *camarilla*; the other replied that he had not proposed the matter to him, but that he was certain to accept. But that nobleman haughtily answered, "that he would be stopgap to no man; but that when the restrictions were at an end, if the Prince chose to make him a formal offer, he would consider it with humble duty and acknowledgment." Much mortified, Perceval then proposed to take in Lord Sidmouth, when the Prince warmly exclaimed: "Is it possible, Mr. Perceval, that you are ignorant of my feelings and sentiments towards that person? I now tell you I never will have confidence in him, or in any person who forces him on me. If after this you choose to employ him, be it so; but I warn you that you must take all the responsibility upon yourself." He repeatedly pressed this measure on the Prince, and at last finding that he could not succeed, he proposed that, as Lord Wellesley must be retained, he, Mr. Perceval, should be empowered to state that he possessed the Prince's sole and exclusive confidence." This the Prince positively and repeatedly refused in a tone of sarcasm and disgust.

These scenes seemed to have been reported to Lord Wellesley by the Prince himself, and by the former retailed to Lord Temple's anonymous correspondent.\*

Allowing for exaggeration, there could be no doubt this took place, for the Prince was exasperated about the question of his

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\* "Buckingham Papers," i. 219.



debts. Sympathy would go with the minister who was thus flouted through the agency of a subordinate, only for his mild amiable endurance in accepting such treatment. At these interviews was given a good specimen of the Prince's "sharpness" and that sort of "cleverness" in conversation with which he was certainly gifted. Perceval had stated that Mr. Yorke's health was so bad that he was to resign at the expiration of the restrictions. "And why, Mr. Perceval," asked the Prince, "should the necessity exist for Lord Wellesley, and not for Mr. Yorke, of immediate resignation?" To this the minister could make no reply.

This difficulty thus staved over allowed the Prince to continue his display of vacillation. One day he asked Lord Wellesley, "Would you have any objection to shake hands with Lord Grenville?" The other declared he had not the least, and that he had the greatest regard for him. He indeed made himself the Prince's most pliant instrument. "His influence over him is hourly increasing, and all the people about the Prince are entirely in his interests. For the rest, having adopted as the groundwork all the Prince's views and politics, both foreign and domestic, he is willing to act with any man, or set of men." Yet this devotion was requited by abandonment, and his fate was already settled.

In the preceding November the Duchess of York had given a ball to introduce the young Princess, and the fashionable world was horrified to learn that in dancing with his daughter, "and leading her briskly along, his right foot came in contact with the leg of a sofa, by which two tendons of his foot were broken." Such was the Court newsman's account. Private letters brought a rather different story of the accident. It seems that one evening they were dancing the Highland fling, and there was a laugh in making Adam, the Prince's familiar and a Scotchman, teach the young Princess, when the Regent attempted to show her the proper step, and in doing so wrenched his ankle. How such a misadventure came about is not stated, but the way he was afflicted by it was extraordinary. For ten days he never quitted his bed, complaining of violent pains and spasmodic affections, for which he took immoderate doses of laudanum every three hours.\* Lord Yarmouth, coming to town, reported that he was taking as much as seven hundred drops a day—twelve hundred, according to others.† This

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\* "Buckingham Papers—The Regency," i. 145.

† Colchester, "Diary," ii. 348.

unmanly disinclination to bear pain made him persist in the practice in spite of the physicians, who found him sunk in the utmost despondency, quite enervated and prostrated. They prescribed a familiar medicine of the most drastic character, but he still persisted in his laudanum, which he said relieved his pains. He would lie on his stomach for hours, hear nothing of business, sign nothing, to the great annoyance of the ministers. Truly a pitiable picture. His worthy brother of Cumberland went about saying "it was all sham," and that he could get up and be perfectly well if he pleased, which was indeed true enough; for, as Mr. Fremantle wrote, it was likely that he became so nervous at the difficulties before him, and the necessity on taking some resolve as the day of decision drew near, that he could not bear to face it.\*

Always to be associated with the history of the Prince was that of that strange group known as the "Royal Brothers"—the six Dukes—one or other of whom was always to be attracting public attention. The Duke of York had now been restored to the office of Commander-in-Chief, its occupant, the veteran Sir David Dundas, having retired. This step excited some disgust, but was accepted. In the House of Commons it was again vehemently commented on by the Liberals, and Lord Grenville's friends were especially bitter, which was, of course, considered a fresh offence.

The Duke of Cumberland, long notorious as the most "ill conditioned" of the band, had formed a strict alliance with Lord Eldon, and had contrived to establish a sort of ascendancy over his eldest brother. Both would come down together to see the King on Sunday; and with such elements in alliance, it is not surprising to hear that the Queen and the Prince were now "on very bad terms."† This fraternal alliance had weakened the one between him and the Duke of York, whose visits to Carlton House became less frequent, while those of the other Duke increased. As he contrived to make the Chancellor one of the party, the result was that the influence of such eminent Protestant champions began to be felt. This, however, will be shown later.‡ However, before the end of the year, this royal brother also had fallen out of favor. In fact, "a complete quarrel" had taken place on a subject relating to a German officer of the 15th Dragoons. The Regent henceforth

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\* The Queen, too, had been ill, and was only saved from death by apoplexy by a fortunate bleeding in her foot. She had actually taken leave of her children.

† "Buckingham Papers—The Regency," i. 134.

‡ Ibid. i. 155.

determined never to see him alone, and when he called always had some one in the room.

The Duke of Sussex was a consistent Whig, and usually opposed to his brother. Another of the royal brothers, the Duke of Clarence, was attracting general attention by some ridiculous freak, which might reasonably excite suspicions of his sanity. The pursuit of the well-known heiress, Miss Long, by Mr. Wellesley Pole, was being watched with great interest, when of a sudden the Duke of Clarence struck in. "Before he went down to Ramsgate he wrote to her to offer his hand, which she declined in firm and respectful terms. From Ramsgate he offered himself three or four times, and, after his return, sent her an abstract of the Royal Marriage Act, which, he said, the Regent had consented to have altered for his benefit, and conveying to her the Queen's best wishes and regards. Neither of these personages had been consulted on the matter. Upon finding that she had accepted Mr. Pole, he wrote at once to Lord Keith to propose for Miss Mercer, who, in the most decided terms, rejected him, notwithstanding which he went to stay at Lord Keith's. Presently, the Duke of Cumberland amiably made Mrs. Jordan acquainted with the real motive of the Duke of Clarence's proposals, on which the lady wrote a furious letter, with another to her informant, thanking him for the information, but directing them wrongly, in consequence of which there was a scene between the royal brothers. Altogether," writes this sagacious correspondent of Lord Temple, "the conduct of these illustrious personages is a most melancholy and alarming feature in the difficulties which every hour increase upon us; and one can hardly impute it to any other ground but an affliction of the same nature as that under which the King labors."\*

The Duke of Kent, another royal brother, was a prince with a grievance, considering himself the most ill-treated man in the kingdom. He had certainly been dealt with in the harshest manner by his father when in possession of his senses, but he, like the rest, had now to look to the risen sun. But later on we shall hear of the Royal Brethren.

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\* Some letters of his to a German lady, in which a morganatic marriage is maintained to have taken place, have recently been published. From the exaggerated style and mistakes, they must be considered as apocryphal as the continuation of "Yorick's Letters to Eliza." Yet their claims have been gravely discussed.



While the Prince was telling his friend what brave words he had used to the Prime Minister, and Lord Wellesley had discovered that his own treatment had been "unmannerly," the Prince had made up his mind to retain the minister. Lord Wellesley's resignation took place on the 17th. The various conversations with the Prince as to finding a substitute were on the two or three following days, and on the 22nd Perceval wrote to Lord Wellington, "that his royal highness has no intention of looking to any other person for forming an administration at the present time than myself, nor of looking to any change of it at the approaching period of the expiration of the restrictions of the regency, but such as I may find necessary."\* Indeed, all through, Perceval seems to have informed his friends that he was secure, and this may account for Lord Eldon and others describing how he had gained on the Prince. He was sagacious enough to see that the minister had a certain strength of respectability and even popularity, while the Wellesleys, Moiras, and Sheridans, with the "Lords G. and G.," were but precarious supporters. It was tempting to have a creature of his own as Prime Minister, but if stability were wanting the experiment was hardly worth making.

It must be said his situation was a most embarrassing one. He felt that he was expected, to some extent, to call on his old friends for assistance; and yet there can be no doubt that assistance would have only added to his embarrassments. The long public support extended to the Perceval-Liverpool administration that followed showed that it was not so distasteful to the country, while it seems almost certain that a ministry of his "old friends," distracted by faction and intrigue, could not have stood long. This is the first point in his vindication. The second is, that years before he had publicly dissociated himself from them. The only course he found open was to offer them a minor share in the Government, in taking which step he no doubt must have suspected that his offer would have been declined. But in the game of politics there is always a certain amount of insincerity, and the Regent could not claim to be a purist. With this qualification it will be found that he has been dealt with somewhat harshly and unreasonably, and that he made many and successive attempts at conciliating his old allies by offers not at all uncommon in the history of coalitions.

We shall now deal with this curious and much-debated episode,

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\* "Life of Perceval," ii. 261.

which, I may venture to say, has never hitherto been fully or so minutely unfolded.

The term of the restrictions being at hand, it was natural that the Regent should think of the old combination with "Lords G. and G." We have thus approached that much-talked-of crisis when a fresh offer was to be made to these two lords. It may be doubted if Lord Grenville could have formed an administration, owing to the lack of sympathy between himself and the advanced wing of the Liberals; and, more recently, his advocacy of the Catholics seemed an attempt to force the hand of the Prince. But there is another view which has been overlooked, viz. a sort of divergence between him and his friend and ally, Lord Grey. The latter, all through, seemed to have faith in the Prince. He urged on his friends the necessity of keeping "perfectly quiet," and exhibiting no distrust. "For himself he had little doubt that the Prince really entertained the intention which he voluntarily professed both to him and Lord Grenville last winter; "for," he adds, "will any failure in the execution of such an intention make me think that it has not had a sincere existence? The same cause which has long delayed its execution may finally prevent it altogether, or, what is more probable, lead to some such proposal as you hint at—a coalition."\* This was like the generous soul of Grey.

It need not be said that to such views Lord Grenville was totally opposed. He spoke with contempt of the Regent and imputed to him the least creditable motives. The Prince had even told Lord Grey, that though he would gladly take him on and half-a-dozen of his party, "he would not consent to be shackled by his associate." And of this feeling Lord Grenville seemed to have an instinct when he spoke later of the attempts at sowing jealousy between him and his friend.

It is characteristic that the Prince should have felt later well disposed to Lord Grenville, and should have even hated Lord Grey, who had construed his intentions so magnanimously. But this is ever found in weak minds. Still one can have no doubt at this time and for the moment, the Prince was sincere and in earnest; and it will be seen what influences, apart from the growing difficulty of the situation, were brought to bear on his pliant mind.

Suddenly, and only a few days before the well-known letter to the Duke of York appeared, the Speaker, always well informed,

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\* Letter of Lord Grey, "Life and Opinions," p. 279.

heard that the new arrangement was considered at Carlton House as only a bit of patchwork. On the 9th Mr. Perceval had an interview with the Prince, of so private a character that he did not consider himself at liberty to communicate to his Cabinet what had passed. The step was already resolved upon; for Lord Eldon, a sturdy old Tory, seems to have scented out what was being planned, and then with a certain bluntness declined to have anything to do with it.

On the following day there was much excitement and speculation. It was reported confidently by Lord Lauderdale that the dismissal was at hand. Yet on this very day a most important step had been taken, and the Regent had addressed a letter to his brother, the Duke of York, commissioning him to negotiate with Lords Grey and Grenville. The letter was as follows:

THE PRINCE OF WALES TO THE DUKE OF YORK.

“Carlton House, Feb. 13, 1812.

“MY DEAREST BROTHER,

“As the restrictions on the exercise of the royal authority will shortly expire, when I must make my arrangements for the future administration of the powers with which I am invested, I think it right to communicate to you those sentiments which I was withheld from expressing at an earlier period of the session, by my earnest desire that the expected motion on the affairs of Ireland might undergo the deliberate discussion of Parliament, un-mixed with any other consideration. I think it hardly necessary to call your recollection to the recent circumstances under which I assumed the authority delegated to me by Parliament. At a moment of unexampled difficulty and danger, I was called upon to make a selection of persons to whom I should entrust the functions of the executive government. My sense of duty to our royal father solely decided that choice; and every private feeling gave way to considerations which admitted of no doubt or hesitation. I trust I acted, in that respect, as the genuine representative of the august person whose functions I was appointed to discharge; and I have the satisfaction of knowing that such was the opinion of persons for whose judgment and honorable principles I entertained the highest respect. In various instances, as you well know, where the law of the last session left me at full liberty, I waived any personal gratification, in order that his Majesty might resume, on his restoration to health, every power and prerogative belonging to his crown.



I certainly am the last person in the kingdom to whom it can be permitted to despair of our royal father's recovery. A new era is now arrived, and I cannot but reflect with satisfaction on the events which have distinguished the short period of my restricted regency. Instead of suffering in the loss of any of her possessions by the gigantic force which has been employed against them, Great Britain has added most important acquisitions to her empire. The national faith has been preserved inviolate to our allies; and if character is strength, as applied to a nation, the increased and increasing reputation of his Majesty's arms will show to the nations of the Continent how much they may still achieve when animated by a glorious spirit of resistance to a foreign yoke. In the critical situation of the war in the Peninsula, I shall be most anxious to avoid any measure that can lead my allies to suppose that I mean to depart from the present system. Perseverance alone can achieve the great object in question; and I cannot withhold my approbation from those who have honorably distinguished themselves in support of it. I have no predilections to indulge, no resentments to gratify, no objects to attain, but such as are common to the whole empire. If such is the leading principle of my conduct (and I can appeal to the past, in evidence of what the future will be), I flatter myself I shall meet with the support of Parliament and of a candid and enlightened nation. Having made this communication of my sentiments in this new and extraordinary crisis of our affairs, I cannot conclude without expressing the gratification I could feel, if some of those persons with whom the early habits of my public life were formed would strengthen my hands, and constitute a part of my government. With such support, and aided by a vigorous and united administration formed on the most liberal basis, I shall look with additional confidence to a prosperous issue of the most arduous contest in which Great Britain ever was engaged. You are authorized to communicate these sentiments to Lord Grey, who, I have no doubt, will make them known to Lord Grenville. I am always, my dearest Frederick, your affectionate Brother,

“GEORGE, P. R.

“P. S.—I shall send a copy of this letter immediately to Mr. Perceval.”\*

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\* Lord Grenville states that the Prince's letter had been in Perceval's possession *before* he made his speech, and prompted it. The Prince affected

It will be noted that the bitterness of the Prince's hostility was shown in the communications being directed to Lord Grey, "who, he had no doubt, would make them known to Lord Grenville," as though he were indifferent whether they ever reached that address.

*The Morning Chronicle* of February 15th was the first to let the public know what had occurred. The noblemen applied to were indignant, and agreed that it was a mere device to extort a refusal. The view they took was that it was "meant only to make a case against us;" and it may seem to have some foundation. Some margin may be allowed for the utopian view of the Prince, which will be explained presently. The interview between the two noblemen and the Duke of York succeeded, which was a highly curious one. They first handed him their reply, which was to the following effect:

LORDS GREY AND GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF YORK.

"February 15th, 1812.

"SIR,

"We beg most humbly to express to your Royal Highness our dutiful acknowledgments for the gracious and condescending manner in which you have had the goodness to communicate to us the letter of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, on the subject of the arrangements to be now made for the future administration of the public affairs. And we take the liberty of availing ourselves of your gracious permission to address to your Royal Highness in this form what has occurred to us in consequence of that communication.

"The Prince Regent, after expressing to your Royal Highness in that letter his sentiments on various public matters, has, in the concluding paragraph, condescended to intimate his wish 'that some of those persons with whom the early habits of his life were formed would strengthen his Royal Highness's hands, and constitute a part of his Government.' And his Royal Highness is pleased to add, 'that, with such support, aided by a vigorous and united administration, formed on the most liberal basis, he would look with additional confidence to the prosperous issue of the most arduous contest in which Great Britain was ever engaged.'

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to be indignant at the disclosure.—"Buckingham Papers—The Regency," i. 231.

Sheridan was believed to have had a share in the composition of this famous letter.—Ward, "Diary," ii. 426.

“On the other parts of his Royal Highness's letter we do not presume to offer any observations. But on the concluding paragraph, in so far as we may venture to suppose ourselves included in the gracious wish which it expresses, we owe it, in obedience and duty to your Royal Highness, to explain ourselves with frankness and sincerity.

“We beg leave most earnestly to assure your Royal Highness that no sacrifices, except those of honor and duty, could appear to us too great to be made for the purpose of healing the divisions of our country, and of uniting both its Government and its people. All personal exclusions we entirely disclaim. We rest on public measures; and it is on this ground alone that we must express, without reserve, the impossibility of our uniting with the present Government. Our differences of opinion are too many and too important to admit of such a union. His Royal Highness will, we are confident, do us the justice to remember that we have twice already acted on this impression—in 1809, on the proposition made to us under His Majesty's authority; and last year, when his Royal Highness was graciously pleased to require our advice respecting the formation of a new Government. The reasons which we then humbly submitted to him are strengthened by the increasing dangers of the times; nor has there, down to this moment, appeared even any approximation towards such an agreement of opinion on the public interests as can alone form a basis for the honorable union of parties previously opposed to each other.

“Into the details of these differences we are unwilling to enter. They embrace almost all the leading features of the present policy of the empire. But his Royal Highness has himself been pleased to advert to the late deliberations of Parliament on the affairs of Ireland. This is a subject, above all others, important in itself, and connected with the most pressing dangers. Far from concurring in the sentiments which his Majesty's ministers have on that occasion so recently expressed, we entertain opinions directly opposite. We are firmly persuaded of the necessity of a total change in the present system of government in that country, and of the immediate repeal of those civil disabilities under which so large a portion of his Majesty's subjects still labor on account of their religious opinions. To recommend to Parliament this repeal is the first advice which it would be our duty to offer to his Royal Highness. Nor could we, even for the shortest time, make ourselves responsible for any further delay in the proposal of a measure without which we could



entertain no hope of rendering our services useful to his Royal Highness or to our country.

"We have only, therefore, further to beg your Royal Highness to lay before the Prince Regent the expressions of our humble duty, and the sincere and respectful assurance of our earnest wishes for whatever may best promote the ease, honor, and advantage of his Royal Highness's Government, and the success of his endeavors for the public welfare.

"We have the honor, etc.

"GREY,

"GRENVILLE."

After much discussion, the Duke eagerly pressing them to accept, they persisted in their resolve.

The town was presently infinitely amused with the "Parody of a Celebrated Letter," full of wit and sarcasm, and soon known to be the work of the Prince's former *protégé*, Moore.

#### PARODY OF A CELEBRATED LETTER.

At length, dearest Freddy, the moment is nigh,  
When, with P—rc—v—l's leave, I may throw my chains by;  
And, as time now is precious, the first thing I do,  
Is to sit down and write a wise letter to you.

I meant before now to have sent you this Letter,  
But Y—rm—th and I thought perhaps 'twould be better  
To wait till the Irish affairs were decided—  
That is, till both Houses had prosed and divided,  
With all due appearance of thought and digestion—  
For, though H—rtf—rd House had long settled the question,  
I thought it but decent, between me and you,  
That the two *other* Houses should settle it too.

I need not remind you how cursedly bad  
Our affairs were all looking when Father went mad:  
A strait waistcoat on him and restrictions on me,  
A more *limited* Monarchy could not well be.

I thought the best way, as a dutiful son,  
Was to do as Old Royalty's self would have done.  
So I sent word to say I would keep the whole batch in  
The same chest of tools, without cleansing or patching.  
And think—only think—if our Father should find,  
Upon graciously coming again to his mind,  
That improvement had spoiled any favorite adviser—  
That R—se had grown honest, or W—stm—rel—nd wiser;  
That R—d—r was, e'en by one twinkle the brighter,  
Or L—v—rp—l's speeches but half a pound lighter,

What a shock to his old royal heart it would be!  
 No!—far were such dreams of improvement from me:  
 And it pleased me to find at the house where, you know,  
 There's such good mutton cutlets and strong curaçoa,  
 That the Marchioness called me a duteous old boy,  
 And my Y—rm—th's red whiskers grew redder for joy!

You know, my dear Freddy, how oft, if I *would*,  
 By the law of last sessions I *might* have done good.  
 I *might* have told Ireland I pitied her lot,  
 Might have sooth'd her with hope—but you know I did not.  
 And my wish is, in truth, that the best of old fellows  
 Should not, on recovering, have cause to be jealous,  
 But find that, while he has been laid on the shelf,  
 We've been all of us nearly as mad as himself.

A new era's arrived—though you'd hardly believe it—  
 And all things, of course, must be new to receive it.  
 New villas, new fêtes (which e'en Waithman attends)—  
 New saddles, new helmets, and—why not *new friends*?

I repeat it, "New Friends"—for I cannot describe  
 The delight I am in with this P—rc—v—l tribe.  
 Such capering!—such vaporizing!—such rigor!—such vigor!  
 North, south, east, and west, they have cut such a figure,  
 That soon they will bring the whole world round our ears,  
 And leave us no friends—but Old Nick and Algiers,  
 When I think of the glory they've beam'd on my chains,  
 'Tis enough quite to turn my illustrious brains!  
 It is true we are bankrupts in commerce and riches,  
 But think how we furnish our allies with breeches!  
 We've lost the warm hearts of the Irish, 'tis granted,  
 But then we've got Java, an island much wanted.

I am proud to declare I have no predilections,  
 My heart is a sieve, where some scatter'd affections  
 Are just danced about for a moment or two,  
 And the *finer* they are the more sure to run through:  
 Neither have I resentments, nor wish there should come ill  
 To mortal—except (now I think on't) Beau Br—mm—I,  
 Who threaten'd, last year, in a superfine passion,  
 To cut *me*, and bring the old King into fashion.  
 This is all I can lay to my conscience at present,  
 When such is my temper, so neutral, so pleasant,  
 So royally free from all troublesome feelings,  
 So little encumber'd by faith in my dealings.  
 When such are my merits (you know I hate cracking),  
 I hope, like the vendor of Best Patent Blacking,  
 "To meet with the generous and kind approbation  
 Of a candid, enlighten'd, and liberal nation."

By the bye, ere I close this magnificent letter  
 (No man, except Pole, could have writ you a better),  
 'Twould please me if those, whom I've humbugged so long  
 With the notion (good men!) that I knew right from wrong,  
 Would a few of them join me—mind, only a few—  
 To let *too* much light in on me never would do;  
 But even Grey's brightness sha'n't make me afraid,  
 While I've C—md—n and Eld—n to fly to for shade;  
 So, in short, if they wish to have places, they may.  
 And I'll thank you to tell all these matters to Grey,  
 Who, I doubt not, will write (as there's no time to lose),  
 By the twopenny post to tell Grenville the news;  
 And now, dearest Fred (though I've no predilection),  
 Believe me yours always with truest affection.

P.S.—A copy of this is to P—re—v—l going—  
 Good Lord! how St. Stephens will ring with his crowing!

The unhappy Prince, for such he was, all this time was in the hands of favorites, who, at Brookes's, were given the responsibility of the recent transaction. They were, says a member of that club, talking at Lord Yarmouth, and before his face wondering "who the vile spy can be who has poisoned the Regent's mind against his old friends, and this as loud as a trumpet; Manchester Square has in fact done the whole business, and some say a little of Windsor intermixed." \*

The Hertford family were indeed held accountable for this step. "Not a day passed without his visiting Lady Hertford." † Her son and her husband had now both posts at Court. Mr. Canning was violent in his language against the two lords, and declared that they ought to have temporized, and would have later got rid of him. People were talking of "what portion of Castlereagh's and 'Doctor's' was to go into the work." It is unfortunate that in so many transactions there should be some charge of perfidy or want of good faith made against the Prince. In this instance he had actually given his promise to Lord Grey, that on the expiring of the restrictions he would call them to power. Lord Grey told Mr. Grey Bennett's brother, that "at an interview with Lords Grey and Grenville, he assured them that though he nominally retained his ministers, yet he secretly was inclined to them, and that he would give them all the support he could! The two noblemen made him a long speech on the unconstitutional character of the proposal, and declined coming to any such understanding. The Prince stared

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\* "Buckingham's Memoirs—Regency," i. 241.

† Romilly, "Memoirs," ii.



at them for some time, made no answer, and turned on his heel." To this Lord Grey alluded in a letter to Lord Moira.\* "He had promised to do whenever the restrictions on his authority should cease." But, as was before urged, the Prince's canon of truth often rested on his humors and their changes.

As he departed, Lord Wellesley bequeathed to his master a new favorite, Dr. Knighton, his own physician, who was to rule him, even despotically, till his death. Of him we shall hear a great deal later on.

Before the end of the week, the town was to be engrossed by an extraordinary scene which had taken place at Carlton House, and was to turn the public more strongly against the Regent, who seemed to be floundering from one indiscretion to another. On Saturday, the 22nd, he gave a great dinner to the Duke and Duchess of York, at which were also present Lord Lauderdale, Sheridan, Erskine, and his daughter, the young and interesting Princess Charlotte. There were also present Lord Tyrconnel and Lord and Lady Keith, and the faithful Adam. After dinner and much wine, the Prince began to abuse the Whigs, saying they all hated him except three, Lord Erskine, Sheridan, and Ponsonby, with many slight expressions on Lords Grey and Grenville's conduct. This attack was made even before the servants had quitted the room.

Lord Lauderdale had, however, the spirit to rise, and in respectful terms addressed the Prince in vindication of his friends. The Prince uttered some further words of dislike, when the young Princess suddenly rose, in tears, and proceeded to leave the room, Sheridan leading her to the door! This singular scene was the talk of the town.

According to all precedent, as Mr. Ward remarked, she disliked her father's ministers and loved the Opposition. At the opera, that night, seeing Lord Grey, she kissed her hand and smiled very graciously on him.† She appeared delighted with the scene, and bowed to every one. This waywardness, injudicious as it was, was natural, and was one of the attractions that drew the nation to her. This incident, however, was in every one's mouth, and celebrated by the famous lines ‡ of Lord Byron:

\* "Life and Opinions," p. 291.

† Ward, "Diary," ii. 432.

‡ The verses are often quoted, but few recollect the strange scene which occasioned them. They were copied, repeated, and sent over the kingdom; and, for so short and simple a production, were surprisingly effectual in damaging the Regent.

## LINES TO A LADY WEeping.

Weep, daughter of a royal line,  
 A sire's disgrace, a realm's decay;  
 Ah! happy if each tear of thine  
 Could wash a father's fault away.

Weep, for thy tears are virtue's tears—  
 Auspicious to these suffering isles;  
 And be each drop in future years  
 Repaid thee by thy people's smiles.

March, 1812.

The Prince had fallen into a habit which excited the grave forebodings of his friends—viz. of abusing any one he disliked in the most open way; and the Archbishop of York bewailed "his loud discourse to large companies about all sorts of persons and things." *The Morning Chronicle* had now turned sharply on him, and was attacking him bitterly. Lord Erskine declared that he would never set foot in Carlton House again, and there was also a coolness between him and Lord Lauderdale.

By March 19th the whole of the recent transactions were brought before the House of Lords on a question put by Lord Barrington, whether the famous letter was a genuine one? The excitement was intense, nearly the whole House appearing to be in the House of Lords. Below the bar there was an equally great crowd. The language on all sides was excited. The language on the Liberal side was certainly well pointed. Lord Darnley said that the ministers owed their places to "unavowed advisers, whose selfish and bigoted whispers in the royal ear endangered the state." He added that he had told the same truths to the Prince himself. Lord Grey used still plainer language. He virtually charged the Prince with having given promises to the Catholics, and with having broken those promises; but he spoke in the hearing of those who would contradict him if what he said was unfounded, and who would, he was sure, support its truth if questioned. In this he referred to Mr. Ponsonby, who was no doubt listening in the crowd, and who when appealed to in a later debate confirmed it.\* He then asked contemptuously, was it likely that he would join with the minis-

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\* "I say that the noble Duke [Bedford] lately at the head of the Irish Government and myself did receive commands, not merely permission, but the actual commands of the illustrious personage alluded to, to make the communication that such were the intentions of that great personage in respect to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and that he would never forsake their interests."

ters, using the word "condescend," and passed to something yet more stinging, "to his address." The cause of all this, he said, was one thing of which he should freely speak, beside which the ministry itself became an insignificant question—the unseen influence that lurked behind the throne, and which he called a disastrous and disgusting influence; a cursed one, and which prevented either public complaint or honest counsel from reaching his ears. Strong words, that must have made their ears tingle, and which were never forgotten or forgiven by the Prince. Indeed, both Houses rang with personal insults of this kind. Mr. Lyttleton in another debate alluded to the minions and favorites who surrounded the Regent, and declared that what was to reward those who spent their blood for their country was lavished on "Gavestons." But what galled him most, as Colonel Tyrwhitt told the Speaker, was Lord Donoughmore's later speech on the Catholic Question on March 21st.

His unpopularity was growing. With the crowds looking on in Pall Mall as he passed by on his way to the drawing-room there was not a single cheer; at Drury Lane allusions in the play to promises made by the Prince of Wales were taken up to thunders of applause, and at the Lyceum some mention of female influence was similarly greeted. Complimentary addresses to him all over the country were attempted, but the attempts failed. At the Royal Society dinner Lord Stafford received a message from him, to the effect that when the royal health was given he would say something about a new lustre he had presented to them, and his wish to have it altered if it did not suit; which was received in perfect silence. No wonder he began to lose heart, and declined the Lord Mayor's banquet, lest in his passage through the City he should be hissed. The *entourage* seemed quite cowed, and though Lord Donoughmore boldly published his speech, so offensive to the Court that it was confidently expected Lord Yarmouth's "red herrings" would have challenged Mr. Lyttleton, the whole was submitted to and accepted.

Never had a false step met so speedy and effectual a punishment. And that all was the work of "minions behind the throne" operating on a weak nature was conclusively proved. He was presently heard to declare that the only one of the party that had "treated him like a gentleman" was the proscribed Lord Grenville; and he now proceeded to punish these enemies by drawing up a new list for the Carlton House *droit d'entrée*, from which he struck out all old-friend counsellors, with a couple of exceptions.\*

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\* "Buckingham's Memoirs," i. 289.



## CHAPTER V.

1812.

WHILE he was in this state, the whole country was startled and shocked to learn that on May 11th the Prime Minister had been assassinated in the lobby of the House of Commons. This catastrophe was thus graphically described:

"On Monday, 11th May," says Mr. Grey Bennett, "I went down to the House of Commons, to attend the third reading of Mr. Banke's Sinecure Bill, which it was understood to be the intention of Mr. Perceval once more to oppose. I arrived at the House at a little before five, and found the House in a committee on the order. I sat down on the bench upon the floor, near to the spot where the witness stood, and a few minutes after I heard the report of a pistol, which appeared to come from the lobby. I said to Macdonald, who sat by me, 'Good God, some one has shot himself!' In a few seconds there was a stir in the gallery, and at the same time some one burst into the house and said, 'A member is shot!' and a moment afterwards Sir S. Vaughan rushed in and exclaimed, 'Mr. Perceval is shot!' Every one then rose, there not being above forty members in the House. Mr. Barrington, who was in the chair, asked leave to report progress, and at the same time the Speaker entered the House and took his chair. He ordered every one to take his seat, which, after a minute or two of confusion, was obeyed. It was then announced that the assassin was secured, and it was proposed he should be brought through the House, to be lodged in one of the upper rooms until a magistrate should arrive. The prisoner was then brought to the bar, held by two messengers, and appeared haggard, his eyes staring, and evidently in the greatest agitation. It was then proposed that the Speaker, to avoid a rush of members, all pressing at once, should name some to precede and others to follow the prisoner. He first named Mr. Whitbread, and among others he named me. I accordingly followed, and the prisoner was lodged in what is called the prison-room.

"Different witnesses deposed what had passed—that it was on entering the door of the lobby at the top of the stone-stairs that the pistol was fired; Mr. Perceval advanced in a wild manner—as if seeking for shelter—three or four steps, clapped his hand to his heart, and fell forwards, exclaiming, 'Murder,' or, 'Oh! I am murdered.' He was caught before he fell by a Mr. Phillips of Manchester, and carried by him and by Mr. W. Smith (member for Norwich) into the room called the Secretary's room; he was set on a table, his feet resting on a chair. He appeared almost lifeless, seemed to suffer no pain, but after a sort of convulsive sob expired in about eight minutes after the wound had been given."

Following on this casualty came a flood of lampoons and libellous attacks. For a man so vain as the Regent was of his physical advantages, who was praised and flattered by sycophants, it must have been galling to read the stinging, bitter, perhaps truthful attacks that were from time to time made upon him. These were characterized by a license and personality that now seems almost incredible. Thus, in this year, there appeared in *The Examiner* one of the most savage diatribes, which in the case of a private person would have been punished severely. It was provoked, as Mr. Brougham, counsel for the Hunts, contended, by the sycophantic eulogies of the Court scribes, who were thus to a certain extent accountable; but the plea did not avail. This "libel," which appeared on March 22nd, was to this effect:

"What person unacquainted with the true state of the case would imagine in reading these astounding eulogies that this *Glory of the People* was the subject of millions of stings and reproaches! That this *Protector of the Arts* had named a wretched foreigner his historical painter, in disparagement, or in ignorance, of the merits of his countrymen! That this *Mæcenas of the age* patronized not a single deserving writer! That this *Breather of Eloquence* could not say a few decent extempore words, if we are to judge, at least, from what he said to his regiment on its embarkation for Portugal! That this *Conqueror of Hearts* was the disappointer of hopes! That this *Exciter of Desire* (Bravo, messieurs of the *Post*!), this *Adonis in Loveliness*, was a corpulent gentleman of fifty! In short, that this *delightful*, blissful, wise, *pleasurable*, *honorable*, *virtuous*, *true*, and *immortal* Prince was a violator of his word, a libertine, over head and ears in debt and disgrace, a despiser of domestic ties, a com-

panion of gamblers and demireps, a man who has just closed half a century without one single claim on the gratitude of his country or the respect of posterity!"

Lord Ellenborough dealt with the accused in the severest style in his partial charge, alluding strangely to the committal of adultery as "a misfortune." He sentenced the two brothers Hunt to a fine and term of imprisonment, during which they were visited by Lord Byron and others of their friends and supporters. "The Triumph of the Whale" appeared in the same journal, but escaped prosecution.

Here is a specimen of this light persiflage, written by Charles Lamb:

#### THE TRIUMPH OF THE WHALE.

Io! Pæan! Io! sing,  
 To the finny people's king,  
 Not a mightier whale than this,  
 In the vast Atlantic is;  
 Not a fatter fish than he,  
 Flounders round the Polar sea:  
 See his blubber at his gills,  
 What a world of drink he swills! . . .  
 Such a person—next declare,  
 Muse! who his companions are:  
 Every fish of generous kind,  
 Stands aside or slinks behind. . . .  
 Name or title, what has he?  
 Is he Regent of the sea?  
 By his bulk and by his size,  
 By his oily qualities,  
 This (or else my eyesight fails),  
 This should be the Prince of Whales.

There can be no doubt that this time the unpopularity of the Regent was excessive. Much of this was, of course, owing to his personal character and conduct, but more to the harsh severity of the department administered by Lord Sidmouth. During the last year of the Perceval ministry the number of prosecutions by the Government was enormous, and the system had been since kept up with unrelenting severity. No one was so sensitive to ridicule, and no one was so lampooned or assailed with such merciless wit and power—Moore, the Hunts, Charles Lamb, Cruikshank, Hone, kept up unceasing attacks. Moore's verses, turned with great neatness and full of "fun," gave infinite pleasure—



The table spread with tea and toast,  
Death-warrants, and *The Morning Post*.

The political result of the minister's death was, of course, to dissolve his ministry. It was felt that his popularity with the squires and county gentry was its mainstay and support. At this crisis the Chancellor gathered the voices of his colleagues as to what was to be done. Some thought it "doubtful," others "dangerous." The Chancellor was timely convinced that Lord Wellesley and Canning would be glad to come in as they "were both sick of being out." Meanwhile, Lords Grey and Grenville looked on, the former in town, the latter at his country-seat, one at least being certain that an application must be made to them.

The result of the new deliberations was an application by Lord Liverpool to Lord Wellesley and Canning, on the principle that "his royal highness, being desirous of continuing his administration upon its present basis, was desirous of strengthening it as much as possible by associating to it such persons in public life as agreed most nearly and generally upon the principles upon which public affairs had been conducted."\* This definition could not include the two persons whose opinions on the Catholic question were well known, and so the result proved.

"The day that Lord Liverpool's letter appeared in *The Times*, on the 20th May, says Mr. G. Bennett, a note was added to this effect, that a further continuance of this correspondence would appear on the morrow. When Lord Liverpool read this, he said: 'That is impossible, as there is no other letter.' However, on Thursday night, the 21st, between eight and nine at night, Lord Liverpool received an answer to his letter, and which appeared in *The Times* and *Chronicle* of the next day (the 22nd)—which papers are printed at six in the morning, so that the letter must have been sent to the press at the same time it was forwarded to Lord Liverpool. This provoked the ministers in general so much, that they determined, with the exception of Lord Melville (who said he could serve with Lord Wellesley, but never under him), that they never would belong to a Cabinet of which he was a member. Lord Liverpool is said (Lord Holland told me the story) to have remarked that it was not safe to be in the same room with him.

"In consequence of this and other failures to patch up a Gov-

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\* "Life and Letters of Lord Wellesley," where the whole correspondence and the account of the interviews are given.

ernment, Mr. Stuart Wortley, the great supporter of Mr. Perceval's administration, and the avowed enemy of all Whigs and Whiggism, gave notice of a motion on the 19th for the 21st, the object of which was to address the Prince to form an effective administration. Accordingly, on Thursday, the 21st, he, after a short speech, stating the necessity of a strong and efficient government, moved an address to the above effect. None of the Opposition leaders spoke, and, after a rather dull debate, the House divided: 174 for the address—170 against it; leaving the Government in a minority of 4.

“Thereupon Mr. Stuart Wortley and Lord Milton waited on the Prince, whose reply was: ‘I shall take into my serious and immediate consideration the address of the House of Commons.’ Accordingly, the next day, the Regent sent for Lord Wellesley, and gave him instructions to form an administration. Lord W. waited on Lords Grey and Grenville, and proposed to them as points of agreement the question of the Catholics of Ireland, and the war in the Peninsula. To the first they gave their unqualified assent; to the second, they declared themselves as anxious as he could be to prosecute with vigor the war in the Peninsula; but they could not decide upon the extent, as they, not forming a part of an administration, could have no opinion as to the means possessed by the country to extend or continue the system.

“Lord Wellesley saw the Regent again, and gave him the answers of Lords Grey and Grenville. He is said to have affected to consider them as refusals to take office, and some debate was necessary to convince him of his error. Lord Wellesley, too, sent the same tests to the existing administration, who all declined, except Lord Melville, to have anything to do with it, and to forming a part of a Cabinet of which he was a member. Various manœuvres were then set on foot to separate Canning from Lord Wellesley; but all failed. Yet, even to this hour, the whole arrangement is as much afloat as ever, and yesterday even Mr. Sheridan said that no difficulty was overcome—people are at a loss to conceive where the hitch really is—all seem agreed in the opinion that no arrangement of places has even as yet been proposed; but it is suspected that the point in dispute is Hertford House, and the necessity of his giving up that favorite establishment of secret intrigue and influence, the existence of which no administration, meaning well, could admit of.”

Thus the old backstair intrigues were in full work. It had been understood that the ministry was dissolved, and only temporarily held office; but people now heard of the Premier being closeted

with the Regent, of midnight Cabinet Councils, of the Chancellor neglecting his legal duties and hurrying away from Court with the Duke of Cumberland, whilst Lady Bathurst told Lady Bessborough, with an air of affected regret at what she was imparting, "that the thing was afloat again, and that Lord Liverpool had been too hasty and intemperate." While the fickle Prince, quite careless as to compromising his agents, was busy with his familiars, and on a new track.

His anonymous correspondent thus wrote to Lord Buckingham:

"4 o'clock P.M., May 26, 1812."

"About four yesterday, Lord Wellesley saw the Prince Regent, by the command of the latter. The Prince had an air of great gayety and pleasantry, and affected great kindness towards Lord Wellesley. 'Well, Wellesley, I find you have totally failed with the ministry,' to which Lord Wellesley assented; 'and also,' continued the Prince, 'with Opposition.' 'There, sir,' said Lord Wellesley, 'I must beg to stop you. I could not fail where I had no authority to treat.'

"The Prince then continued thus in substance. That he had read over and well considered Lord Wellesley's project, communicated to him the evening before. That on one principle of it, namely, the immediately entering upon the consideration of the Catholic claims, he went the utmost length that Lord Wellesley had gone, or would wish to go, and that he would name no Administration, nor put his confidence in any which should not adopt that line of conduct. To which Lord Wellesley replied, that if that were his royal highness's determination, and that if it were fairly and honorably conducted, without trick or juggle towards the Catholics, that he, for one, would support any Administration formed on such a principle, so far as that point went; but he would not pledge himself either to take office with it, or give it his general support.

"The Prince then said, that as to making a proposition for a junction with Opposition, nothing should ever induce him to employ them. That he had no objection to one or two of them individually, but as a body, he would rather abdicate the Regency than ever come into contact with them. 'But,' added he, 'there will be no occasion for any such overture, for you will be happy to hear, my dear Wellesley, that the Chancellor has entirely come round to you upon the Catholic question; and, indeed, assures me that he was with you from the first.'



"I need not tell your lordship the astonishment, and (I believe) dismay, with which Lord Wellesley received this extraordinary piece of intelligence.

"*'And,'* continued the Prince, *'Melville, who was never violent against it, is also with you, and I have prevailed upon him to waive his personal repugnance to acting with you. I have seen the Chancellor and Liverpool this morning, and have rowed them handsomely for their letter to you, which was a most unprovoked and unpardonable folly. And I have desired Liverpool to summon a Cabinet this night, when the whole subject will be considered over again. And then you know you can all meet together to-morrow, or next day, and choose your offices amongst one another.'*

"As late as three this day, Lord Wellesley had heard nothing more, and, in fact, thinks the thing will go off, and that this infatuated man will risk himself and the country upon the present men."

The next incident was the introduction of Lord Moira on the scene, with whom the Regent had a reconciliation, "hanging upon his neck and weeping." He saw him for hours at a time, protesting that the only way to meet him was that "there should be a fixed determination that everything that had separated them should be forgotten." After some days of these endearments, the Prince tried to persuade him to see Lord Eldon, which the other declined. He then bewailed his hard case--that he could not bring round either of his two friends to his view. His nerves were beginning to fail him, and with other persons he was in "such a state of irritation that he could not be spoken to," so that Lord Liverpool in great alarm sent off an express to Oatlands for the Duke of York. The Prince's next extraordinary step was to be found closeted with "the Doctor," Lord Sidmouth, the man he disliked and had called "a blockhead" only a few weeks before. But the weaker mind often turns to what it most violently proscribed. The ministers were called out of their beds to go to Carlton House; in short, it was a season of the wildest and most ridiculous confusion, while the contempt and anger which pursued the irresolute Prince were unbounded. The House of Commons were growing impatient, and every one clamored for a solution.

Mr. Bennett has said that no one could make out exactly what the hitch was. We, however, can guess it. One of those dreadful fits of animosity which would take possession of him was at the

bottom of it all. All this agitation was produced by resistance to the pressure put on him to send for the two lords and give them a direct commission.\* He asked Lord Wellesley was he not shocked at "the grossness of female connections being dragged into politics;" on which the latter said bluntly that he took care that no woman should ever have anything to say to him on politics. He could not overcome his disgust at the nauseous draught until May 31st, when, at five o'clock, just as the puzzled Wellesley was going out of town, "to remain," Lord Moira arrived at Apsley House with the news that he had prevailed on the Duke of York to go to the Prince on the subject of his "twenty-seven years' animosity" to Lord Grey; and the Duke had undertaken the task very willingly. A strange heated interview followed (at which Lord Moira was present), and much ill-blood between the brothers. But it ended by the Prince declaring that he must have an explanation, and a satisfactory one, of the words Lord Grey had used in his speech, where he had virtually charged the Prince with breaking his promises. In a manly way, and without retraction, Lord Grey virtually re-stated what he had said, adding that if the Prince felt a strong personal objection to him, he was quite ready to stand out of the way.†

Lord Moira affected to think this quite satisfactory, and declared that a preliminary obstacle to the negotiation was removed. On the next day, January 1st, it became known that at last Lord Wellesley had been empowered to make a direct offer to the two lords. So far we think we have held in our hand the clue of this most perplexing game.

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\* See "Buckingham—Regency," *passim*, pp. 308, 337,

† "Life of Lord Grey," p. 294,

## CHAPTER VI.

1812

LORD WELLESLEY, being thus once more introduced on the stage, was ordered to form an administration with *carte blanche*, being specially authorized to communicate with Lords Grey and Grenville.\* His most brilliant hopes might now fairly be kindled. Once more he was to fail. But an accurate observer shall tell the story:

"Mr. Wortley," says Mr. G. Bennett, "then rose and said, that in consequence of the various rumors and reports that were abroad, and the positive assertions on one side and the other in all the papers, he wished to ask Mr. Ponsonby, and he had accordingly written the question down—'Whether he or his friends had received any offer or proposal for office, which they had refused on personal or public grounds.' Mr. Ponsonby replied that, 'no offer had been made of any sort, so there could be no refusal.' These questions were settled with Ponsonby in the morning, Wortley having called upon him, and it was felt necessary to do something from the lies that were in circulation, as even in the daily papers, in *The Morning Herald*, *The Carlton House Gazette*, it was stated that four seats had been offered in the Cabinet to the Whigs, which they had refused, wanting all; and that it was time for the public, nay, the Privy Council, to interfere, to check this overweening and overbearing aristocracy.

"June 3rd.—When the House of Commons met, Mr. Canning rose and stated that he was desired by Lord Wellesley to make known that, as it had been told to the House that he had been commissioned by the Regent to form an administration, he thought it fit that it should be known that he had resigned that morning all

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\* The minute of Wellesley's interview with Lord Grey, "Buckingham Papers—The Regency," p. 330.



those powers into the hands of the Regent. Mr. Martin, whose motion to follow up the address moved by Mr. Wortley stood for that day, postponed it *sine die*.

"My brother Ossulston told me" (goes on the diarist) "that Lord Grey had shown him the copy of the original proposals, which were as follows: Lord Wellesley to be First Minister, Lords Grey and Grenville to name two besides themselves; the Regent named Lords Moira and Erskine. The Cabinet to consist of twelve; if of thirteen they were to name three, so that the Wellesleys were to have five in one case and six in the other. They were also to name the Chancellor, and during the time Lord Wellesley was with Lord Grey, Canning called upon Grant, the Master of the Rolls, to offer him the seals, not consulting Lords Grey and Grenville. Besides this the Regent reserved to himself the power of naming three persons to the offices he thought fit they should hold. When Lord Wellesley took the propositions to Lord Grey, he told him that as Lord Grenville was out of town he declined giving an answer, but that he thought it candid to inform him that they could not be accepted by him, and that he felt disposed, were it not from that circumstance, to give them his direct negative. All this took place on Monday, the first day that any communication was made to the Opposition. Lord Erskine told me this morning that the whole difference was form. His idea of that word must be odd, as so unwarrantable a proposition never was made. Lord Erskine sided with Opposition in their refusal to accept such terms; and it is said, finding that he was not to be Chancellor but Privy Seal, he exclaimed, 'By God! I suppose I am to sit in the Cabinet as Commissioner of Bankrupts!' Lady Jersey told Ossulston, that she overheard a conversation last night at Mrs. Boham's ball, between the Duke of Cambridge and the Dowager Duchess of Rutland. 'So, sir,' says the Duchess, 'I hear we are to be without the Talents. It is all over with them; thank God for it.' 'Thank God for it,' replies the Duke, 'but they keep so close together.' 'Yes, sir,' rejoins the Duchess, 'they are so fond of place—it is all to get office.' 'There can be no doubt of that,' says the Duke, 'but then they stick so damnably close to each other.'"

The two lords after a short deliberation had declined the scheme, on the ground that a "principle of disunion and jealousy" was introduced, "a supposed balance of contending interest in a Cabinet so measured out by preceding stipulation," the result being only disunion and weakness. On the 3rd of June they sent an

answer, declining.\* There was much bitterness and even fury on this rejection, as the Regent and his party now thought they had had a very liberal allowance in the Cabinet; and it certainly seemed that with Lord Moira, Erskine, with Canning added to the five Grenvillites, would give them a majority. Lord Wellesley, too, held this view. Mr. Canning later pronounced this "generous and even rash." He also told his secretary that the real objection was that the Regent had named the first minister and not left it to the party to do.† Hence they knew that they would still have to contend with the Prince, his *camarilla*, and his minister. Lord Moira entreated them to reconsider the matter, pleading that all the members of the Cabinet were to be subject to the two lords' approbation.

It must be owned that this seemed reasonable. The letter was written in almost affectionate terms. But the two lords were inflexible, and Lord Grey, while acknowledging the good-will, still declined. So that, on June 3rd, Lord Wellesley had announced his new failure to the Prince, and his commission was once more announced to be at an end. Lord Grey, however, gives the true reason in a private letter to Lord Moira, not given in the officially published series.

"It is my deliberate conviction that till the Prince shall see, that to render our services useful to himself it is necessary that he should give us full powers in making the arrangements in every part of the Government, in the same manner as he professed to do in the spring of 1811, and as he promised to do whenever the restrictions on his authority should cease; in short, till he is prepared to give us his full confidence both as to men and measures, it certainly is not desirable for us, and perhaps not for him, that we should be called to his councils."

These prognostications proved to be right, as on the same day Lord Moira wrote to propose a conference, "as being honored with his Royal Highness's confidence, to remove misunderstanding. Should the issue of the convention be favorable, his object would be to solicit the Prince Regent's permission to address them personally." This proposal, carried by the Duke of Bedford, was coldly met by Lords Grey and Grenville.

"Motives of obvious delicacy stand in the way. We shall always

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\* The correspondence is given in "Lord Wellesley's Life," iii. 261.

† Stapleton, "Life of Canning," p. 201.

receive with dutiful submission his Royal Highness's commands, in whatever channel he may be pleased to signify them; but we cannot venture to suggest to his Royal Highness, through any other person, our opinions on points in which his Royal Highness is not pleased to require our advice."

"Ample testimonies were borne to Lord Moira's character," resumes our diarist, "and his disposition to reconcile all differences, but no new overture had been made. Taylor told me that the difficulty was with the Regent to admit Lord Grey into the Cabinet, and when that was got over all was thought settled. Lord Forbes told me last night that his uncle, Lord Moira, was by at the time Lord Wellesley had some words with the Regent, and said that 'he would not form a part of any administration.' We shall see how he kept his word.

"*June 5th.*—No new proposal, nor, indeed, a renewal of the old ones, was made this day to Lords Grey and Grenville. In the House of Commons, after some conversation, it was agreed to adjourn over to Monday, and, if no administration was then appointed, General Gascoigne pledged himself to propose some resolution to the House. In the Lords, Lord Moira began the discussion by stating that the expressions used by Lord Wellesley on Wednesday, that dreadful animosities existed, had been mischievously applied to the Regent. Now he solemnly denied that they existed, and that he, though the humble instrument of the negotiation, could state that upon his own knowledge. He repeated that all the delay had proceeded from a misapprehension, and he denied that the Regent had named any one to any office, but the whole was left free to future arrangement. Lord Grey said it was impossible to have any doubt that persons and officers were named and filled up, and that to prove this assertion he read the terms as they came from Lord Wellesley, in which it appeared that Lord Wellesley was named First Commissioner of the Treasury, and Lord Moira, Erskine, and Canning, designated a part of the Cabinet. Lord Moira re-asserted that the whole was a misapprehension, and that yet his hopes were not wholly extinct of coming to an amicable adjustment. In the midst of all these serious things, the only joke I have heard of it was from Sheridan, who said to me the other night, that two trades were lost in this town, viz. cabinet-makers and joiners.

"On Friday night, after the debate, a letter was written to the Duke of Bedford, praying him to mediate between Lords Grey,



Grenville, and Moira; and Whitbread was sent for to town. On Saturday Lord Moira notified to them that he had full powers to form an administration. Accordingly, Lords Grey and Grenville met Lord Moira and Lord Erskine, and Lord Moira stated he had powers to concede the Catholic claims, the Orders of Council, economical reforms, and all other reforms; even, if thought necessary, reform in Parliament. Lord Grey then said that before they went farther as to the discussion of offices to be held by different persons, he thought it necessary to ask what was intended to be done in respect to the officers of the household. Lord Moira said that he had full powers to remove them, as well as any other officers of state, but that he personally should consider such an act as highly injurious to the public service.

"To this Lord Grey and Lord Grenville replied, they also acted on public grounds alone, and with no other feeling whatever than that which arose from the necessity of giving to a new Government that character of efficiency and stability, and those marks of the constitutional support of the Crown which were required to enable it to act usefully for the public service; and that on these grounds it appeared to them indispensable that the connection of the great offices of the Court with the political administration should be clearly established in its first arrangements."

"A decided difference of opinion as to this point having been thus expressed on both sides, the conversation ended here with mutual declarations of regret.

"Nothing was said on the subject of official arrangements, nor any persons proposed on either side, to fill any particular situation."

Such was the conclusion of the comedy. The behavior of the two lords has often been discussed, and on the record, as it were, they would seem to have been grasping. But it must not be forgotten that they were only to form a portion of the ministry, and that the Prince's agent was to be the head. And they knew enough of what *tracasseries* were certain to follow.\*

"Yet there are some people still who doubt the discretion and

\* Mr. Grenville wrote: "As long ago as Sunday se'nnight, Lord Hertford told old Sloane that he would insure to him the continuance of the old Government; and early on Sunday, a great prelate, a friend of mine, remarking to the Duke of Cumberland that Moira was said to have completed his Government, was answered: 'Do not be such a fool as to believe him—it is to be the old Government again.'"—"Regency," p. 369.

judgment with which the negotiation was carried on between Lords Grey, Grenville, and Moira. Whitbread, for instance, is decidedly of opinion that the whole matter was sadly mismanaged, and that supposing Lord Moira's intentions to have been sincere they might have carried their point, and the honor of all parties been saved. He says, for example, when Lord Moira told them that he had power to remove all the officers of the household, he should have said: Pass over to your other powers and we will talk of that afterwards. Then, having settled the great questions of reform, Orders of Council, Catholics, etc., he would have said: Now change 'I have power' into 'we have power,' and then let us look at the question. 1st. The Duke of Montrose, Lord Jocelyn, and Lord Cholmondeley; the Regent can have no wish to keep them, and we require their sacrifice to show that we have the power. Then Lords Hertford and Yarmouth. Now, as all men have weaknesses, and are to be led and managed through them, though we have the power to remove those officers we will not exercise it, but this must be known to be an act of our choice and not of necessity or compulsion; for if by removing Lord Hertford, etc., you could destroy his influence and annihilate his power, there could be no doubt it would be a wise step; but so far from it, you would only make that power be used more vehemently against yourself, you would sharpen all the existing animosities; whereas if they held office they would be disarmed, or, at least, have not such immediate interest in overthrowing you. I very much concur in all this, which Whitbread stated to me the other evening, and I am disposed to think that however honorable and praiseworthy and pure the motives of Lords Grey and Grenville were, they were not wise in the management of the transaction; for what are these offices in comparison with the good an entire change of measures would have effected? The whole question is, was the Regent sincere, and did he send Lord Moira with a disposition to form an administration; if he was we have acted unwisely, if not, the sooner we were out of the scrape the better."

"*June 11th.*—We had a long debate in the Commons upon the motion of Mr. Wortley to pray the Regent to continue his exertions to form a strong administration. The debate was dull and heavy, and the defence of Lords Grey and Grenville in no way made clearly out. The truth of the whole appears to be that the Regent hated them and they distrusted him, and that there was no likelihood of their agreeing together. Among the singularities of the

night, Lord Yarmouth declared that he and the other members of the household thought they ought not to retain their offices; all they requested was to know ten minutes before certain gentlemen received the seals that they might resign. He said he had requested Mr. Sheridan to make known to his friends their determination, and that he has advised them not to resign, for that would degrade the Prince. To that statement Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Tierney replied, and denied that they or their friends had received from Mr. Sheridan the smallest information on the subject, and Mr. Tierney states that he, on Friday, had mentioned to Mr. Sheridan some reports that he had heard of the fact, and that Lord Robert Seymour had stated that Lord Hertford would resign the moment it was settled the Opposition were to be in office, and asked him if he knew anything about it. Sheridan replied: 'I will bet you 500 guineas to 1 no such thing was ever in contemplation.' Mr. Canning stated that the interval of ten days which had elapsed between the unauthorized offer of Lord Wellesley to Lords Grey and Grenville, and when the Regent gave him full powers, was employed in endeavoring to induce the present administration to connect themselves with Lord Wellesley; he said besides, that Lord Moira told him, five minutes after he came out of the closet, that immediately upon the breaking off of the negotiation, he (Lord Moira) had gone to the Regent, and that the Prince had said: 'Well, Moira, do you bring me an administration?' To which Lord Moira replied: 'Before I answer that, I wish to know, Is your royal highness prepared upon my advice to part with all your household?' The answer was: 'I am.' 'Then, sir,' said Lord Moira, 'not one of them shall be moved.' He further added that Lord Moira did not advise the return of the present administration, nor did Mr. Canning say one word upon the attempt and failure of Lord Moira to form an administration on Monday, prior to Lord Moira giving back into the Regent's hands his commission: what that broke off upon is not yet known. Sheridan was always at Carlton House, where Lord Yarmouth said it was no secret, but universally known—his conduct deserves another name—as it must have been something worse than baseness to have suffered his friends to have risked a question on which he knew the whole negotiation must break off, when he had a knowledge of a fact, which, if told, would have prevented the proposition being made.

"*June 13th.*—Last night at Brookes's, Sheridan entered into his defence before an audience certainly not favorable to him. He denies that Lord Yarmouth ever commissioned him to tell his



friends, and added that if he had he should have told him that he was not upon such terms of intimacy with Lords Grey and Grenville and Mr. Ponsonby, as to warrant that liberty. Lord Kinnaird put him in mind of his speech to him on the Wednesday before, 'that he thought the Regent ought not to give up his household, and that he was sure and knew he would not.' It may be asked then, under these circumstances, as he knew also that his friends made that a *sine quâ non*, and knew well that the household would resign, why he did not step forward as a common friend to tell them there was no occasion to agitate the question, for the cause would not arise that would require it. Yet Whitbread told me that Lord Moira told him that Sheridan had been working night and day for weeks to remove the impressions that existed in the Regent's mind against Grey, pressing that he should be Prime Minister.

"As to the strange events of Monday, and Lord Moira's attempt to form an administration alone, Whitbread said that he believed that Moira took Canning with him to Carlton House on Monday to kiss hands as Secretary of State; and on going into the closet, the Regent said: 'Have you made an administration?' 'I am making one,' was the answer. 'Then,' said the Regent, 'the country requires an immediate Government, and I shall retain the present people in their places.' Lord Moira bowed and retired. Canning was not admitted, Lord Moira telling him that all was over, and that there was no use in his seeing the Regent.

"Sheridan tried to vindicate himself in this debate, but the question still remained unanswered: 'You knew of the intention of the household to resign, why did you conceal it?' This whole speech was most doting, and showed hardly any remains of what he was—he forgot all facts, and made such an exhibition that it would have been cruel to have pressed him hard, which neither Tierney nor Ponsonby did. Tierney told me that he thinks him quite gone; that once during his speech his jaw became locked, so that he could not utter. I never witnessed a sight more distressing. I have no doubt he will never speak again. Brougham, however, told me last night, the 21st, that he dined with Sheridan at Whitbread's, and that, upon a review of the case, it really was evident that he had not been as bad and as treacherous as before suspected. He saw a correspondence between Lord Yarmouth and Sheridan, in which Lord Yarmouth states that he bears a willing testimony to the truth of all the facts that Sheridan stated, and that satisfied Brougham as to the truth of the case, who said that after all there

was nothing against Sheridan but the guilt of one of those lies he was so subject to tell. Whitbread was satisfied as to his conduct."

It is a contribution to the history of favorites to see what was the fate of the tools and instruments who had labored so earnestly in this intricate business. Sheridan, who had atoned for his feeble effort to perform what was right by sacrificing his reputation on the household question, was afterwards left to shift for himself. Lord Moira, over whom the Regent had wept, was dismissed in disgrace. "After he had accepted the Garter," says Mr. Moore, "and the present Ministers secured their places, there was a drawing-room at which the whole house of Moira was; the Prince went about inviting company to Carlton House that evening, but never asked any one of that family; which, considering all the tears he shed at the reconciliation, might have been expected as a thing of course. On the Friday, Lord M. went to the levee, and was installed. The next day the Prince had a great dinner of what he called friends, to which Lord M. was not invited."

Now for the finale of one of the most singular political intrigues in modern politics:

"Adam," wrote Mr. Grenville, "has just announced to my brother the Prince's desire to see him and Lord Grey on Sunday morning; and has privately communicated to them, by the Prince's desire, his intention of continuing the present Ministers. It is received by Lord Grenville as final, but must not be indiscreetly mentioned till after the formal audience on Sunday. Rejoice with me, my dearest brother, at this providential escape."

Poor Lord Wellesley had to drink the last drop of his humiliation. Lords Grey and Grenville's final answer had been put into his hand just as he was setting out for Carlton House. There was a difficulty started in it—or rather a question—which he could have disposed of by a few words of explanation. Such was his delusion; but it was to be seen that they understood the situation better than he did. When he reached Carlton House, it seemed to him that the Prince already knew the purport of the answer; and when he read it, he said: "By G—d, Wellesley, I see they will not act, and, as the other fellows have refused, on personal grounds, it is impossible for you to arrange this matter, and I have resolved to put it into Moira's hands, who is not committed with either party." He added, he was sure that he would support Lord Moira.

This poor dupe, inexpressibly mortified at the part he had been

made to play, could only say that he was sure that Lord Moira would never ask him to serve under him. To make his situation more mortifying, it was he that, after two days' labor, had brought about the maudlin reconciliation between the Prince and his old friend, when they had fallen "on each other's neck." Lord Moira, who was at Carlton House at the time, seemed himself much distressed at his sudden elevation and the mission imposed on him, and followed Lord Wellesley downstairs, protesting that he was quite unfit for the office, and that he would positively resign it to the other at the end of the year. Lord Wellesley, however, left town next day.

Mr. Tierney assured Lord Wellesley afterwards that the Grenville party held back because they doubted the Prince's sincerity to Lord Wellesley. Macmahon and others of the Prince's party declared that the Prince "meant fairly." But he was the dupe of the *camarilla* at Beaufort House, who persuaded him—what would seem to have been the truth—that Lord Wellesley had no following, and could not help him.

When Lord Moira had also failed, Lords Yarmouth and Tyrwhitt came by night to Lord Wellesley to ask him would he go to Ireland "at the Regent's request." But he was no longer to be played with, and declined bluntly to entertain any private messages of the kind. If the offer was made in an open proper manner he would consider and answer it in the same spirit.

It becomes more and more evident, as we consider these transactions, that the Regent, while all through beguiling his "old friends" by illusive offers, was sagacious enough to see that the Government that would be most secure and least troublesome to him was the one to which his own sympathies tended; one formed of steady united men, that would command confidence in the country, and not of the heterogeneous distracted band who then made the Liberal party. In this he forecasted truly. For here was the inauguration of the long-lived Liverpool Ministry.



## CHAPTER VII.

1812—1813.

TURNING aside from politics we shall now glance at a most interesting household—also looked on by the Regent as a hostile camp—that of the amiable, engaging, and spirited young Princess Charlotte, now blooming into a handsome young girl.

It was wonderful indeed how her spirit had not been crushed or depressed by the cold and despotic supervision she had to endure from the grim Queen, her harsh father, her uncertain mother, and severe preceptors. But that warmth of temper which in her childhood had given her aunt cause for anxiety, had developed into an impetuosity—perhaps wilfulness—which redeemed her character from insipidity. There was a danger that this, worked upon by foolish designing persons, might lead her into difficulties. Her father ventured to be prophetic on the danger of these imperfections developing, and declared to Princess Lieven, who repeated it to Lord Houghton, that “it was fortunate for the country that she died, as she would have made a very bad queen;” a forecast refuted by her behavior during her short married life. Political ardor in one so young had been early fostered in her by the Prince having her carefully instructed in true Whig principles by Mr. Adam; and when her health was drunk at the Pavilion, thus acknowledged the toast.

“I have made it my care to instil into the mind and heart of my daughter the knowledge and love of the true principles of the British Constitution; and I have pointed out to her young understanding, as a model for study, the political conduct of my most revered and lamented friend, Mr. Fox, who has asserted and maintained with such transcendent force the just principles upon which the government under this excellent constitution ought to be administered, for the true and solid dignity of the crown, and the real security, freedom, and happiness of the people.” He ended his speech by expressing his confidence “that the Princess would fulfil all the duties which she might be called upon to discharge when his

bones were laid in the grave!" This declaration he of course contrived to reconcile with his own Tory principles, after his favorite convenient fashion.

The young Princess, who had much of what is called "the tom-boy" in her nature, took a friendly interest in a young Westminster lad, young Keppel, later Lord Albemarle, who still survives, full of years. He relates some charming natural traits of his playmate. She would intercede with the head of the school for him, write him grave admonitory letters, and, once prevailing on him to mount a horse, gave the animal a lash from a cutting whip which set him off at full speed, to the great scandal of the assembled Court.

An agreeable letter of hers, hitherto unpublished, shows her thoughtfulness and good spirits. It appears to be addressed to some *protégé*, possibly Willy Austin.

PRINCESS CHARLOTTE TO ———.

"MY DEAR WILLIAM,

"You will be sorry to hear that poor Miss Sandon has been very unwell, but you will at the same time be glad to hear also that she is better, but not quite well enough to answer your letter herself.

"I hope you will find the biscuits good.

"Little John acted Tom Thumb, and acted the part of Tom Thumb himself at his aunt's house. He performed so well that Lady Charlotte thinks he will amuse you all to act some plays at Christmas, either at her house or at Blackheath.

"I thank you for your kind letter, and am happy to hear that you are so well and comfortable; and believe me,

"Your most sincere Friend,

"C. P.

"The ladies all send their love, and myself the same."

The young Princess now took up her mother's cause with vehemence. Her father, it was said, was jealous of her to a degree of insanity. And another curious motive seems to have been used to inflame her against him: that he was being persuaded by the Duke of Cumberland and Lord Yarmouth that he might obtain a divorce, and, by marrying again, secure the chance of a male heir to his throne. The young Princess therefore felt how much "she was in

the same boat with her mother." This natural deduction was no doubt artfully pressed upon her. It clearly shows into what a network of intrigues we are entering: father arrayed against mother and daughter; the father eager to be rid of the daughter, yet using her as an instrument to "spite" her mother—intriguers and counselors on both sides whetting and inflaming these animosities.

These family altercations soon led to action, and in the last week of September the Princess of Wales drove down to Windsor and asked to see her child. It may be conceived the flutter and consternation that this visit produced. But she was denied, and it is added that an interview took place between the Queen and her daughter-in-law, in which the latter announced that she would bring the question before the public. The Queen behaved temperately, and pointed out to her that the authority and discretion in the matter was with the Regent. But the angry mother was not to be thus pacified. The pariah-like view taken of her as a tainted and corrupting personage inflamed her to madness. Her doubtful friend, Lady C. Campbell, tells us "that in consequence of the Princess having gone to Windsor to see her daughter, a message was sent to her from the Regent by Lord Liverpool, to desire her not to go there again. Her reply was that, if she saw the Princess Charlotte as usual, once a week, she would obey; but if not, she thought her duty in respect to her child was paramount to all others. The Princess Charlotte has not come to her, and the Princess of Wales is determined to go again to Windsor. Her royal highness knows she will be refused seeing her daughter, but wishes to have the refusal in black and white; and also to be able to say that she did all in her power to prove her love for Princess Charlotte."

This scene may be considered the starting-point for hostilities, and led to all the scandals of the succeeding years. Yet it was difficult to say what could be done or how the crisis could be avoided. It was impossible to allow such a mother and such a daughter to be in unrestricted communication without fatal results to the latter, even on the ground mentioned in one of the accounts by the Princess Charlotte of her mother's behavior in her presence.

In this state of things, and after many consultations with Mr. Brougham, it was determined to send to the Queen a very sensible letter which the Princess of Wales had written in her own characteristic style—though a portion was the work of Brougham, who, as he says, made the whole "safe and sure"—claiming to be



allowed full and proper access to her daughter, and complaining of her education being interrupted, and of her being kept in close confinement. This, the first attack, produced dismay and fury at Carlton House. The Duke of Kent bluntly "thanked his stars that he hadn't to answer it." The Queen had to do so, and, according to Mr. Brougham, wrote an answer "full of lies and evasions." \*

Meanwhile it was determined to take prompt measures to subdue the young Princess, whose flippant speeches to her father were being repeated. She had given the Queen the nickname of "The Merry Wife of Windsor," for which she had been reprimanded. "Don't you know," he said, "my mother is the Queen of England?" "And *you* seem to forget that *my* mother is Princess of Wales;" a retort which must have rankled in his mind. It was determined that she should be under his immediate control, and as a first step it was secretly determined to get rid of the governess to whom she was attached, and who was supposed to favor her young charge and her mother too much. Yet this idea was unfounded.

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\* Brougham, "Autobiography," p. 170.

## CHAPTER VIII.

1813.

AT the opening of Parliament the Regent found occasion for a grand display of all his love of pomp and magnificence. The pageant was unusually striking—the state procession and the show of uniforms. But the chief attraction was the interesting young Princess, who, seated near her father, could not restrain her delight and gayety. “It was remarked,” says an observer, “that she talked and laughed much, turned her back often upon papa, and had a certain expressive smile during the speech, which did not displease all the lords, nor all the ladies there. The Prince, it is said, was much displeased at her manner; in addition to which, the Princess Charlotte spoke to Lord Erskine, and nodded to Lord Jersey. His royal highness was flurried, but read his speech well—a pretty speech it was. He was received with dead silence, and not a hat raised or mark of disapprobation even; only a few plaudits as he went through the Horse Guards.”

His daughter's levity was perhaps exaggerated, but the talking to Lord Erskine, whom the Prince had “cut,” was characteristic. The opportunity for revolt was soon found, when a rumor reached her that the old Duchess of Leeds \* was to succeed Lady de Clifford in authority over her.

Almost on the eve of her birthday, when she would be seventeen, the Regent must have been confounded to learn from Lord Liverpool that the young Princess had written to him to announce that, as her late governess had resigned, she was now old enough to do without another, requiring an establishment with her own ladies-in-waiting. Like some young heroine she wrote off delighted letters to her mother, detailing what battles she had had with the Queen and aunts. She was said to have been encouraged in this step by Miss Mercer Elphinstone, who, according to Miss Knight, was set on by Lord Erskine.

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\* This lady later became Countess Flahault and Baroness Keith. She was granddaughter of Mrs. Thrale, and survived until lately.

One morning there arrived at Windsor the Regent himself, accompanied by the Lord Chancellor. The young Princess was sent for, in presence of the Queen, her aunt, and governess. Her father addressed her in angry tones, asking "What she meant by refusing to have a governess? As long as I live, you shall have no establishment unless you marry." She gayly referred him to her letter, on which "the Queen and he abused her as an obstinate, perverse, and wilful girl."

The Chancellor in a very rough way explained to her the law of the country as to his rights, and the Princess putting it to him as a father what he would do, he answered that if the Princess had been his child he would have locked her up. The high-spirited young creature thus baited, conducted herself with much dignity, and did not answer, but withdrew to the room of one of her aunts, when, bursting into tears, she exclaimed, "What would the King say if he could know that his granddaughter had been compared to the granddaughter of a collier?"

After this scene it was felt it would not do to push her into open rebellion. A concession was made; she was to have a governess only in name—the Duchess of Leeds—and two ladies, one of whom was the well-known Miss Knight, the chief mover in this business.

There was great dismay on the evening of the 14th of January at Montague House, the residence of the Princess of Wales, when a messenger arrived with the news that her daughter had submitted. This was a defeat for her. On the instant the well-known letter to the Prince was despatched to Lord Liverpool. This document, and the step of addressing such a document, had been carefully considered by their adviser, who had written it. At a special interview he solemnly asked her to consider the consequences. He warned her that the old scrutiny of her conduct would be revived, and bade her "prove herself" as to how she could encounter it.

On the 14th two copies were sent to Fife House; one sealed, for the Regent; the other open, for the benefit of Lords Liverpool and Eldon. The sealed letter was returned and sent back many times, but was finally received.

Meanwhile the young Princess had been sent to Windsor, and had been allowed to come into Warwick House, for a ball at Carlton House, and for her birthday. But she had caught a cold at the ball, which she did not shake off, and she was allowed to remain in town. It was while she was at Warwick House that her mother sent to beg that she might be allowed to visit her. The minister gave his



consent, and informed her that her daughter was to come and see her on the 11th. Now this seems a certain act of grace, and an advance at least, and it probably occurred to the Princess's party that the advantage they hoped from the letter might be lost. It was determined to give it to the public. "They are frightened to death," said Mr. Brougham, "I know; for Lord Moira has been sent to Whitbread to tell him that the Regent being afraid he may have been led into error respecting the Princess, wished to submit some papers to him. This message, by-the-bye, came from Sheridan, who came from Lord Moira. Mr. Whitbread said he could not then stay in town to read papers, but that he should return in a few weeks." "It is a singular fact," says Mr. Grey Bennett, "that in all this Princess of Wales business, its notoriety and publicity depended upon one vote out of three. Brougham and Whitbread differed last year as to the publication of the first letter—Brougham for, Whitbread against—Creevy was sent for, and reading the note while dining at Taylor's, wrote with a pencil, 'Publish:' and the first letter appeared in the next day's paper."

In this well-known and skilfully drawn-up paper she argued how patiently she had waited, and how day by day the restrictions on seeing her daughter were increased. "Our intercourse has been gradually diminished—a single interview weekly seemed sufficiently hard allowance for a mother's affections; that, however, was reduced to our meeting once a fortnight, and I now learn, that even this most rigorous interdiction is to be still more rigidly enforced. Then let me implore you to reflect on the situation in which I am placed, without the shadow of a charge against me—without even an accuser—after an inquiry that led to my ample vindication, yet treated as if I were still more culpable than the perjuries of my suborned traducers represented me, holding me up to the world as a mother who may not enjoy the society of her only child."

She reminded him that their daughter had never been confirmed—an odd suggestion for her—and wound up with a humble and touching appeal. The result was extraordinary. "I recollect," says Mr. Brougham, "no instance of such effects being produced by any statement of a case of appeal to the public against a grievance. The suddenness of the proceeding, the plain and simple nature of her complaint on a subject by which the domestic feelings of all were affected, no doubt contributed to the effect produced."

The whole country became at once parties to the quarrel, and the

spectacle of a mother harshly separated from her daughter came home to every household. The step, however, was a fatal mistake. She was, moreover, within a few days to learn that the opposite party could also appeal, under far more favorable conditions.

## THE PRINCE REGENT TO LORD ELDON.

"C. H.,  $\frac{1}{2}$  pt. 7 P.M.

"Feb. 10th, 1813.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"Pray give me a call in your way home, when your Cabinet breaks up, as an idea has struck me which I wish to talk over with you for five minutes, in order that you may turn it over in your mind before to-morrow morning. Just send me a line, to mention about what hour I may be likely to see you, in order that I may be in the way and not keep you waiting.

"Ever sincerely yours,

"GEORGE P. R."

This boded her no good. Presently rumors came to her ear that the matter had been placed in the hands of the Privy Council, who were to decide the unpleasant issue whether she was fit to have the charge of the heiress to the Crown. Nor was this surprising. She had given public challenge, and here it was taken up and referred to an impartial body—his Council—for examination. But the prejudiced Speaker tells us what the papers were that were submitted to this conclave, viz. the materials used in "The Book," the Minutes of the Cabinet, and a new one, made in 1809. There were also the opinions of Messrs. Adam, Jekyll, and Garrow, the Prince's law officers, "that the evidence was such as could go to a jury." But the most extraordinary part of the transaction was this. It was necessary to have something to cover the interval from 1807, and prove that the King had taken the Prince's view. The Speaker says that this was among the facts which "alone would warrant him in forming an opinion—the King's important declaration in 1806, that the Princess of Wales could never again be received as a member of his family, and could only be treated with the common forms of civility."

It seems scarcely conceivable that the whole evidence as to the intentions, etc., of the insane King was obtained, not from his own writings or words, but from a letter of the Queen's to the Council!

After discussion by the Privy Council they arrived at a unanimous

conclusion that there should be restraint and restriction. But when the report came to be drawn up, the Chancellor, after declaring that the draft report was "admirable," declined peremptorily to sign it, adding that it would be an implication that he had changed his opinion as to the serious charges of adultery, pregnancy, etc., made in 1807. Through his influence they were inclined to make a declaration in her favor on this point. But now Lord Ellenborough interposed, insisting that he could not concur in anything that would affirm her innocence, as his private conviction was that she was guilty on these points. In this state of things it was determined to confine themselves to the strict questions at issue.

It is characteristic of the way that the affair was managed, that when all was settled, Lord Castlereagh came to the Speaker in the House of Commons with a paragraph, suggested by, or "much desired," by the Prince, in refutation of the words "suborned testimony," which the Princess had used. This was subsequently adopted.

The object of this proceeding had meanwhile heard of what was going on, and addressed a letter of remonstrance to Lord Harrowby, urging that it was all *ex parte*, and offering to submit her case to any fair tribunal, provided she was heard.\* The reply was a copy of the report, in which it was set out: "That the intercourse between her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales and her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte should continue to be subject to regulation and restraint. That as to the postponement of the confirmation, it appears, by a statement under the hand of her Majesty the Queen, that your royal highness has conformed in this respect to the declared will of his Majesty." "We also humbly trust that we may be further permitted to notice some expressions in the letter of her royal highness. We refer to the words 'suborned traducers.' As this expression, from the manner it is introduced, may perhaps be liable to misconstruction (however impossible it may be to suppose that it can have been so intended), to have reference to some part of the conduct of your royal highness, we feel it our bounden duty not to omit this opportunity of declaring that the documents laid before us afford the most ample proof that there is not the slightest foundation for such an aspersion."

In these domestic broils, the Regent was presented in the undig-

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\* Huish, "Queen Caroline," I. 453.



nified attitude of contending, aided by his ministers and dependants, with two women—his wife and his daughter! Some one desecrating, in his presence, on the victories of Lord Wellington “in the north,” he burst out, after his favorite style: “D——n the north, and d——n the south, and d——n Wellington; the question is, how am I to be rid of this d——d Princess of Wales?”

## CHAPTER IX.

1813.

At the bottom of Warwick Street, close to Charing Cross, there stood at this time an old mansion, known as Warwick House, occupying the ground nearly behind where the Military Club is now erected. All the space now covered by Carlton House Terrace was then laid out as garden and grounds of this mansion, as well as those of Carlton House. The residences of the father and daughter were only separated by the road. Warwick House was at this time in a state of dilapidation, and seemed like a convent. Here a small establishment had been formed of old servants, with Miss Knight as "lady companion," and hither the lively young Princess was delighted to come, indifferent as to the accommodation, for she was escaping from the Lower Lodge at Windsor and the supervision of the Queen. All that was allowed for the establishment was £14,000 a year; £15 a month was served out to her for pocket-money, and £800 a year for her wardrobe. It was capriciously determined that she should be kept back, and "an elegant little girl of fifteen" was to be her playmate. However, we find her occasionally at Carlton House. At one of these visits the Prince took Miss Knight aside, and inveighed a long time against his wife, making a particular charge against her allowing a smallpox mark to come on their daughter's nose, having, in fact, neglected to secure her little hands. *He* had always watched her. Then came the drawing-room held on February the 4th, and to which the young Princess was not allowed to go, though a story went round that she refused to go unless presented by her mother. At this drawing-room the Prince and his wife actually met each other and exchanged "a slight acknowledgment."

The young Princess was now to find that she had only come to town to be worried. She was "worn out with anxiety" as to her mother. Her health was not good, and her great relatives seemed to delight in harassing her. The Duchess of York filled her with alarm by volunteering to come and dine with her.



PRINCESS CHARLOTTE.





But presently she was further alarmed by one of the usual visits of intimidation from her father attended by his Prime Minister. They came to announce to her that a solemn tribunal was investigating her mother's behavior; that "it was a very serious matter" and would end in a very painful way, that on the result depended whether she should ever be allowed to visit her again, that in the meantime all intercourse must cease. She was "dreadfully overcome," and her delicate nature seemed to be hurt also at this lecture being given in presence of strangers. For some weeks she was in anxious suspense, refusing to go out to parties or show herself in public, though pressed by Sir H. Halford and others, always declaring that it was unbecoming while her mother lay under such accusations. The finding was sent to the Duchess of Leeds, who handed it to her with true delicacy without opening it; this quite changed her bearing to that lady, showing how easily she could have been "led" if dealt with generously.

Soon the Duchess of Brunswick, her grandmother, died. She had been living in London, and gradually drawn into the family contest, and had not dared to take part with her own daughter. All were struck by her feeling and anxiety; she wrote letters to all that were concerned, she took it much to heart and reproached herself with not having visited her so much of late. She desired to see her remains, but this was forbidden. She was allowed to see her mother, who bore her loss philosophically enough. The latter was now beginning to complain of her daughter, desiring her to refuse to go to any ball unless she were asked.

But as the months rolled on, there were symptoms that the young Princess was growing weary and felt her strength failing. The lady in the interest of the Regent, Miss Mercer Elphinstone, was now sent to her. The Regent had taken a dislike to Miss Knight, finding that she would not be his tool. On one occasion he had declared with an oath, he would not have those d—d ladies—referring to the Duchess of Leeds also. Her situation was precarious and uncomfortable. The old Duchess would come from the Queen and Regent in tears, having been soundly reprimanded.

It was not unnatural that the young impulsive girl's thoughts should turn to those who took her part, and look for release to some romantic attachment or marriage. She had already had "a flirtation," connected with which was a curious little history. Attached to the suite of the Duke and Duchess of York was a certain Captain Hesse, who had become a follower of the Princess of Wales—a

person not to be encouraged, but the foolish mother seemed to have a fancy for bringing him and her daughter together; a fresh proof of her indiscretion, as well as of the wisdom of "restriction." The portrait of a hussar hung in the young Princess's room, which was no doubt that of this person, who was in the 18th Hussars, and not of the Duke of Devonshire, as it was supposed. The young Princess had been flattered by his compliments, and as Miss Mercer, in 1832, told the story to Mr. Greville, even corresponded with him. He was employed to secretly convey the mother's letters to her daughter. He was sent to Spain with his regiment, and was there wounded, on which the Princess of Wales, according to Captain Gronow, wrote to Lord Wellington, forwarding his watch and picture, and begging that he might be carefully looked after. When the Duke of York's scandal came out the young Princess became alarmed as to her letters, and got Miss Mercer to require that they should be returned. This he refused to do, but was forced to give them up. His later life was that of an adventurer. He was expelled from Naples, and shot in a duel by one Léon, supposed to be a son of Napoleon's.

Another admirer came upon the scene in the shape of her cousin, the Duke of Gloucester, more than double her age. This prince seemed to have conceived the idea that he might recommend himself, and tried to show her that he was her friend and would be her protector. At one of the magnificent balls given at Carlton House, the foolish Duke, known so well as "Silly Billy," whose pretensions annoyed and disgusted the Regent, devoted himself to her so particularly, that a request was sent to her by Lady Liverpool to change her place. After the Queen and her family had gone, the young Princess apologized to them both, when the Duke seized the occasion to declare himself devoted to her, and ready to come forward whenever she would cast her eyes on him. And he used his opportunity with such effect, that before August she had confided to Sir H. Halford that the man she preferred was the Duke of Gloucester.\* The Regent at once put it aside, with many lectures to his daughter. The strangest part of the affair seems to be that she was encouraged in it by Sir Henry Halford.

This lively girl had another *penchant*—the young Duke of Devonshire—at that time sought and followed by all the matrons in London. At balls, he danced nearly the whole night with her and the

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\* Miss Knight, "Autobiography," i. 255.



Princess Mary alternately. Being of a romantic turn, he also was believed to nourish a tender passion for his future queen, and the Regent looked on complacently, seeing that this would attach him to his party. It is evident that various matrimonial schemes were kept before her mind by the adroit Halford, with a view to some serious alliance; for at this moment a fresh intrigue or plan was on foot by which the Regent was to find relief. There now were fair hopes of crushing his wife, or of driving her from the country, while a suitable marriage might also remove his daughter—his rival with the public.

Meanwhile discussions on the quarrel with his wife were embarrassing. The ministry were pressed on the point why the Douglasses were not prosecuted for perjury, and could only reply that there were reasons which made it unadvisable; while Mr. Canning declared that the report of 1807 conveyed a "complete, satisfactory, and unlimited acquittal." It was no wonder that Lord Castlereagh came to the Speaker to tell him of the "irritation" of the Regent—his own ministers seemed to have "thrown him over." They complained that he was "quite intractable." He talked of writing a letter to the Speaker, to be read to the House. They contrived a soothing answer—reminding him that the Speaker had given his opinion.

The Chancellor, too, seems to have come in for his share of ill-humor. "Places," he said, "he must dispose of without reference to anybody but myself, if I am to continue Chancellor. I doubt whether I am: the Prince having applied for all, and I having refused him all. I am too low, and too ill, to mix with the world, and I therefore absented myself yesterday, and shall do so to-day. The P. has been treating me with so much unkindness, because I won't do as to his wife and daughter as he wishes—in a way—that one more such interview as I have had, if it occurs, will save me the trouble of appointing to the secretaryship, or anything else where the officer goes out of office with the Chancellor."

During the next few days, to the astonishment of the public, the Carlton House papers, *The Herald* and *Post*, became filled with revolting matter of the old evidence of "the delicate investigation," the former paper being directed by a low bruising parson, Bate Dudley,\* one of the Prince's favorites.

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\* The history of this clergyman is truly edifying. His whole course is marked by "duels, boxing-matches, libels; at last purchasing a 'fat' living

This scandal was the retort of the Prince's friends, and the materials could only have been supplied by them.

No wonder Mr. Whitbread renewed the attack, dwelling on the scandalous remarks and statements with which the papers were filled, and asking when the Prince, "as protector of his wife," was ready to take proceedings to restrain them. Excited debates followed, in which the Prince's character was badly mauled, Lord Milton "advising persons in high station to beware how they trifled with the feelings of the public." He almost in plain terms accused the Prince of causing the publication of the evidence. Mr. Whitbread presented a petition from Sir John Douglas, and made some extraordinary statements, as it were, in defence of that person. He had been informed by him that Lady Douglas had been examined by a Treasury official before a magistrate in February last.

Among those who vindicated the Government was Mr. Romilly, who proved by precedents that such inquiries were legal and had often been permitted. Two or three days later he was waited on by Nash, the architect, who was employed in carrying out the Prince's "hobbies," and who, since his project of the new Regent's Park, enjoyed the highest favor. Nash said that "the manly part" he had taken in the debate had been very thankfully received at Carlton House, and that his royal employer was very anxious to see and consult with him on the subject of the Princess of Wales. Romilly declined; but was told, on a later visit, by Lord Yarmouth, "that his advice had been followed with all the respect and attention that it deserved." This astonished him a little, as he had given no advice. With the curious love of intrigue which characterized Carlton House, persistent efforts were made to attract him, and he was asked, "as entirely from Lord Yarmouth, and without direct authority from the Prince, if he would take the Chancellorship without his party." He positively declined. It is amusing to follow the pertinacity with which this scheme was insisted on. The architect came again. "He said that he did not come to me by any authority whatever from the Prince; but that, since he had seen me, he had had a very long conversation with the Prince, at which no person was present, the Prince having made some excuse

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for a large sum, to which his bishop refused to induct him, but ending respectably as a baronet—Sir Henry Bate Dudley—and a country gentleman."—See Taylor, "Records," and "The Vauxhall Affray: an encounter with 'Fighting Fitzgerald.'"

for sending away Lord Yarmouth; and that in that conversation the Prince had talked much about me, and of the confidence he was disposed to place in me; and had said that, in a matter respecting his own family, he had a right to consult me as his private counsel. The Prince, in the course of what he said, remarked that I now never left my name at Carlton House, which is true: since the restrictions on the Regency ceased, I have omitted to do so. To all this I answered, that the more I considered the subject, the more I felt the great impropriety of the Prince taking advice relative to the Princess from any person but his responsible ministers; and that I could not reconcile it to any notions I entertained of my duty to offer him any advice." He was then asked to dine at Mr. Nash's, when, to his surprise, he found Lord Yarmouth, who seemed almost a stranger to the house. But, before this nobleman's arrival, he was taken aside and assured by his host that "everything was in confusion at Carlton House; that was the moment for bringing about a change of administration; that he was himself—i.e. the Prince—most anxious that it should be accomplished; and that I was the link by which the Prince might be reunited with his old friends." He was again rebuffed, and told it was impossible.

Such were the clumsy and profitless arts by which the game at Carlton House was carried on, resembling more the intrigues of the Sultan's palace than of an English ruler.

The most curious feature in the transaction was this, that the publication of all the noisome matter relating to this delicate investigation would seem to have been actually prompted by the good and admirable Romilly; for, in his discussions with Nash, he had made the remark—rather incautiously—that since so much had been published as to the Princess the whole had better be known. As it was, these advances had the effect of making the lawyer take a rather more tolerant view of the Prince and his party, though he continued inflexible as to the point of actual adhesion.

Addresses of congratulation were voted by the City of London and other bodies to the Princess of Wales, which were brought up with some confusion and mobbing. Alarming cries of "To Carlton House!" were heard, whither they were prepared to draw her carriage, and had assembled at Westminster Bridge for the purpose. The Regent judiciously went out of town in the morning.

She was encouraged by this growing popularity to appear at the Opera, which she did on May 29th; though it must have been a mortification to her to receive a well-meant warning from Mr.



Whitbread, imploring her to be very careful about her dress, and, in short, to "cover her neck." The poor lady, who was to receive all sorts of contradictory instructions and advice from the friends who had "taken up her case," wept bitterly at the affront. But she was indemnified when at the theatre, and there was a burst of applause, mingled with which were two or three hisses. "I heard afterwards that the Dowager Lady C——y was one of those who hissed—more shame to her! It is said a very great lady, who is now far advanced in years, the mother of a particularly pious nobleman, was the leader of this disapprobation."\*

Another incident which delighted the public was the strange meeting of the separated mother and daughter. As she was returning, in the forenoon of March the 9th, in her carriage down Constitution Hill, she observed the Princess Charlotte, in her carriage, proceeding along Piccadilly towards Hyde Park. Immediately ordering her coachman to turn round, and the horses running nearly at a gallop, she overtook the Princess Charlotte's carriage in Hyde Park, near the bridge. The royal mother and daughter, from the windows of their carriages, affectionately embraced each other, and continued in earnest conversation for about ten minutes.

At this point recurs the memory of the poor old insane King, now almost forgotten, to whom his son paid a visit, which the valet-scribes of the Court declared "proved him susceptible of the finest feelings, and that he could and did regard the duties of a son. The filial affection by which the Prince Regent has been distinguished will ever be remembered to his honor, and will be more than sufficient to counteract the base calumnies of all the foul-mouthed revilers of dignities. His royal highness entered the room at Windsor where his venerable parent was, and heard him lamenting his blindness in the passage from Milton: 'Oh dark, dark, dark, amid the blaze of noon.'"

This was indeed a sad spectacle enough, and had such an effect upon the Regent that "he burst into a flood of tears, and was obliged to retire to another apartment."

This sensibility—something after the manner of Sterne—attended him through his life, being displayed on occasions of romantic interest. Witness the congratulation which he had, a few months before, addressed to Lord Wellington.

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\* Lady C. Campbell, "Diary."

## CHAPTER X.

1813—1814.

## THE REGENT TO LORD WELLINGTON.

"Carlton House, July 3, 1813.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"Your glorious conduct is beyond all human praise, and far above my reward. I know no language the world affords worthy to express it. I feel I have nothing left to say, but devoutly to offer up my prayers of gratitude to Providence that it has in its omnipotent bounty blessed my country and myself with such a general. You have sent me, among many other trophies of your unrivalled fame, the staff of a French marshal, and I send you in return that of England. The British army will hail it with enthusiasm, while the whole universe will acknowledge these valorous efforts which have so imperiously called for it. That uninterrupted health and still increasing laurels may still continue to crown you through a glorious and long career of life are the never-ceasing and most ardent wishes of, my dear sir,

"Your very sincere and faithful Friend,

"G. P. R."

It would take long to unfold the pitiful incidents of this most pitiful warfare, and what further unworthy devices were used to harass the Princess of Wales. She was refused permission to remain in the palace at Kensington, on the ground that the Prince required it.\*

The withdrawal of the use of Kensington Palace, with its privilege of firing, light, etc., made a serious difference; and she had now to look out for a house in town. When she selected Lady Reid's, in Curzon Street, and nearly concluded for it, it was refused to her. It almost seemed as though difficulties had been put in the way. She then fixed on Connaught House. Even the reputable

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\* Lord Berkeley, in Lord Auckland's "Memoirs,"

banking house of Drummond's refused to let her overdraw for the small sum of £500.

What the Prince was most eager for now was the marriage of his daughter, and he had already fixed on a husband. This was the Prince of Orange, a young man who had been educated at English schools, and was serving on Lord Wellington's staff. Sir Henry Halford, whom we have seen favoring a *penchant* for the Duke of Gloucester, had suggested the Dutch prince to her. He was coming over with despatches for Lord Wellington, and the business was at once entered on. She avoided meeting him. But Lady Anne Smith and Sir Henry worked hard, and at the end of November she was heard to say that "the prince was certainly adored in the army, and that Lord Wellington, his brothers, and particularly John Fremantle, spoke highly of him." At a dinner given at Carlton House in December, a print of the candidate was placed on a chair to be looked at, and the young girl thought it "not ugly." His father had just got back his dominions, which was naturally in favor of the young prince.

The Regent, then at a party, was in high good-humor. He presented her with some jewels, and joked about a ring. The "little Lord Arran" was heard to say to one of the Princesses: "It will do, it will do," holding up his hands with delight. In short, the sagacious Brougham, who was watching the situation, was quite convinced that she would accept him.

It was amusing to find that the portrait of the hussar was at this time taken down and made a present of to Lady Anne Smith, and that of the Prince of Orange hung up in its place. Another party was given at Carlton House, at which she was to meet him for the first time. The young Princess was much agitated, and dressed herself in violet satin and blonde lace. The Prince of Orange turned out to be rather plain and sickly looking, but had a manly soldierlike manner. The Princess paid him this compliment—he was by no means "so disagreeable as she had expected;" and the happy Regent took them into another room, where they walked up and down together. He impressed her favorably at dinner by "talking very handsomely of the old liberties of Holland." Later, the Regent came to her. "Well, it will not do?" he asked anxiously. And she answered to his delight, "I don't say that; I like his manner very well so far." Without further delay, the eager father joined their hands.

Two days later both paid the young Princess a visit of ceremony.



The lovers retired to talk, while the Regent sat down with Miss Knight. It was to be kept a secret, he said, but she was to keep her charge dearly, and see there was "no flirtation." Then the pious Prince spoke of her going to Windsor to be confirmed and "take the sacrament with the family." But while thus engaged they were strangely interrupted by hearing the young Princess burst into a violent fit of hysterical tears. The Princes started up, and both hurried into the other room. They found the Prince of Orange much scared and the Princess in deep distress, "What," exclaimed her father adroitly, "is he saying good-bye?" She only replied: "Not yet," and hurried to her room. The Prince had to take the lover away with him.

It seems that it had been told to her, for the first time, that she would have to leave England and live two or three months of the year in Holland. But she herself relates what took place in her own natural style: "He told me yesterday what has cut me to the heart nearly, that he expected and wished me to go abroad with him afterwards to Holland, but that I should have a home here and there, and be constantly coming backwards and forwards; that he wished me to go to Berlin, and travel in different parts of Germany. He was all kindness, I must say; at the same time, as he told me, it should never prevent my seeing and having my friends with me as much as ever I liked; that he should be happy if they would all go with me, or else come and see me. His anxious wish, I must say, is to do what I like as much as possible to make me happy, and study everything that can make me so. I have only to add that this latter plan must, as you will see, remain in perfect uncertainty, as it must depend upon a peace, or else I could not certainly go; besides which, this is a step which cannot be taken without consent of Parliament."

But this was only a temporary difficulty, and she was soon persuaded into compliance. The matter, for the next three or four months, was considered to be settled, though the marriage was not formally announced. The Regent at this time seems to have been, unhappily, more than usually addicted to the favorite vice of the day; his daughter saying in her expressive phrase that there was generally "too much oil in the lamp." Thus at a fête at the New Military College of Sandhurst, where the whole royal family were assembled, and the Queen on her departure asked for the Regent, he was not then to be found; and the ladies learned that he, with the Duke of York, the Prince of Orange, and other noble guests, were

under the table.\* The Duke of York hurt his head very seriously against a wine cellaret.

On January 6th, 1814, we find the Regent at Belvoir Castle, celebrating the baptism of an heir with great and prolonged festivities. It is no surprise, then, that in February he was seriously ill, "kept low," and in a nervous state; indeed, at one period it was thought his life was in danger. He was much disturbed at the Princess Charlotte having a carriage built for herself, but more particularly at its not being ordered from his own coachmaker. In this depressed condition he spoke of going to Hanover, and would burst into tears on an allusion to his sister Princess Amelia. No wonder that Mr. Brougham thus lugubriously dwelt on the situation, and foreboded evil. We must, however, make due allowances for partisanship: "Truly things may be said to be desperate when the most unpopular King since James II., at the most alarming crisis, is able to do exactly what he pleases, and by whom. We owe it to his forbearance that Macmahon and Tyrwhitt are not appointed Lord High Treasurer and Lord High Admiral."

In January, 1814, the Princess went through the ordeal of a visit to Windsor, where, as she says: "What with congratulations, ill-concealed joy as ill-concealed sorrow, good humor and bad, peeping out, my Confirmation and the Sacrament, and little jokes and witty sayings that were circulated, I was both excessively put out and overcome, and when I returned to town I was quite ill for some days afterwards." When she got back to London she was left to spend her birthday alone. A few days later she was dining with her mother, when the foolish lady began pouring dissatisfaction into her daughter's ear—if it were not there already—saying, "all the world had hoped for promotions, and for emancipation from prisons, etc., etc., the day of her coming of age, but that no public testimony of joy had been shown on the occasion, and it had passed away in a mournful silence." Princess Charlotte was considerably struck, and replied: "Oh, but the war and the great expenses of the nation occasion my coming of age to be passed over at present." "A very good excuse, truly," said the Princess of Wales, "and you are child enough to believe it!"

In the April of this year a proceeding of somewhat romantic interest took place in the chapel at Windsor. Some repairs or alterations were being made, and it was determined to open the coffin

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\* Miss Knight, "Autobiography," i. 252.

which held the remains of Charles I. The propriety of this step was questionable, but the curiosity among antiquarians to ascertain whether the account handed down was accurate in all particulars could not be resisted. The historic associations kindled the imagination of the Prince Regent, who determined, with the Duke of Cumberland, to be present. Accordingly, on the 13th of April, he attended with his brother the Duke of Cumberland and others. Within a leaden coffin a wooden one appeared, which was opened. Sir Henry Halford describes what was seen. "The body carefully wrapped up in cerecloth, into the folds of which a quantity of unctuous matter mixed with resin, as it seemed, had been melted. . . . At length the whole face was disengaged from its covering. The complexion of the skin of it was dark and discolored. The forehead and temples had lost little or nothing of their muscular substance; the cartilage of the nose was gone, but the left eye, in the first moment of exposure, was open and full, though it vanished immediately; and the pointed beard was perfect." The head was held up for the spectators to examine. Contemporaneous accounts describe it as having been sewn on; but the threads, of course, had long since decayed away. The hair was found to be thick and a brown color, but the pointed beard was of a reddish tinge.

A sort of *procès verbal* was drawn up and attested by the Prince, who hurried to his daughter's room (as Miss Knight used to relate) to vent his emotions after he had been much affected. He gave her a lock of the hair which he had cut off.\*

Subjoined are Lord Byron's scurrilous lines "On the Prince Regent being seen standing between the coffins of Charles I. and Henry VIII."

#### THE VAULT REFLECTION.

Famed for contemptuous breach of sacred ties,  
By headless Charles see heartless Harry lies;  
Between them stands another sceptred thing,  
It moves, it reigns, in all but name a king.  
Charles to his people, Harry to his wife,  
In him the double tyrant wakes to life.  
Justice and death have mixed their dust in vain;  
Each royal vampire wakes to life again.  
Ah, what can tombs avail, since these disgorge  
The blood and dust of both to mould a George!

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\* "Notes and Queries," Third Series, viii. 444—Halford's Essays, 1833.



## CHAPTER XI.

1813—1814.

IN discussing the alliance between the Prince of Orange and Princess Charlotte, it is singular that the embarrassment as to the choice of residence did not at once strike the statesmen concerned—for both the parties were heirs to thrones—and it would seem impossible that a mode of living could be devised that would be acceptable to both countries. The course pursued was to leave the question open, both retaining the right of succession, the only one stipulation being as regards the children, that the two crowns were not to devolve on one person, but if there were two sons, the eldest should succeed in England, the second in Holland.\* But this seemed remote, the pressing question being where the young pair were to reside in the meantime. Was the “Hope of England” to be removed from the people that loved her, and that she loved, to the Hague? Early in March, the Dutch envoy, “Baron Van der Duyn van Maasdam,” arrived with the solemn formal proposals of marriage from the Dutch Court—this being always a matter of strict etiquette. He brought also a portrait of the Prince, with the modest offering of £14,000 for jewels. But the affianced husband did not seem to gain upon his betrothed. She was treated ungraciously enough, in a childish way; no information was vouchsafed to her as to her establishment, or as to the ladies who were to be in her suite. No wonder she began to listen to whispers. At her mother’s she was told that the proposed marriage was unpopular with the nation, and by March it was evident that the high-spirited girl, to whom it now came home that she was “being got out of the way,” began to meditate rebellion. Even in this affair her mother was to be affronted, for the Dutch envoys were cautioned not to go near her.†

But what helped to shipwreck the whole affair was the opportune arrival of a very important personage, namely, the Czar’s sister, the Grand Duchess Catherine, widow of the Duke of Oldenburg.

\* Castlereagh, “Letters,” ix. 151–181.

† Stockmar, “Memoirs,” i. 15.

The object of this visit has not been very clearly ascertained, though it could hardly have been with a view to the design which the public had only the year before assumed was on foot, namely, that of marrying her to the Regent himself, so soon as he obtained a divorce. She was a slightly-made, graceful, and interesting personage. The idea that she had come with any set purpose to break off the Princess's marriage is doubtful. Still, the Prince of Orange eventually married her sister. It would take a long time to unfold the successive stages of this struggle; how the young girl, prompted by Brougham, met every objection and worsted her father and his counsellor. The whole affair, from whatever influence, presently came to a dead stop.

In this desperate state of things the only resource was to send for the *fiancé*, who was, in truth, taking the matter rather calmly. He arrived in town on April 30th. It was strange that, following the regular modern habit of hospitality to foreign sovereigns, he was allowed to shift for himself in the matter of quarters, and found a lodging at his tailor's. This may have been to keep his incognito.\*

Miss Mercer (Lady Keith) told Mr. Greville in 1832, that there was another reason for this change—that the Princess had fallen in love with "Prince Augustus of Prussia," with whom, she says, Miss Knight had contrived clandestine meetings.

During this struggle the nation was in a great tumult of joy at the defeat of "the Corsican ogre." One of the results of this catastrophe was the return of the long-exiled King of France. He was now to take his departure, and the Regent, who, as we have seen, had shown the exiled family the most marked honors, made this the occasion for a fresh and last display. Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm and cordiality of the crowd, and the exertions of the Regent. The French royal family were to come to town in solemn procession, from Stanmore Priory.

During this interesting proceeding, at which the whole of London assisted, there were two persons almost purposely excluded, the Princess of Wales and her daughter. The young girl, who would have enjoyed such a show, was going herself in her carriage to the park to get as good a view as she could, when the Grand Duchess, calling by chance, brought her to her hotel. There, we are told, neither the Prince nor the royal family took any notice of her, "and

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\* "Mem. Regency," i. 75.

this neglect seemed to press hard upon her," adds Miss Knight. However, the honest mob, who by a sort of instinct seemed to know her case, welcomed her with delighted acclamations, scarcely allowing her to pass; indeed, wherever she appeared now, this was the case, though she did not seek it. The Regent certainly showed the King and his family the most unbounded devotion, made them flowery speeches in French, while his brother Clarence attended the party to France.

But there were even greater festivities at hand: the foreign sovereigns were coming to London, and the Regent would have good opportunity for displaying his taste for pageants and entertainments. But every step he took in these agreeable *plaisances* was to bring him mortification and a reminder of his *bête noir*. That irrepressible being, his wife, would take advantage of the presence of strangers to claim their attentions. Two drawing-rooms had been announced with much flourish in honor of the illustrious guests, and it was understood that the young Princess was to appear at them. The gossips found an explanation for the two ceremonials in its being a device by which the hostile couple might avoid meeting. But at the end of May the public were favored with another episode of this unhappy scandal, which took the shape of the following communication, dated Windsor Castle, May 23rd, 1814:

"The Queen considers it to be her duty to lose no time in acquainting the Princess of Wales that she has received a communication from her son, the Prince Regent, in which he states that her Majesty's intention of holding two drawing-rooms in the ensuing month having been notified to the public, he must declare that he considers that his own presence at her Court cannot be dispensed with; and that he desires it to be understood, for reasons of which he alone can be the judge, to be his fixed and unalterable determination not to meet the Princess of Wales upon any occasion, either in public or private. The Queen is thus placed under the painful necessity of intimating to the Princess of Wales the impossibility of her Majesty's receiving her royal highness at the drawing-rooms.

"CHARLOTTE R."

The Princess was determined to accept the challenge and go. Mr. Whitbread, however, in the most peremptory manner, required a letter of submission, written by himself, to be adopted.

The answer was of the humblest kind, alluding to her unpro-



tected state, and asking that the reason of such a slight should be explained to the illustrious guests. She declared, however, that she would appeal to the public. The Queen answered, that she would have complied with the request, only that the proposed publication made it unnecessary. What follows, and related by Mr. Grey Bennett, shows what a political instrument the poor lady had been made by adverse and contending advisers.

“On the night of the 25th Creevey called upon Whitbread, who showed him the letter and his answer. Creevey’s remark was, ‘You have cut her throat;’ and although he does not go all the lengths of Brougham, who persists she ought to go to Court, yet he maintains that she ought to have made as great a noise as possible, demanding reasons why she should be so excluded, etc. etc. Whitbread was much hurt at this; and yesterday, the 22nd, he told Creevey he had deprived him of his night’s rest. Last night at Brookes’s, Creevey and I being there, Whitbread came in from the play very much out of spirits. The waiter gave him a letter from Brougham, who had missed seeing him in the morning. Creevey told me it was very impertinent. Whitbread sent his reply, and Creevey still maintaining that the Princess was lost without a hope of redemption, if some way was not found to get her out of the scrape, proposed that she should write a letter to the Prince, calling upon him to state why she should be excluded from Court, and that her assent to the Queen’s proposal was out of respect to her mother, and that she did not wish to be any impediment to her holding a drawing-room. This letter was written when I left Brookes’s this morning at two. It has long been understood that the Princess returning to Court was the cause there was no drawing-room, and that the Prince was endeavoring to persuade the Queen to take this step, she resisting unless writing by his order. At last she has consented, and she will live to repent it. On the night of the 26th an answer came back from the Queen, thanking the Princess for her determination. MacMahon had no notion of the letter to the Regent, and told Creevey in the morning that it was a sad scrape the Regent had got into. Creevey said, ‘Yes, it is, as the Regent has now declared his determination that she should not be crowned.’ ‘No, but he has not,’ replied MacMahon. ‘Yes, but he has,’ says Creevey—quoting the words ‘public and private’—‘we think it so, and have acted accordingly.’ MacMahon then said that ‘he was sick to death of the whole concern, and that he never went to bed without wishing he might never rise again.’

So much for little Mac. Lord Sidmouth, upon M. Angelo Taylor speaking to him on the subject, said it was a fatal business.

“The letter to the Prince was a spirited one. She told him that she had ‘been declared innocent. I will not submit to be treated as guilty. Sir, your royal highness may positively refuse to read this letter; but the world must know that I have written it, and they will see my real motives for foregoing, in this instance, the rights of my rank. Occasions, however, may arise (one, I trust, is far distant) when I must appear in public, and your royal highness must be present also. I waive my rights in a case where I am not absolutely bound to assert them, in order to relieve the Queen, as far as I can, from the painful situation in which she is placed by your royal highness, not from any consciousness of blame, nor from any doubt of the existence of those rights, or of my own worthiness to enjoy them. Sir, the time you have selected for this proceeding is calculated to make it peculiarly galling. Many illustrious strangers are already arrived in England. This season your royal highness has chosen for treating me with fresh and unprovoked indignity; and, of all his Majesty’s subjects, I alone am prevented by your royal highness from appearing in my place, to partake of the general joy; and am deprived of the indulgence in those feelings of pride and affection permitted to every mother but me.’”

After this protest she went down to Worthing, where she displayed herself on the beach. Here she already conceived the idea of leaving the country, demanding £50,000 a year, which the Emperor of Russia, her friend as she considered him, was to ask the Regent for.

On June 8th the sovereigns arrived. Then began a series of fêtes, and a banquet of the most magnificent description.

After the first interview of the General with the Prince, an interesting scene took place: “The Prince Regent returned with the gallant Blücher from his private apartments, and in the centre of the grand hall, surrounded by the people, placed a blue ribbon on his shoulder, fastening it with his own hand, to which was hung a beautiful medallion, with a likeness of the Prince, richly set with diamonds. The Marshal knelt while the Prince was conferring this honor, and on his rising, kissed the Prince’s hand. The Prince and the General bowed to the public, whose acclamations in return exceeded description.”

London, as Miss Knight says, “was out of its senses,” rushing after these foreign visitors, acclaiming them with delight. But it

must have been infinitely mortifying to the host to find himself greeted, in the presence of the guests he wished to honor, with hisses and groans! A fellow put his head into the carriage, saying: "Where's your wife?" On which the Regent, with readiness and good-humor, said quietly, "Emperor, that's for you!" The latter had insisted that his sister should sit in the same carriage with him and the Regent, which the latter declared was impossible, "as no woman ever went in the same carriage with the sovereign." On such a point of etiquette he could be firm and vehement enough, and the discussion was maintained for hours.

There was now a grand state night at the opera, which all the potentates were to visit. But again to the Regent it was to be a night of mortification, for his wife intended to be there—a competing attraction. Hitherto, his efforts to have her excluded from the various pageants had been successful. To the Guildhall banquet, "the City," who were friendly, dared not ask her. From the theatre he would also have excluded her if he could. Here was the scene:

"When we arrived at the opera," says her lady-in-waiting, "to the Princess's and all her attendants' infinite surprise, we saw the Regent placed between the Emperor and the King of Prussia, and all the minor princes, in a box to the right. 'God save the King' was performing when the Princess entered, and consequently she did not sit down. I saw the Regent was at that time standing and applauding the Grassinis. As soon as the air was over, the whole pit turned round to the Princess's box and applauded her. We intreated her to rise and make a curtsy, but she sat immovable, and at last, turning round, she said to Lady —: 'My dear, Punch's wife is nobody when Punch is present.' 'We shall be hissed,' said Sir W. Gell. 'No, no,' again replied the Princess with infinite good-humor, 'I know my business better than to take the morsel out of my husband's mouth; I am not to seem to know that the applause is meant for me till they call my name.' The Prince seemed to verify her words, for he got up and bowed to the audience. This was construed into a bow to the Princess, most unfortunately; I say most unfortunately, because she has been blamed for not returning it; but I, who was an eye-witness of the circumstance, know the Princess acted just as she ought to have done. The fact was, the Prince took the applause to himself; and his friends, or rather his toadies (for they do not deserve the name of friends), to save him from the imputation of this ridiculous vanity,



chose to say that he did the most beautiful and elegant thing in the world, and bowed to his wife!

“When the opera was finished, the Prince and his supporters were applauded, but not enthusiastically; and scarcely had his royal highness left the box, when the people called for the Princess, and gave her a very warm applause. She then went forward and made three curtsies, and hastily withdrew. When the coachman attempted to drive home through Charles Street, the crowd of carriages was so immense it was impossible to pass down that street, and with difficulty the Princess’s carriage backed, and we returned past Carlton House, where the mob surrounded her carriage, and, having once found out that it was her royal highness, they applauded and huzzaed her. The mob opened the carriage doors, and some of them insisted upon shaking hands with her, and asked if they should burn Carlton House. ‘No, my good people,’ she said; ‘be quite quiet—let me pass, and go home to your beds.’”

The poor lady was buoyed up by this success, in the belief that the sovereign would come to see her, and a rumor reached her that the Czar was to call on that or the following day, but he never came. She was delighted. She gradually gave way to the hope which charmed her, and said—poor soul!—“My ears are very ugly, but I would give them both to persuade the Emperor to come to me to a ball, supper, any entertainment that he would choose.” She dressed, and waited till seven, but no Emperor came.

The reception the Regent met with on some occasions was painful. “The Prince Regent, with his superb retinue, passed along Pall Mall without interruption; but his carriage no sooner entered the park than the multitudes assembled there recognized his royal highness, and he was annoyed by the most dismal yells, groans, and hisses, which continued the whole way from the stableyard to the Queen’s house. The horses were put to their full speed to carry his royal highness through this ungracious scene.”

The sovereigns were in a difficult position, and it is said that the Emperor of Russia had settled to call upon her, when, on setting out, one of the ministers came in hot haste from the Regent, imploring him in his master’s name not to do so. The King of Prussia took the half-hearted course of sending his chamberlain.

“The Regent was much hissed and groaned at,” wrote a lady to Lord Fitzharris, “on his way to and from the drawing-room. The Princess of Wales was in one of the private boxes upstairs at the play last night, and had a little boy placed before her. Towards

the end of the play a man in a higher box stood up, told the house they were honored with the presence of H.R.H. the Princess of Wales, and desired she might be cheered, which she was, three times. 'God save the King' called for, and excessive applause at the lines, 'Confound their politics, frustrate their knavish tricks;' and, after all, this champion called for 'three cheers more for an oppressed Princess, who should go to Court'—more cheering. All this is lamentable." Nor was this the only victory obtained by the luckless Princess. It will be recollected that on the recovery of the King, twenty years before, White's club gave a grand political gala, and it was determined to give an entertainment on a scale of similar magnificence to the sovereigns. The Duke of Devonshire was induced to offer his spacious house and gardens in Piccadilly for the festival, and many of the fine old trees which ornamented his grounds had actually been cut down. "But suddenly, when the committee was in council, a message came from a great person to the committee to desire to know what style of company they meant to ask to their ball, or some clumsy hint of this sort; which the committee however understood, for they sent back word that they meant to request the Regent himself to invite all the royalties whom he wished should be there, and that they should send a number of tickets to him for that purpose. But this was not deemed secure enough to exclude the obnoxious individual; for some member, a friend to the Regent (it was said to be Lord Yarmouth), made a motion that no member should give away his tickets except to his relations, or that some line of rank should be drawn, such as that no one but peers' daughters should be invited, so as to exclude *canaille* and higher rank likewise. Upon this Lord Sefton got up and said it was easy to see these confused proposals were meant to exclude the Princess of Wales; and he observed that, as one of the members, every ticket he subscribed for was his own, and every one of them he intended to send to the Princess, to be disposed of as she pleased. Fourteen other members said the same; but as they were not the majority, and as those who were to pay for the diversion were not to have leave to do what they pleased at it, they determined they would give no ball at all." This, no doubt, was the origin of the animosity which so long raged between the Prince (as Regent and King) and the objecting nobleman; the latter, like Brummel, exercising his ready wit and persiflage on the weakness of his sovereign.

A few days after the scene at Drury Lane, there was to be a com-

mand-night at Drury Lane Theatre, and when the Regent's wife sent for a box she was informed they were all engaged. It is not uncharitable to presume that this was prompted by the Court. It was contrived that a box should be secured, when a letter arrived from Mr. Whitbread advising her on no account to go. Her case, he said, was coming on in the House of Commons. "You see, my dear," she said to one of her ladies, "how I am plagued. My friends torment me as much as my enemies." Go, however, she would, but Mr. Whitbread arrived and succeeded in dissuading her.

Nor was her daughter treated more kindly. During all these fêtes she was allowed to appear at only one dinner, but was rigorously excluded from even the parties given by noblemen in honor of the sovereigns. Even for the drawing-room she was allotted a garret at the top of the Queen's house to dress in, and it was only on the remonstrances of the surgeons that it was changed for a more suitable one. She was deeply wounded at the exclusion of her mother, and hesitated about going. However, with her usual spirit, she showed herself in the parks and public drives, her smiling face winning all hearts, and the people calling to her: "God bless you! Don't desert your mother!" Finally all these festivities were brought to a close, and the sovereigns departed.

One result of these meetings of the continental sovereigns in London and Paris was the famous fantastic league known as "The Holy Alliance," engendered in the somewhat *exalté* disposition of the Emperor Alexander. When it was arranged, the Regent was invited to join. The spirit of the engagement was wholly foreign to the English Constitution, as Lord Liverpool pointed out to his royal master, who accordingly put it aside in the following conventional reply to each of the three members:

#### THE REGENT TO THE SOVEREIGNS.

"Carlton House, Oct. 6, 1815.

"MY DEAR BROTHER AND COUSIN,

"I have had the honor to receive your Majesty's letter, together with the copy of the treaty between your Majesty and your high allies, signed at Paris on the 26th of September. As the forms of the British Constitution which I am called upon to maintain in the name and in the place of the King my father, prevent me from



acceding to the treaty in the form in which it is laid before me, I choose this way to convey to the august sovereigns who have signed it, my entire concurrence in the principles which they have expressed, and in the declaration which they have made, that they will take the Divine precepts of the Christian religion as the unalterable rule of their conduct in all their social and political conduct."

## CHAPTER XII.

1814.

WE may now return to the question of the young Princess's marriage, the progress of which had been suspended during these galas.

A great concession, as it was conceived, was now to be made, and two Articles were forwarded to her by Lord Liverpool, to the effect that she was not to leave the country without permission of the Regent, who was to have power to recall her, and that she was not to be absent more than a certain number of months in the year. She answered that "this gave her no security in case the Regent and the Prince of Orange should agree. She debated the question formally with the ministers, and at last Lord Liverpool told her bluntly that her wishes could not be complied with. On this she wrote to her suitor with unconcealed delight to tell him that it was all at an end!

However, the matter was once more renewed. The Prince of Orange appealed to his father, and finally an Article was accepted by both parties, to the effect that she was not to be taken out of the kingdom against her consent, or detained longer than she choose.

The Regent was the bearer of this concession, and, accompanied by the Bishop of Salisbury, came to pay one of his dreaded visits, threatening and cajoling her. He was greatly out of humor, and tried to persuade her that now the concession was made, she must give no more trouble and of herself yield on the point. This was on June 6th. Miss Knight also he tried to bring round, protesting that he had only agreed to the marriage to please his daughter, and dwelling on his own "parental affection." The old Queen then proceeded to buy her trousseau; and the young Princess was told that, as soon as her sovereign was gone, the wedding should take place. These proceedings threw her into intense alarm and anxiety. She seems also to have been seriously ill with an affection in her knee, the pain of which prevented her sleeping, so that the surgeons ordered her at once to the sea; but no attention was paid to them.

The Czar even had been employed, bringing with him the Prince of Orange, begging of her to see him, and using all arguments, asking her, was she going to give up so good a match—"all to be praised by a Mr. Whitbread?" he added, pointing to *The Times* newspaper, which was on the table.

It seemed it was impossible to daunt the Prince of Orange. For all this worry and torture he was indirectly responsible: and, for a candidate, there was something undignified in his behavior. She had now consented to see him, but their meetings did not add to his favor in her eyes. His behavior, too, did not recommend him. It was reported that he came to her having taken too much wine, and was described as having come from some races on the top of a stage-coach, drunk and riotous. His future bride was heard to declare, that "he was so ugly she could not speak to him without turning away her face."

It having now fastened on her mind that if she once left the country her mother would be helpless, she tried to raise a new issue, announcing to him that she would not leave England; that when she had a house of her own it must be opened to both her parents. This he could not agree to. Disputes arose on petty subjects. She wished him to ride with her in the riding-house, to which he made some objection. She made a point of it; then, annoyed at her pertinacity, he broke away, and left her to recover her temper. Delighted at the pretext, she wrote to him that evening, June 16th:

"After what has passed upon this subject this morning between us (which was much too conclusive to require further explanation), I must consider our engagement from this moment to be totally and forever at an end. I leave the explanation of this affair to be made by you to the Prince in whatever manner is most agreeable to you, trusting it entirely to your honor, of which I have never for a moment doubted. I cannot conclude without expressing the sincere concern I feel in being the cause of giving you pain."

At a ball that night at Hertford House, he laughed with a friend at what he called her "tantrums," but was gravely warned that it was serious. On the next morning her letter reached him. She sent a copy of it to her mother, who was enchanted and flattered at being made the cause of the rupture. He did not answer it at once, but two days later wrote that at last he accepted the plain declaration so often made to him.



"8 Clifford Street, June 18, 1814.

"MY DEAR CHARLOTTE,

"I found the night before last your letter, and have lost no time to acquaint my family with its contents. But I cannot comply with your wish by doing the same with regard to the Regent, finding it much more natural that you should do it yourself; and it is, besides, much too delicate a matter for me to say anything to him on the subject. *Hoping* that you shall never feel any cause to repent of the step you have taken, I remain,

"Yours truly,  
"WILLIAM."

The Princess laughed scornfully at this epistle. "Good English he writes," she said, pointing to the last sentence.

But there was, in truth, another important influence which had its share in this change. The volatile young Princess seems to have once more transferred her affections. In the crowd of kings and princes had arrived the Prince Leopold, a young man of two-and-twenty, who had struck her the very first time she saw him, when she expressed her astonishment that a young lady of her acquaintance, to whom he was devoting himself, could be indifferent to the attention of so handsome a man.\* He had brought a letter to her from the Duke of Brunswick, and she was so pleased with him that, as she told Stockmar long after, she spoke of him to her aunt, the Duchess of York, saying that she would like to know him better, but had no opportunity, as she was excluded from all the balls; on which the Duchess declared she would give a ball for her specially. He was invited to tea at Warwick House, when he commended himself still further. In the park he would ride near the carriage and try to be noticed. He boldly allowed his aims to be known, and was adroit in his behavior to the Regent. He succeeded in offending no one, and secured good-natured toleration and even good wishes for his success from all. After he went away, the Regent declared him to be a most honorable young man, and that he was perfectly satisfied with a letter of explanation which he had written to him.†

The bishop had now been throwing out some alarming hints to the effect that, unless the Princess yielded, some awful measures would be taken. Then came a lull. It was now the morning of the

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\* Lady Rose Weigall, "Princess Charlotte," p. 133.

† Miss Knight, "Autobiography," i. 301.

11th of July, and it was known that the bishop had been closeted for hours with the Regent. The poor girl, conscious that some mischief was impending, was ill and nervous, when, about five o'clock, a message arrived that she and her duenna were to go over at once to Carlton House. She declared she was unequal to a fresh scene, and Miss Knight went alone. The Regent insisted his daughter should come the next day. Already it had leaked out that she was to be removed to her father's house, to a sort of honorable captivity. No visits or letters were to be received, and all her servants and friends were to be dismissed and some creatures of the Regent put about her. The following day she was again summoned, and again declined to go. Towards six o'clock the Regent made his appearance, and sent down for her. Now was the supreme moment. She came out from that interview "in the greatest agony," saying to Miss Knight that she had but an instant to speak to her, telling her that the new ladies were in the house, that the servants were dismissed, that she was to be shut up and was to see no one but his friends, and that if she did not go at once the Prince would come himself. Falling on her knees she exclaimed passionately, "God Almighty grant me patience!"

Miss Knight, then sent for, was told that she was dismissed—that her room was wanted for that very evening. The Regent added he was sorry to put a lady to inconvenience. She answered that her father had suffered for fifty years, serving his country, so she was not likely to mind a few hours' inconvenience. On this he said there was a room at Carlton House which she might have for a night or two. This she declined.

The young Princess was shut up in her bedroom when the bishop came and knocked violently at the door. This she fancied was her father come to seize her, and in fresh terror she fled away by another door.

As Miss Knight came out she met Miss Mercer crying, who declared that she could not find the Princess, and that she believed she had fled from the house. So it proved to be.

The next day all London was talking of the elopement, and the daring act of the young girl. Miss Mercer was at a window that looked into the lane that led from Warwick House when she heard people declare that it was the Princess that had passed them down the lane. The two ladies rushed to the Regent, and told him that the Princess had declared she would go to her mother, and before they could interfere was gone. The Prince answered he was glad,

as now people would see what she was, and on the Continent, when it became known, no one would marry her. The bishop and Miss Mercer offered to go for her.

The young Princess had rushed into the street, and, stopping a hackney-coach, offered the astonished driver a guinea to take her to Connaught Place. Lord Brougham relates what followed. He was dining out when a message was brought to him begging him to go to the Princess of Wales. Assuming this to be one of the Princess of Wales's humors, and being tired with having sat up the night before, he sent word that he was unable to go. "The messenger brought back word that I was wanted on most particular business, and that a coach was waiting at the door by express commands. I was obliged to comply, and fell asleep as soon as I stepped into it, not awaking till it reached Connaught Place. I stumbled upstairs, still half asleep, to the drawing-room. To my astonishment, I found both my hands seized by the Princess Charlotte. She said, 'Oh, it is too long to tell now, for I have ordered dinner, and I hope it will soon come up.' We sat down to dinner, and she was in high spirits, seeming to enjoy herself like a bird set loose from its cage.

"There came while we were at table various persons sent by the Regent: the Chancellor Eldon, Bishop of Salisbury (the tutor); Lord Ellenborough; Adam, Chancellor of the Duchy of Cornwall; and Leach. All arrived one after another, and as they were announced the Princess or her daughter said what was to be done with each. Eldon being named, they said, "Oh no; let him wait in his carriage," which was, like that of the Princess Charlotte and all the others, a hackney-coach. The Duke of Sussex, not having been sent by the Regent, was brought upstairs; and none of the others had any communication with our party except the Duke of York, whom the Princess of Wales saw for a few minutes in the room below.

" 'They may wear me out,' the Princess Charlotte said, 'by ill-treatment, and may represent that I have changed my mind and consented.' We then conversed upon the subject with the others, and after a long discussion on that and her lesser grievances, she took me aside and asked me what, upon the whole, I advised her to do. I said at once, 'Return to Warwick House or Carlton House, and on no account to pass a night out of her own house.' She was extremely affected, and cried, asking if I too refused to stand by her. I said quite the contrary, and that as to the marriage I gave



no opinion, except that she must follow her own inclination entirely, but that her returning home was absolutely necessary; and in this all the rest fully agreed.

“The day now began to dawn, and I took her to the window. The election of Cochrane (after his expulsion owing to the sentence of the court, which both ensured his re-election and abolished the pillory) was to take place that day. I said: ‘Look there, madam, in a few hours all the streets and the park, now empty, will be crowded with tens of thousands. I have only to take you to that window, and show you to the multitude, and tell them your grievances, and they will all rise in your behalf.’ ‘And why should they not?’ I think she said, or some such words. ‘The commotion,’ I answered, ‘will be excessive; Carlton House will be attacked—perhaps pulled down; the soldiers will be ordered out; blood will be shed; and if your royal highness were to live a hundred years it never would be forgotten that your running away from your father’s house was the cause of the mischief; and you may depend upon it, such is the English people’s horror of bloodshed, you never would get over it.’ She at once felt the truth of my assertion, and consented to see her uncle Frederic.”

The night was an exciting one. Not till two in the morning was she persuaded to yield. The heroic girl made a solemn protest, that she was resolved not to marry the Prince of Orange. She desired a note to be made of this protest, which was duly signed, and six copies were taken and given to those present. Her positive injunctions were laid on them, that if ever the attempt to renew the marriage should be made, it was to be given to the public. It is amazing to read the self-possession and decision of this young creature in staying an emergency. Her old enemy the Chancellor had a share in compelling her to surrender. “When we arrived,” he says, “I informed her that a carriage was at the door, and we would attend her home. But home she would not go. She kicked and bounced; but would not go. Well, to do my office as gently as I could, I told her I was sorry for it, for until she did go, she would be obliged to entertain us, as we could not leave her. At last she accompanied us.”\*

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\* There were many accounts of this strange dramatic scene. Lord Brougham has been ridiculed for the share he gives himself in this affair. His various statements as to his sitting down to dinner with the Princess; the idea of such important personages as the Chancellor and others being kept waiting in hackney-coaches outside, and above all the melodramatic speech at the win-

The sensation caused by these proceedings may be imagined. From that moment the young Princess became endeared to the people, for the fact of a young girl having to fly from the house of her father was a presumption of ill-treatment. Indeed, what can be said of the Regent, who at every step seemed to blunder afresh! It was remarked that the behavior of the Princess of Wales showed an unexpected good sense, and no one, it was noticed, was so eager that the Princess should leave the house and go back to her father's.\* It was natural that the young girl should consider this a desertion at such a crisis, and, after casting her lot with her mother, should resent such cold welcome. It seems that from this time a change took place in her feelings. An affectionate parent would have laid aside the cautious warnings of "advisers," and have chivalrously cast her lot with her. Such an element of strength would have been invaluable, and the idea of the Chief Justice issuing his Habeas Corpus, or the officers of the law arriving to drag the young Princess away, was too ludicrous to be entertained a moment. A tumult would have followed of a most serious kind, and the Regent have excited such a storm of execration as he could never have surmounted. But the Princess of Wales at that moment was busy with a plan that concerned her own interest, and she might have been afraid of imperiling it.

As the young Princess was now to be under a sort of restraint, it was determined to carry on the war, and Mr. Brougham put forward the Duke of Sussex as his niece's protector. Accordingly, in the

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dow, have been doubted. That his statements are substantially correct can be shown. Lord Dundonald, however, states—at the last page of his memoir—that the speech at the window was made by the Duke of Sussex. But this is improbable, as it is exactly the topic that the popular orator would have urged. Further, his account was read to the Duke, and accepted. A point is made that Lord Cochrane's election did not take place until some days later. Lord Cochrane himself says that it took place on that day, and this is urged as proof that the scene was only engendered in Lord Brougham's imagination. In any case it is evident that, as an election was going on, the nomination having taken place on the day before, and the polling to come on later, he wished to impress on the Princess that the neighborhood was in a state of excitement which would be inflamed by the incident.

\* See also the Duke of Sussex's account, "*Memoir of Adolphus*," p. 175. We cannot accept the fanciful theory of "*The Edinburgh Review*" that all felt that a night passed under her mother's roof, whither "the Sapios" resorted, etc., would have been contamination. It was obviously felt that, if she returned, the matter was merely a visit; but if she slept there, it became a refuge, and the Rubicon had been, as it were, passed.

House of Lords, on July the 19th, after talking of his "agitated feelings," that Prince put questions to Lord Liverpool as to the position of the Princess: whether she was allowed to communicate with her friends in writing or otherwise; was she prevented going to the sea; was she to have an establishment suitable to her rank? The minister, with visible reluctance, rose to declare that he declined giving any answer—that it was unbecoming to put such questions. The Prince was "the father of his family," and was "affected with great tenderness and love towards his child," had adopted measures for her good, "agreeably to the duties which God, nature, and the laws of the country imposed upon him." After this pretty picture, the Duke vindicated himself from any disrespect, but the Chancellor treated him in rather a severe style, and gave him a good lecture on his behavior. It was said that a sudden "fit of asthma" furnished him with a convenient excuse for withdrawing from the business.

He had previously sent a letter to Lord Liverpool, asking to be allowed to see his niece, and received for an answer: "The Regent has read the letter, and has no commands." Mr. Brougham, excited by the contest, was prompting other friends, trying to stir up Lord Grey, the Princess's friend, declaring that he was sure she was "game," and would go to the Tower if necessary. One of his schemes was "to set Peter Plymley on them," and if he failed, to get the Princess herself to ask him to write in her cause. But Lord Grey felt that such a struggle between her relations carried on in public was unbecoming, and likely to cause mischief. He and Lord Grenville strongly opposed the matter being renewed.

Meanwhile the young Princess's allowances had been formally cut off. She was obliged to sell some of her jewels to pay tradesmen distressed for their money, with certain little pensions to the poor. She was also forced to admit one of her ladies to sleep in the same room or in the next, the door being left open. All her letters and parcels were searched. Her friends had taken care to publish the opinion of her three physicians, that she ought to be sent to the seaside, a step that caused "great anger" at Carlton House. Dr. Baillie interrogated Miss Knight in a manner "most unjustifiable," by order of the Prince. She was not allowed to go until the end of August. She also was put to the question as to whether she had set on her uncle to bring her case forward. Nor did the Regent want defenders; his hired writers in *The Post*, and others, presenting him as an injured father. "Aware of this unnatural rebellion," wrote the Rev. Bate Dudley, "the royal parent, as might be expected, became



anxious to ascertain the description of persons by whom his daughter was immediately surrounded, and by means of one of the most pious and virtuous characters of the land it was discovered that many of her associates were persons possessing pernicious sentiments, alike hostile to the peace of the daughter, the father, and the country. Under these circumstances the whole of the obnoxious associates were dismissed by order of the Regent." This gross attack upon ladies who, at the worst, could have been only a little indiscreet, was characteristic of the press of the day.

After all this dissatisfaction and excitement it is not surprising to find that the Regent was now in a bad condition of health. He had organized a series of shows—his favorite pastime—to commemorate the peace, and vast sums of money had been laid out on these pageants. But his nerves were shaken by these agitations, and by the rough and hostile greetings which saluted him in public; and, indeed, it is not often that a prince is found who is engaged in a double contest with a wife and daughter, both of whom are popular. The old Queen was credited with the late proceedings, and was held in such detestation by the crowd that on coming from a party at Carlton House she was nearly mobbed. "The hooting, hissing, and abuse," says Lord Grey—"there was no form of reproach that did not assail her ears—was more violent and alarming than ever." Her son had to send his aide-de-camp to protect her; but the high-spirited old Queen disdainfully rejected all assistance, declaring that she had been nearly fifty years in the country, and had never been so insulted. "And now," she added grotesquely, "I be sphit upon!" Her situation was indeed pitiable—grown old, in ill-health, neglected; her husband, her family discordant; she must have looked back with despair to the old days—the walking on the terrace at Windsor with her husband in his blue uniform, surrounded by a dutiful family, and saluted by the respectful and affectionate homage of the crowd.

The shows consisted of galas in the parks, where the Regent was delighted to have an opportunity of erecting pagodas, temples, and bridges of an elaborate kind made of wood, to say nothing of ridiculous "sea fights" between tiny craft on the ornamental water.

But now the Regent was to receive an intimation of an unexpected kind, which must have rejoiced him. The object of his dislike was about to leave him in peace, disgusted and wearied out by the recent mortifications. The Princess of Wales sickened with the long struggle; finding, moreover, that her life was passing away

in wretchedness and dulness, with no prospect of relief, determined to quit the country. Knowing that this step would be distasteful to her regular Radical advisers, she did not consult them, but invited the assistance of Mr. Canning and Mr. G. Leveson;\* and employed the former to draw up a formal application to Lord Liverpool for permission to reside abroad. The ministry proposed to give her £50,000 a year. Curious to say, the discussions which gave her the welcome annuity had brought out the unexpected fact that regular articles of separation had been signed in 1809, which settled on her an allowance of £17,000 a year.

It was odd to find her friend Mr. Whitbread vehemently opposing the application, declaring that the Princess had never asked for any money, that the sum seemed too much. As the Princess quitted England within the month it was not unreasonable to suppose that this sudden liberality was in view of her departure from this country, which she had announced as early as the first week in June.† On the following day, worked on by Mr. Whitbread, who almost compelled her to follow his advice, she had written to the Speaker, declaring that she was unwilling to "burden the people" with so large a sum, and that £35,000 would be sufficient for her wants. The Government took no notice of this proposal till the 8th of the next month, when Lord Castlereagh hinted at its not being her own act, and said she herself had gladly accepted the money. He added, rather contemptuously, that he hoped capital would not be made out of this attempt at self-abnegation. But the reduced sum was finally voted.

An appeal to Mr. Brougham and Mr. Whitbread produced a solemn warning from the former, in which he declared that abroad she would be followed by spies, and exposed to all dangers from misrepresentations; whereas in England she was safe. He told her there were designs for divorcing her. He enjoined her to stay only a short time. In fact, he made a most remarkable prophecy of what actually was to occur; and it does appear as though he knew enough of her character and previous behavior to be certain that what he prophesied would follow. That she accepted it in this offensive sense is evident from the extraordinary letter of complaint

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\* Brougham's "Autobiography," ii. 258. Mr. Grey Bennett also states this interference of Canning.

† "Diary of Lady C. Campbell," i. 329.

she wrote to Canning, begging that it should be shown to Lord Liverpool.

In the ministry, indeed, she had found this one friend, whose devotion to her, even through the later more critical events, was ready to stand the test of real sacrifices. Mr. Jerdan, who, from his connection with the newspapers, seems to have gained Mr. Canning's confidence, recounts the following odd scene, at which he assisted, and which shows the romantic character of the minister's feelings:

"On going to Gloucester Lodge on a Sunday afternoon, as customary, I observed the Princess's carriage at the door; and was hesitating whether I should go in or not, when Mr. Canning led her out and handed her to her seat, beckoning me to enter by another passage. A glance informed me that something of unusual interest had taken place, for the Princess appeared flushed to crimson, and Mr. Canning exceedingly moved. I proceeded into the room, and walking up to the fireplace, stood leaning my arm on the chimney-piece, when the latter returned in a state of extreme excitement and agitation, exclaiming (in a manner more resembling a stage effect than a transaction in real life): 'Take care, sir, what you do! Your arm is bathing in the tears of a Princess!' I immediately perceived that this was the truth."

The Princess was determined, she said, to return at once should she hear of "any alarming reports." But go she would. "Nothing can stop her," wrote one of her ladies. This was in truth the fixity of purpose of a weak mind. The moment of departure was singularly ill-chosen. She was deserting her daughter, whose battle had been fought in her interest, and was sorely distressed at the idea, and who at the time was writing eagerly to be allowed to see her. And it will be found that this desertion effectually chilled the devotion of the child. It is not unlikely that this expedition was really promoted by a passionate longing for freedom, and for enjoyment after nearly twenty years of life under a ban. The mother and her child were to have one last interview, and never to see each other again.

On August 2nd, the Princess of Wales arrived at Worthing, expecting to go on board the *Jason* frigate, which, however, had not arrived. Crowds assembled on the beach and followed her as she walked; and when she went to Lancing, a couple of miles away, the whole town followed. There they saw her embark, attended by Lady Charlotte Lindsay, and the boy, "young Mr. Austin." It



is recorded that she wore a dark pelisse and a "hussar cap" of velvet and green satin, after the Prussian fashion, with a green feather. A more melodramatic element was noted, viz. a mysterious "large, long case, with these words painted in white letters: 'Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, to be always with her.'"

She wept as the Jason frigate sailed away. She passed by the Texel on her husband's birthday; always good in impulse, the poor exile drank his health and happiness in a bumper. She travelled under the name of Countess of Wolfenbüttel. A curious story was printed, which was likely enough to have been true, that during the course of her travels she contrived to see Prince Leopold, and handed him a letter from her daughter.\*

In this fashion she set out on this most fatal—as it was to prove—pilgrimage. She had really handed herself over to her enemies.

Few characters have been more perplexing than that of the Princess of Wales. That she was good-natured, good-hearted, clever, lively, there can be no doubt, but all was mixed with a reckless *gamin* element. Had she been controlled by a sensible man of the world, she might probably have lived a reputable ordinary life. If we only think of what would be the effect of what is called "taboo" upon any lively high-spirited person of our acquaintance, with a powerful faction on the watch to destroy her, it will be felt at once how this hunted pariah state of life will operate for the worse. It seems analogous to the case of the enlarged prisoner wishing to reform and live honestly, but harassed and hindered in every effort by police espionage. The result is a life of desperate defiance, and of final indifference. Nor was her life free from pecuniary cares.

She was often reduced to strange shifts for money, at one time trying to raise some thousands on the lease of her house at Blackheath, now sending one of her ladies to sell "two enormous unset diamonds;" borrowing from friends and from her bankers—who at last refused to allow her to overdraw to a very small amount, it was believed, owing to instigation. Great allowance, therefore, should be made for the effect on her character of innumerable petty persecutions of this kind.

Her best vindication is the respectable circle of friends and families she surrounded herself with for the fifteen or twenty years

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\* "Life of Princess Charlotte," i. 234.

of her life in England. This circle was more respectable than what her consort affected. When Lady Charlotte Lindsay was taking service with her, a friend, who knew the Princess, gave her the highest testimony. Indeed the choice of two of her ladies showed a sagacity on the one side and a faith and appreciation on the other highly significant. These were Lady Anne Hamilton and Lady Charlotte Lindsay, whose faithful service was her best testimony. As is well known, the latter was one of the brilliant and admired sisters who left such an impression on all who knew them, and which included Lady Glenbervie and Lady Sheffield. The wit of Lady C. Lindsay had a flavor that delighted her friends, of which Sir H. Holland gives a pleasant specimen. "It was of the copious library of Lord Guildford," he says, "that his sister, Lady C. Lindsay, used to say, and not without some justification, 'Frederick's library contains but two sorts of books—books that cannot be read, and books that ought not to be read.' Her playful letters were wrongfully obtained, and wrongfully used in the Queen's trial in 1821."

Of her, Lord Houghton, in his pleasing "Monographs," gives an interesting graphic sketch, describing how, when she said a good thing, "her features crumpled into an expression of irresistible good-humor."\*

Her steady support of her mistress, and her gallant bearing as a witness during her trial, are well known!

Yet the Princess found herself bored with the grave manners of Lady Anne Hamilton, whom she had dubbed "Joan of Arc;" and over whom indeed she used to make merry with her correspondents. "My *dragonne de vertu*," she would write, "has been sick for some days, so I am in the utmost danger of being run away with by some of the enchanters who come to relieve locked-up princesses. No hopes of getting the *dragonne* married; no one will venture to espouse 'Joan of Arc.' Dey are all afraid of de Amazon, and I am not much surprised."

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\* "She used to give an amusing account of her marriage, which took place in the drawing-room of her father's house. The clergyman brought no Prayer Book, thinking there would be no difficulty in supplying him with one, but no such article was forthcoming in the house; and the only way of getting over the difficulty was to perform the ceremony by memory. The clergyman, confused by the novelty of the situation, came frequently to a dead stop, and could only continue by the fragmentary reminiscences of the company. 'Somehow or other,' said Lady Charlotte, 'I do not think I was ever rightly married at all.'"—"Monographs."

Lord Byron is well presented in another of these light sketches: "My better half, or my worse, which you choose, has been ill, I hear; but nothing to make me hope or fear. Pray burn this piece of high treason, my dear ———. Lord Byron did enquire for you also, I must not forget to mention. He was all *couleur de rose* last evening, and was very pleasant; he sat beside me at supper, and we were very merry. He is quite another man when he is with people he like, and who like him, than he is when he is with others who do not please him so well. I always tell him there are two Lord Byrons, and when I invite him, I say, 'I ask the agreeable Lord, not the disagreeable one.' He takes my *plaisanterie* all in good part, and I flatter myself I am rather a favorite with this great bard."

"To tell you God's truth," she would exclaim in her grotesque phrase; "to tell you God's truth, I have had as many vexations as most people, but we must make up your mind to enjoy de good, spite of de bad; and I mind now de last no more dan dat," snapping her fingers.

Nor must we omit noticing here a person of mark, who, though connected with her retinue but for a year, achieved a high and unique reputation. This was Dr. Holland, later better known as Sir Henry Holland, and son-in-law of Sydney Smith, one of the cultivated courtly physicians, whose gifts lay as much on advising adroitly on critical matters, in entertaining *causerie*, as in physic. Among these eminent persons may be included Sir Henry Hallford, confidential adviser of the Queen and Princesses; Sir Walter Farquhar, equally acceptable to the Regent as to the Princess of Wales; and Sir Henry Holland. Sir William Knighton, though more confidentially employed, was of lower type, while the Willis, Baillies, Tierneys, etc., were merely of the average class. In our day this type of Court physician is not found existing. When the Princess was preparing to leave England, Sir W. Gell brought her this young physician, who was found to have "a good countenance and pleasing manners," and also "appeared clever." He was, in truth, more than this, a young man of singular discretion and capacity, and, fifty years later, was enjoying the highest esteem in London society for his singular tact and charm of manner, as well as for his ability as a physician. He became not only the beau-ideal of the "fashionable physician," but the agreeable friend and talker, who had met at some time of his life almost every remarkable personage of his day. Indeed, Sir Henry Hol-



land and his life are well-nigh unique; and his amiable power of attaching old friends, and his facile charm of attracting new ones, seem to have been only rivalled by another man of society, the late Mr. Ticknor. He was born in 1788, and lived to write, in his eighty-fourth year, a most interesting volume of "Recollections." A little before he had made his eighth voyage across the Atlantic—full of the undiminished ardor for travelling which had led him to explore Iceland, the East, and every country where men of science offered attractions; among his patients he could count no less than six prime ministers, and almost every statesman of note. He had attended Ibrahim Pasha, and had stood by the bed of Princess Charlotte. He was consulted in 1819 by Dr. Antommarchi, then on his way to St. Helena to attend the first Napoleon; and, in 1831, had been hurriedly summoned to Holles Street, where he found Queen Hortense "hanging over the bed of her son," Louis Napoleon, then in a gastric fever. With the same remarkable man he was dining a few days before the Boulogne attempt; and on him he waited in his days of dethronement and exile at Chislehurst. He had known Madame D'Arblay, Mrs. Piozzi, and Lord Stowell, Wedgewood, and Mrs. Barbauld; had seen Murat and King Joachim at the head of his troops; had witnessed the bombardment of Cadiz by Soult; was with President Lincoln when the American Civil War was raging; had talked with Kellerman, and Maria Louisa, and Pope Pius VII.; was intimate with all the wits and literary men of his own and other countries; with Humboldt, Sismondi, Schlegel, Pozzo di Borgo, and Talleyrand; during his long life, in short, had known all and every one that was worth knowing. Yet with these opportunities he enjoined on himself a rare discretion, and on principle registered nothing of what he learned, destroying every letter that he received. He set out in life with a determination to economize his pleasures, to make every hour of his life available by system. There is something melancholy indeed in the tone of intellectual epicureanism which seems to have been the highest standard he set before himself. This self-restraint was, perhaps, the secret of his success; and it is singularly displayed in his reserve as to the proceedings of the Princess of Wales, of which he had full opportunities of judging. He notes as a curious coincidence that, on his return to England after leaving the Princess's service, he was called upon to attend Mrs. Fitzherbert. Such was this amiable and interesting man.

## CHAPTER XIII.

1815—1816.

THUS delivered from the presence of one he detested, the Regent could scarcely restrain his impatience to take advantage of her absence, and commence operations for ridding himself of her altogether. Almost at once he pressed his Ministers to help him to a divorce. That this was seriously discussed at Carlton House and forced on their consideration, we are assured by Mr. Brougham.\* With his usual capriciousness, he proposed turning them out and substituting more compliant agents.

The young Princess had now at last been sent to the sea—to Weymouth—where she soon recovered her health and spirits and began to enjoy herself a little. Here she pursued her studies and made sailing excursions; and many pleasant stories were told which delighted the public of her lively speeches and her spirit. The exciting crisis that led to the Battle of Waterloo was now drawing on. About a fortnight before that great event, we obtain a single glimpse of the poor outraged Mrs. Fitzherbert; the scene† was at a ball given by Lady Aylesbury. The Regent was present, arriving at one and remaining until two. She was there, and dreadfully overcome, for he took no notice of her. But now, the excitement connected with the great decisive victory was to be the one absorbing thought.

It is curious that with this event were to be associated two highly dramatic scenes, both taking place at a ball, both of which would be well worthy of the painter. That at the Duchess of Richmond's ball, at Brussels, when the Duke gave orders for the advance, makes the pulses stir.

No less exciting was the night of Mrs. Boehm's ball in St. James's Square, where the Prince was when the news of the glorious victory reached London. On this entertainment no expense was spared.

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\* "Autobiography," ii. 268, 279.

† Miss Knight, "Autobiography," ii. 67.

The Regent and his royal brothers had been entertained to dinner. "The first quadrille was being formed, and the Regent was walking up to the dais, when," says an eye-witness, "I saw every one, without the slightest sense of decorum, rushing to the windows, which had been left wide open because of the excessive sultriness of the weather. The music ceased, and the dance was stopped, for we heard nothing but the vociferous shouts of an enormous mob who had just entered the square, and were running by the side of a postchaise-and-four, out of whose windows were hanging three French eagles. In a second the door of the carriage was flung open, and without waiting for the steps to be let down, out sprang Henry Percy—such a dusty figure—with a flag in each hand, pushing aside every one who happened to be in his way, dashing upstairs into the ball-room, stepping hastily up to the Regent, dropping on one knee, laying the flags at his feet, and pronouncing the words: 'Victory, sir! victory!' The Prince Regent, greatly overcome, went into an adjoining room to read the despatches; after which he returned, said a few words to his hostess, sent for his carriage, and left the house. The royal brothers soon followed, and in less than twenty minutes there was not a soul left in the ball-room but poor dear Mrs. Boehm and myself. Even the band had gone. The splendid supper which had been provided for our guests stood in the dining-room untouched. Ladies of the highest rank who had not ordered their carriages rushed away like maniacs in their muslins and satin shoes across the square, many jumping into the first hackney carriage they met."\*

To these may be added some recollections of Lady Brownlow, who had joined Lady Castlereagh at the ball.

"The despatches were being then read in the next room to the Prince Regent, and we ladies remained silent, too anxious to talk, and longing to hear more. Lord Alvanley was the first gentleman who appeared, and he horrified us with the list of names of killed and wounded—great and distinguished in the campaigns of the Peninsula, and become almost household words. The Guards, he said, had suffered severely—my brother Ernest was in them, but the fate of a subaltern could not be known! Presently the Prince

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\* One of the last survivors who witnessed the scene of this night was the Prince de Ligne, who died in the year 1880, and was fond of recounting the event. Another survivor is Lord W. Lennox, whose account substantially agrees with the others.



came in, looking very sad, and he said, with much feeling, words to this effect: 'It is a glorious victory, and we must rejoice at it, but the loss of life has been fearful, and I have lost many friends;' and while he spoke the tears ran down his cheeks. He remained but a short time." \*

There was now much discontent abroad, inflamed by the severe measures of the Government, chiefly prompted by Lord Sidmouth, who found in severity a supplement for his incapacity. A study of the "Doctor's" career is invaluable for such as would learn the secret by which mediocracy can rise.† The Regent, however, incurred the chief odium, and was daily scared by the frequent and alarming inscriptions on the walls of Carlton House:

"BREAD, OR THE REGENT'S HEAD!"

One morning a loaf, steeped in blood, was left on the parapet of Carlton House; yet it was stated that he was opposed to the Corn Bill which had excited this fury.

It was unfortunate that at a season of distress and hardship the question of the Regent's debts should have once more been brought forward. All the galas and entertainments given to the royal visitors had now to be paid for; and the vigilant and hostile Tierney had discovered that a sum of £100,000, granted by Mr. Perceval as an "outfit" on entering on the Regency, had been diverted to paying debts, while some new revelations as to fresh extravagance caused surprise and indignation.‡

Lord Castlereagh vindicated the Regent on the ground of the extraordinary expenses incurred for the entertainment of the sovereigns, and which, as was reasonable, should be charged to the

\* "A member of Major Percy's family," according to Miss Wynne, "says that Lord Liverpool brought Major Percy to Mrs. Boehm's ball. But in his own account Major Percy says he went first to the Prince Regent, as he would naturally, the despatches being addressed to him. But Miss Wynne states that the despatches were first opened by Lord Liverpool at Lord Hertford's, as she heard from General Alava."

† It is characteristic of that statesman that he should have assured his medical adviser, Sir H. Holland, that the all then critical and even perilous situations of his Government had never interfered with his night's rest!

‡ During three years it seems that a sum of £160,000 had been laid out on furniture for the insatiable Carlton House. The year before glass and china had cost £12,000; "ormolu" nearly £3,000; and to the silversmith in three years was owing a sum of no less than £180,000!

nation. This amounted to the large sum of \$32,000; but he owned that, on the three years, after every allowance, there had been an expense of nearly £100,000! The rest of his defence was of a fallacious kind; he admitted that the £100,000 had been diverted from the payment of the debts, but then the £60,000 a year set apart for clearing off the debts would be the sooner at the disposal of the public. This would be reasonable in the case of a sober person who was devoting his energies to the task of extricating himself, but was valueless when urged for a spendthrift not curtailing his extravagance. Then as to the furniture, which had cost £39,000, Lord Castlereagh gravely urged that £17,000 of it had gone for furnishing The Cottage at Windsor. Though called a cottage, he urged, because it happened to be thatched, it was still a very comfortable residence for a family, and the only one the Prince could make use of when he went to Windsor. He concluded with the extraordinary argument that the Prince, on entering on his Regency, might have sold all his own effects, and have called on the public to fit him out completely with plate, etc.! This provoked bitter and unanswerable retorts.

In this debate, too, it was remarkable that Mr. Ponsonby and other leading Liberals did not spare the Prince. The Government, however, defeated the attack. In a later debate Lord Castlereagh had to admit that the amount of his debts still left undischarged amounted to £339,000!\*

We now return to the amiable young Princess, who had been brought back to Warwick House, the gate of which had been barred up, the only entrance being through Carlton House. She was in a very depressed state from this imprisonment, and her nerves quite shaken. Indeed she was in such terror of her father, that she could hardly speak in his presence: a sort of stuttering, which rarely affected her on other occasions, then coming on. It was stated that there was a project of providing her with yet another Prince of Orange, who was to be placed before her, "at a breakfast given specially by Lord Liverpool, and at which the Queen was to have been present." She declined to go. She could not write freely to her friends, and complained of "tricks being played with her letters." But it was evident that the advisers of her mother had soothed this impulsive young creature, as indeed kindness was always likely to do.†

\* Huish, ii. 234.

† "Her own inclination," Miss Knight tells us, "was for an alliance with

As the year went by, a hope of release offered. The Regent's indifference would appear to have increased, and he began to look with favor on the idea of a new "candidature," that of Prince Leopold. That sagacious young Prince, though he had received various hints from the young lady to return, had determined to wait for a fitting opportunity, and being resolved not to move unless the Regent invited him. So that the young Princess began impatiently to doubt whether he really cared for her. In the January of 1816, after she had completed her twentieth year, she was suddenly sent for from Brighton, to go with the Queen from Windsor; and was told that there was an agreeable surprise in store for her. Here she found her father, and the whole family seems to have been united for this occasion only, and the young girl, though still unwell, was at last allowed a little happiness and treated kindly.

Prince Leopold himself, when King of the Belgians, furnished Her Majesty with some recollections of this period, as his contribution to the "Early Years of the Prince Consort."

"It was in January, 1816, at Berlin, that Prince Leopold received the invitation of the Prince Regent to come to England. He was forced to wait for his brother's arrival from Vienna, and then left in fearfully cold weather for Coburg. He caught an inflammatory cold which retained him, to his great dismay, at Coburg, receiving the most pressing letters from England to hasten his arrival. It was painful to be quite unable to set out, and only in February could he leave Coburg. At Calais he was detained by stormy weather. In London he found Lord Castlereagh, with whom he went to Brighton, to be presented to the Prince Regent, who received him graciously.

"The arrangements were soon made, and on this occasion the young Princess met with no further difficulties."

The Regent is said to have proposed that £50,000 a year should be settled on them, and he was to have the disposal of £40,000, to dole out as he pleased. The minister assured him that it was impossible to bring such a proposition before the House of Commons. The handsome sum of £60,000 a year was voted, with an outfit of £60,000, of which £10,000 was to be laid out in jewels, and £10,000

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one of the Prussian Princes," and some months elapsed before she gave up this plan, which was opposed on both sides of the water.—"Autobiography," ii. 85.



on clothes. Of the £60,000, a sum of £10,000 a year was settled to the Princess's sole and separate use. This liberality showed the feeling of the country.

The marriage took place on May the 2nd. The happy pair at first lived at Camelford House, Lord Grenville's mansion, close to Park Lane; but soon Claremont House was purchased, the Parliament again coming forward with a sum of £53,000 for the purpose. This they proposed to make their home.

All this must have offered disagreeable reflections to the Regent, who had received evidences of his own unpopularity. When the happy pair attended Covent Garden Theatre, to see a farewell performance of Mrs. Siddons, the audience seized the opportunity to apply the various passages in Henry VIII. to the treatment of the Princess of Wales and her daughter—passages, too, which had a very awkward appropriateness. Nor could he have been gratified by contrasting the effusive address in which the City of London greeted the newly-married pair, with the one in which he himself was bluntly reminded of the extravagance of his rule, the “enormous sums paid for unmerited pensions and sinecures,” “an unconstitutional and unnecessary military force in time of peace,” “overwhelming taxation,” “lavish expenditure,” “all arising from the inadequate and corrupt state of the representation.” The expressions of stern rebuke, and “the rude sulkiness of manner with which he replied to it, were ungracious and unwarrantable. In reading the answer, he pointed his resentment by emphasis, pauses, and frowns; and having concluded it he turned upon his heel, without allowing those whom he addressed the usual courtesy of kissing his hand.” The Court of Common Council retaliated by recording the answer with a censure on the ministers. Nor was this all—in the House of Commons Mr. Brougham made an almost ferocious personal attack upon him, actually likening him to a Sardanapalus, and causing consternation in the Government. The Prime Minister wrote in agitation to the head of the State, who was at Brighton—unwell it seemed.

LORD LIVERPOOL TO SIR B. BLOOMFIELD.

[Secret.]

“March 21st, 1816.

“Under these circumstances, both Lord Castlereagh and myself are of opinion that it is of the utmost importance that the Prince Regent should come to town the very first moment he can

do it without risk. The country is indeed in a state in which his ministers ought to have the opportunity of daily, and even hourly, access to him. Decisions which ought not to be taken without his Royal Highness's concurrence must, at times like these, often be taken without the possibility of the delay which would arise in consequence of a communication between London and Brighton.

"In addition to these considerations, the Lord Chancellor has directed a search to be made, whether a recorder's report has ever been held out of London. We can find no instance of it, even in any period of the King's illness; and the Chancellor adds that he should be afraid to have execution done upon the authority of an unusual proceeding.

"I must beg of you to submit all these observations to his Royal Highness's most anxious consideration, and I am sure he will see the necessity of coming to town as soon as he can bear the motion of a carriage."

THE PRINCE REGENT TO LORD LIVERPOOL.

"Pavilion, Brighton, March 24th, 1816.

"MY DEAR LIVERPOOL,

"I will not suffer Arbuthnot to return to you without being the bearer of a line in my own handwriting, briefly to thank you and your colleagues for all your principles, and firm and steady feelings towards me during the present storm which rages, and which I both hope and believe, ere it be very long, must and will subside, and you may depend upon my most resolute, firm, and persevering support to the very utmost. You have seen me before pretty highly tried, and you shall find me now, as at all other times, true to the backbone. Arbuthnot will enter into all other matters.

"Always most sincerely and affectionately yours,

"GEORGE P. R."

## CHAPTER XIV.

1816.

To this uneasy life the *ménage* at Claremont—domestic and happy to an extraordinary degree—offered a remarkable contrast. It was almost pastoral in its happiness. In this establishment was a very remarkable man, the late Baron Stockmar, whom the Prince was fortunate enough to attach to him until his death; a type, however, that seems quite out of keeping with English character and habits. The influence of a series of Stockmars at Court, however wholesome in a moral point of view, would too much Germanize it. The reports of this observer show that though viewing the mistress of the household with regard and indulgence, she hardly came up to the prim and precise German standard.\*

This simple retired life affords one of the most interesting pictures of a happy wedded life that could be conceived. All the stories that come down to us are of the one texture, exhibiting her unbounded goodness of heart and a tender charity, and colored by an engaging *bonhomie* that must have been irresistible. Now she is ordering 12,000 yards of silk for the furnishing of her house, for the benefit of the distressed Spitalfields weavers; now aiding the "suffering Irish;" now visiting the cottages and figuring in little domestic incidents with the rustics of the neighborhood. She delighted in the place, busied herself with the gardens and the forming of the library, listened to her old preceptor's sermons, which she preferred to those of the local incumbent. She did not seem to care for the London gayeties, and but seldom came to town. Some festivities, however, drew them there, such as the marriage of the Duke of Gloucester, her old admirer and *prétendant*, who was accepted by his cousin, the Princess Mary. She was applied to to bring about a reconciliation between the Queen and the Duchess of Cumberland, who was still in disgrace; but, no doubt acting under

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\* See his "Memoirs," i. 41, 46.



the advice of her prudent husband, she declined to interfere. Happy as was this life, it was to last but a short time.

In the September of this year the Regent was taken dangerously ill at Hampton Court. His case was so serious that his death was hourly expected. But his wonderful constitution stood him in good stead, and, before Christmas he was perfectly restored. It was wonderful how often he rallied from these attacks.

Meanwhile he did not regain the public favor, and made but few attempts to do so. Indeed, he was associated with a series of oppressive measures. When he proceeds to open Parliament in his state coach drawn by eight cream-colored horses, it is significantly recorded that he was followed by an enormous detachment of Horse Guards. Parties of the same corps lined Parliament Street, for the purpose of preserving order; and it was remarked that they seemed entirely under the direction of the police of Westminster. Everywhere he is received in solemn silence, or with cries of disapprobation. When he went to church to receive the Sacrament he was hissed and groaned at, both going and coming. He was afraid of going in state through the streets as he should have done, but went in his private carriage through the park. But the mob found him out, and clung to the carriage-wheels, hissing, and the church (the Chapel Royal) was surrounded by soldiers.

About this time (on July, 1816), one of his oldest friends, and one too who had served him at the expense of reputation and interest—Sheridan—was allowed to die in poverty and neglect. This event took place on July 5, 1816. The Regent was under heavy obligations to him for his reckless sacrifice of character and desertion of friends to forward his interest, and serious charges of utter abandonment and forgetfulness have been made by Mr. Moore and others. After the failure at Stafford, the Prince Regent, says his biographer, "offered to bring him into Parliament; but the thought of returning to that scene of his triumphs and his freedom, with his royal owner's mark, as it were, upon him, was more than he could bear, and he declined the offer. Indeed, when we consider the public humiliations to which he would have been exposed between his ancient pledge to Whiggism and his attachment and gratitude to royalty, it is not wonderful that he should have preferred even the alternative of arrests and imprisonments to the risk of bringing upon his political name any further tarnish in such a struggle."

This bearing the "owner's mark" never at any time gave Sheridan

compunction. It is hard to reconcile with this well-meant speculation of a poet the fact that he actually accepted from the Prince a large sum of money to be used in finding a seat, and instead of so using it, as it was to be expected, devoted it to another purpose, and Mr. Croker, who was intimate with the King, declares that Sheridan's plea, that "he had permission from the lender to do so," is, he is sorry to say, entirely without foundation. It was noticed, indeed, he said, that he avoided every opportunity of approaching the Regent.\* In his last stage of decay and illness, Mr. Vaughan, known as "Hat Vaughan," sent to say that he was entrusted by a mutual friend with a small sum of money, about £200 and more, for immediate comforts. It was returned by the family. Mr. Vaughan always gave out that this came from a royal hand. "But," says Mr. Moore, "this is hardly credible;" nor can he "suppose it possible that so scanty and reluctant a benefaction was the sole mark of attention accorded by a 'gracious Prince and master,' to the last death-bed wants of one of the most accomplished and faithful servants that royalty ever yet raised or ruined by its smiles."

"The whole truth of this story" (says Mr. Croker) "has never as yet been told. The fact is, that Mr. Taylor Vaughan was requested, in the first instance, to be the bearer of £500 from Carlton House to Savile Row. He refused, saying that any such sum was altogether needless for the only purpose which any rational friend of Sheridan's could have in view at the moment, and he ultimately was persuaded with difficulty to take even £200. How much of that sum he actually carried to Savile Row is uncertain—the business was left entirely to his discretion; but that he did carry a considerable part of it thither, and that that part, whatever it might be, was accepted there, on the instant, is certain. Some time elapsed before Mr. Vaughan returned to Colonel MacMahon with his £200, and told how the money had at first been received—how he had witnessed with his own eyes the beneficial effects of the application of that money—and how suspicions and pride having been afterwards awakened, money had by some means or other been raised by the family, and the debt that actually had been incurred extinguished by a repayment into his hands."

This has been made a party question to help the indictment of behaving treacherously to the Whigs. But the Regent seems to

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\*The details are given in an evidently inspired article in "The Westminster

have met with ungenerous treatment in this instance, also, from his old friends.

The untimely fate, too, of another political character may be noted here—one of the champions of the Princess of Wales—thus deprived by violent means of two useful friends. The death of Mr. Whitbread by his own hand caused the deepest sorrow and contrition. By friends and opponents he was held in the highest esteem. His pleasant turning aside of the ill-mannered question of a county member, “were they to listen to such things from a brewer of bad beer?” and which, in the case of another less good-humored, might have led to serious confusion, is admirable: “I rise, sir, as a tradesman, to protest against the imputation on the article which I sell!” For three weeks he had not slept.

In January, 1817, the Regent opened Parliament in person, and delivered a speech announcing fresh measures of severity, “with quiet spirit,” as it appeared to the Speaker of the House.\* It has been declared that on going to the House he had noticed the gathering mob, who, though silent, regarded him with sinister looks; and that this so unnerved him that he gave his speech in weak and faltering tones. But on his return he was greeted with abuse and violence. Stones were thrown at the carriage. The plate-glass window was found to be perforated in two places, and Lord James Murray, who was seated beside the Regent, declared his opinion that the holes must have been “made by an air-gun.” This theory was received incredulously, as the two holes entailed the necessity of two such weapons. However, a message was sent to both Houses, declaring the existence of certain mysterious conspiracies. Lords Castlereagh and Sidmouth once more appeared in their respective Houses, each with “a sealed green bag,” announced to be filled with papers of the most alarming kind. Then followed suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and the reign of spies and informers set in, with the Castles, the Olivers, and Edmundes, and such beings.

The Regent’s life, therefore, could not have been one of peace; and, indeed, a more judicious and popular ruler would have found his position one of painful difficulty. However, he consoled himself with festivities down at Brighton, and by the characteristic trait of changing his birthday, which was in future to be celebrated on St. George’s Day, instead of on the 12th of August. It also

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\* “Lloyd, “Life and Times of George IV.,” iii. 144.



occurred to him that the Queen's birthday might be celebrated with some state, and by way of earning a little public favor and gratifying his own sumptuous tastes, he required that all should attend the Court in dresses of English manufacture. "His Royal Highness ordered all his state and household officers to wear costly dresses of home fabrication, and those dresses were directed to be made into three classes of uniform, according to the respective ranks of those officers. The first class consisted of suits for the Lord Chamberlain, the Lord Steward, and the Groom of the Stole. The coats were of dark purple, with crimson velvet collars, richly ornamented all over with gold. Not only those persons who were immediately under the command of the Prince Regent complied with this laudable direction of wearing British dresses, but great part of the nobility and gentry.

This matter of dress suggests another era in our Regent's career, namely, his adoption of the pleasant recreation of yachting. His vessel, *The Royal George*, was at Brighton, and on Monday, September 8th, 1817, he commenced a series of excursions, accompanied by his friends Nagle and Campbell, Lord W. Gordon, Sir W. Keppel, and Captain Paget. Accompanied by a squadron of warships he sailed out, when, we are told, "the ships went through all the manœuvres of an engagement. At night the vessels stood out to sea, and the next morning were off Dieppe; where, communication being had, the yacht and squadron crossed the Channel again, and reached Brighton on Saturday, when the Prince landed. On disembarking the Prince presented Captain Paget with a most elegant snuffbox, in testimony of his high gratification and esteem. So great, indeed, was the pleasure that his Royal Highness felt, that among other gracious intimations of attachment to the naval service, he said that if he should land at any other place than Brighton he would wear the full-dress uniform of an admiral, and which he should continue to wear at his levees, alternately with the military dress. It was on this occasion that the present Marquis of Hertford, then Earl of Yarmouth, laid a wager with Sir Edward Nagle, that the Prince would not sleep one night at sea. By way of punishing him, the Prince remained out three or four nights. The terms were £100 for every night. Lord Yarmouth complained that he had not been fairly dealt with, and that the Prince ought not to have been made acquainted with the bet."

The Regent's connection with the exiled House of Stuart, slight as it is, is interesting and becomingly gracious. It is well known that

on its becoming known to the good King George III. that Cardinal York had been despoiled of everything by the French, he conferred on him a pension of £4000 a year, which was paid until his death. When the cardinal died, it was found that by his will he had bequeathed to the Prince Regent various jewels, including the star and jewels of the garter of James II., which had belonged to Charles I., and which many years later the King presented to the Duke of Wellington; also a handsome ring said to be used by the kings of Scotland on being crowned. The cardinal, who died in 1807, allowed the Countess of Albany a pension of £800 a year, which George III. doubled and continued until her death. He left behind him also a great store of family papers of much interest. A portion of these were seen by Sir J. Hipposley about 1794-5, and, as we learn from an interesting article in "The Quarterly Review," he "wrote to Mr. Burke, and by him the matter was brought under the notice of the Prince of Wales (George IV.). His Royal Highness took great interest in the papers, and authorized Sir John to treat for their purchase. This was effected in 1798, in consideration of an annuity of £50 to one Waters.

"Another mass of papers, of which the larger portion consisted of correspondence and documents regarding the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, belonged to Cardinal York, and remained after his death in the hands of his executor, Monsignor Angelo Cesarini. There happened in 1812 to be at Rome one Robert Watson, who had been compromised in London, first as private secretary to Lord George Gordon. He purchased these papers for about 20 guineas, and fitted up a room to receive them, there being several cart-loads."

Rome at that time, says another account, was full of English, and the imprudent collector could not help boasting to them of his purchase, and inviting them secretly to come and admire his treasure. The late Duchess of Devonshire having expressed a strong desire to see the collection, an evening was fixed for the gratification of her curiosity. A few select friends only were invited to examine the papers. In this number unfortunately happened to be the cardinal-secretary, who had been named one of the executors to the will of the late Cardinal York, and whose secretary, the Abbé Lupi, had, unknown to him, privately disposed of these papers to Dr. Wasker, without being aware of their value, for the trifling sum of 300 crowns. The evening was spent in discussing the manuscripts; the cardinal contented himself with a cursory examination, and made

no comments on the subject which could lead the company to suppose that he felt any particular interest about them.

On the following morning, Dr. Walker's apartment was invested by a detachment of the Papal Carabiniers, and an agent of the police placed a seal on all his papers, while two sentinels were left to keep guard at his door during the rest of the day. The result was, that the doctor was deprived of his manuscripts; he received back his purchase money, and when he exclaimed against the injustice of this proceeding, he was told he might apply to the King of England, who was the rightful heir, and to whom they had been forwarded by the cardinal's orders.

This occurred in 1818. In 1816 Lord Castlereagh, explaining to the House that the cardinal had bequeathed the ornaments to the Regent in token of gratitude for the kindness shown him, added that a request had been made by the executors that the Prince would join them in erecting a monument. The Regent accordingly agreed, and the result is the poetical memorial—Canova's masterpiece in St. Peter's.\*

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\* In this interesting episode may be added a curious story recorded by Miss Wynne. "*August, 1844.*—From Angharad Lloyd I have heard a story which is worth recording. Her sister, Helen Lloyd, was (through the interest of Lady Crewe, I believe) governess to the younger daughters of the Duke of Clarence. He, as was his custom, lived with her on terms of familiar intimacy and friendship from the time of her first presentation to the day of his death. He had expressed a strong preference for his second name of Henry, which he liked much better than that of William. The day after the death of George IV., Miss Helen Lloyd met the King at the house of Lady Sophia Sydney; she asked him familiarly whether he was to be proclaimed as King William or as King Henry. 'Helen Lloyd,' he replied, 'that question has been discussed in the Privy Council, and it has been decided in favor of King William.' He added, that the decision had been mainly influenced by the idea of an old prophecy of which he had never heard before, nor had he any evidence that it had ever been made. The drift of the prophecy was, that as Henry VIII. had 'pulled down monks and cells, Henry IX. would pull down bishops and bells.'"



## CHAPTER XV.

1817.

THROUGH all these distractions the Regent had one settled object in view—that of releasing himself from his wife. Almost from the date of her departure rumors concerning that indiscreet lady periodically reached England—strange stories of levity and questionable adventures, which must have gladdened her enemies. Already letters from private persons were reporting eccentricities, and even her own attendants were beginning to look grave.

She had gone to Brunswick, taking with her a suite composed of Lady Charlotte Lindsay and Lady Elizabeth Forbes, as maids of honor; Sir William Gell, Messrs. Keppel Craven, and St. Leger, as chamberlains; Captain Hesse, as equerry; Dr. Holland, as physician; with Siccard, as major domo. These were all persons of position and respectability. The boy "Wilkin" was also with the party.

Sir W. Gell, a man of extraordinary gifts, was of a type that now seems nearly extinct, in whom, as the author of "Monographs" says, are combined "the pleasant play of intellect on trivial subjects with sound scholastic knowledge." This feeling arises as we peruse his letters, "glowing with fun and rampant with nonsense," full of wit and a delightful *persiflage*. Even in his old age his letters to Lady Blessington reveal a charming buoyancy. When in the service of the Queen, however, he could not resist sarcastic sketchings of her foibles, to which she left him too many ridiculous openings; but on the main point, when her interest was at stake, he was stanch. Mr. Keppel Craven—also an antiquary—had the same lively vein, and took the same sarcastic view of his mistress.

She first repaired to Brunswick to see her brother, to whom she imprudently lent a sum of £15,000 on a bond, which she afterwards attempted to enforce in an English court, but where it was received with suspicion, and treated as a forgery.

Dr. Holland was always reticent on the subject of the journey, merely giving an outline of the route and a sketch of the persons

and places they visited. Even their setting out had a grotesque air: "An old London and Dover mail coach had been purchased for the conveyance of some of the servants and baggage of the Princess. It was a whimsical sight this coach offered when scaling the Simphon, with all the old English designations still upon its panels. Arrived at Naples, King Joachim admired and purchased it; but his dethronement soon afterwards ended also the career of the Dover mail in Italy."

There was much that was dramatic in the scenes they witnessed. Writes one observer: "What was my horror when I beheld the poor Princess enter, dressed *en Vénus*, or rather not dressed further than the waist. I was, as she used to say herself, 'all over shock.' A more injudicious choice of costume could not be adopted; and when she began to waltz, the *terre motus* was dreadful. Waltz she did, however, the whole night with pertinacious obstinacy; and amongst others whom she honored with her hand upon this occasion was Sismondi. These two large figures turning round together were quite miraculous. As I really entertained a friendship for the Princess, I was unfeignedly grieved to see her make herself so utterly ridiculous."

Already one of her suite began to have forebodings. "As to her mode of proceeding (as I am really her friend), it distressed me greatly. She was dressed most injudiciously. The natives were, as she would have expressed it, 'all over shock.' The suite who travel with her declare openly they fear they shall not be able to go on with her; not so much from wrong doings as from ridiculous ones. When the party were at Berne, the *ci-devant* Empress Marie Louise was there, and invited the whole party to dinner. Accordingly they went, and were received in great state. To sum up the whole of that extraordinary meeting, the Princess and Marie Louise sang a duet together! The Princess seems satisfied with nothing, and has a spirit of restlessness in her which belongs to the unhappy and unprincipled. Whilst she sojourned at Geneva, letters came to her Royal Highness, recommending her, in the strongest terms, not to go to Naples. On that occasion Maria Louisa's manner," says Dr. Holland, "was quiet and pleasing, without any other marked character. Of the great captive then at Elba not a syllable, as far as I know, was uttered—a silence which told far more than any speech could have done."

These scenes show her to be, as she will be found all through her travels, foolish and reckless, and, like Yorick, "without one ounce

of ballast." She then passed on to Rome, where she was presented to the Pope, and by October was at Milan. Of Naples at this time her physician gives the following dramatic picture:

"We reached Naples early in November, King Joachim meeting the Princess at Aversa, and bringing her to his capital with much military show. Policy blended itself here with the love of pomp and display innate in his temperament. It was a time of continuous fête and revelry—of balls, masquerades, and operas; of levees, processions, and military reviews; of boar-hunts and fishing parties, and numerous other festivities by land and sea. In all these Murat himself was the conspicuous figure, and well pleased to be so. Tall and masculine in person; his features well formed, but expressing little beyond good nature and a rude energy and consciousness of physical power; his black hair flowing in curls over his shoulders; his hat gorgeous with plumes; his whole dress carrying an air of masquerade. This was the general aspect of the man.

"His queen, the sister of Napoleon, required and deserved more study. Under her fine and feminine features lay a depth of thought, at this time, as it seemed to me, verging upon melancholy.

"At a ball there was a sudden and startling wind-up. Everything went on according to the wonted fashion of such festivities until about eleven o'clock, the King and Queen, with the principal persons of their Court, being at that moment engaged in the figures of an English country dance. Count Mosburg, our host, was suddenly summoned out of the room. He speedily returned, went up to the King, and whispered intelligence to him, which he instantly communicated in similar way to the Queen. They both disappeared from the dance, and the assembly itself was at once dissolved, each guest carrying away some dim surmise of what had happened. The intelligence, in fact, was the escape of Napoleon from Elba."

At this place the Princess was beginning to feel the effects of her lavish outlay, having already spent £4,000 on the journey. Within fourteen months she was deserted by her English suite on various excuses, some, no doubt, genuine; but the fact had a damaging effect in England. She complained of this treatment of her, saying they were "perfect tyrants, and not suited to do the honors of an English Court." Lady E. Forbes "desired to see her sister in England;" Mr. Craven had to go and "see his mother," the Margravine; Sir W. Gell urged his gout; and Captain Hesse wished to



join his regiment. The Princess then pressed Mr. St. Leger to be her chamberlain, but he pleaded ill-health; and she offered places to Sir Humphrey Davy and his wife, who refused. Indeed, all began to see that it was a service of danger to stay with her, and that her indiscretion would be likely to compromise them. Already it was known that spies were watching her, and this system operated on her mind, and was magnified by her, which almost seemed a beginning of lunacy. Yet it will be seen that a woman in such a situation, deserted and spied on, might grow reckless; and, despairing of protection, defiantly furnish her enemies with real ground for their attack.\*

After the escape of Napoleon, she had been hurrying through Italy, and went on board an English man-of-war, commanded by Captain Pechell. Of the espionage there could be no doubt. At one time a Mr. Quentin arrived at Naples, and gave as an excuse that "he had come to buy horses for the Regent." A more scandalous discovery, however, was made in reference to Baron Ompteda, the Hanoverian minister, who had been tampering with her servants. He succeeded with a German named Crede, who afterwards confessed to the fact. The baron, however, was ordered away from the town by the police.

Thus abandoned by the English, she naturally fell into the hands of foreigners and adventurers. And, within a short time, we find the notorious and "bewhiskered" Bartolomeo Bergami installed. It is something in her favor that this unlucky influence was not that of an individual but of a whole family, consisting of Bergami himself; his sister, the "Countess Oldi;" one Louis Bergami, major domo; and Vallotti Bergami, comptroller. The head of the house was soon promoted to be chamberlain, being solemnly invested with a gold badge, and allowed to dine with his royal mistress. These creatures flattered her weaknesses, imparted the sympathy which she wanted, and, being adroit Italians, kept her in their hands.

Now followed the singular travels to Jerusalem, where she founded an "Order of St. Caroline,"† of which she made the

\* Most of the details are from Lady C. Campbell's well-known diary. They may be relied on, though assailed by Mr. Croker and others, and have been confirmed in their accuracy by the "Memoirs of Lord Brougham," and other writers.

† The diploma of this Order, conferred upon Lieut. Hownham, surely betokens something like lunacy:

"By this present (given at Jerusalem, 12th July, 1816) subscribed by her own

Chamberlain Grand Master, the adoption of a child of his, and her attempt to get him received on a proper footing on board the *Clorinda*, during her second voyage. These seem the follies of a woman a little disturbed in her brain.

The cavalcade, which a traveller encountered on his road, was of a grotesque kind, and did not promise well: "At a small place called Borgo St. Domino, three days' journey from hence, what was my surprise to come up to a whole rabble rout belonging to the Princess of Wales. This consisted of twenty-four persons in all. There were seven piebald horses, and two little cream-colored ponies; and two very fine horses that drew a chariot, which was entirely covered up. They were evidently a low set of people. Many of the women were dressed up like itinerant show players, and altogether looked quite unfit to be her attendants. I did not see any person that I mistook for a gentleman; but my maids told me that they saw several men dressed in uniforms and swords, who looked like pages."

She now took up her residence in a villa, called Villa d'Este, and began to sign herself Caroline d'Este.

"There was a *fête champêtre* at the Villa d'Este a short time ago," writes the lively Gell, "of which I dare say you have heard all the particulars. Mrs. Thompson," so he styled the Princess, "must have looked divine as a Druidical priestess, which was the character 'we' assumed! and Le Comte Alexander Hector von der Otto figured charmingly as a god, to whom all the priests and priestesses did homage. Willikin was the victim offered to his Druidical majesty. The Count Alexander generally wears the insignia of the Most Holy Order of Saint Caroline, which consists of a cross and a heart tied together with a true lover's knot, and the English royal motto encircling the badge: '*Honi soit qui mal y pense.*' How far these words are applicable to the case I cannot say; far be it from me not to take them in the sense they are intended to convey.

"'We' go constantly on the lake in 'our' barge, and are seren-

hand, her Royal Highness institutes and creates a new Order, to recompense her faithful knights who have had the honor of accompanying her pilgrimages to the Holy Land.

"2nd. That Colonel B. Bergami, Baron of Fracina, Knight of Malta, and of the Holy Sepulchre, shall be Grand Master of this Order; and his children, males as well as females, shall succeed him, and shall have the honor to wear the same Order from generation, forever."

"Billy Austin" received the same privilege.

aded, and are, as we say, very happy; but of that I have my doubts. To be serious, I am truly sorry for Mrs. Thompson."

Her proceedings, however, on board the two men-of-war in which she had taken passage at various times were really what brought matters to a crisis. Captain Briggs, of the *Leviathan*, and Captain Pechell, of the *Clorinda*, reported what they saw.\*

On the whole, therefore, it is not surprising to find the Regent calling his counsellors to his aid to consider the situation.

#### THE PRINCE REGENT TO LORD ELDON.

"Brighton, Pavilion, April 2nd, 1817.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"When last I had the pleasure of seeing you, you left me not without the hope that I might possibly see you here for a day or two, your old friend Smith having given up his house in the country: but now something has occurred and has reached me, which presses much upon my mind, which I am extremely desirous of imparting to you, and of having a most confidential conversation with you upon; wherefore I must and do most earnestly desire of you to come here the earliest day that you can possibly do so; and when you may find it least inconvenient either to your business or yourself. Always, my dear Lord,

"Your very affectionate Friend,

"GEORGE P. R.

"P.S.—I will be much obliged to you, if you will send me a line by return of post, to say when I may expect you."

#### THE SAME.

"Pavilion, Brighton, April 18th, 1817.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I have just received your note conveying the melancholy tidings of the death of that most excellent and worthy man, Sir A. Thompson, and whose loss is certainly a very severe blow to the Bench, however great may be the abilities of that person who will have to succeed him in the high office which he filled with so much respectability and eminence. Any recommendation from you, you may be certain, my dear friend, ever will and must meet with my

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\* Captain Pechell entreated her Majesty, that if she condescended to come on board his ship, she would spare him the disgrace of sitting at table with a menial servant.



entire concurrence and approbation, and therefore I authorize you to acquaint Mr. Baron Richards, as soon as you may choose to do so, of your having received my sanction to his nomination upon the present vacancy.

Believe me always,

“Very affectionately yours,

“GEORGE P. R.”

THE SAME.

“Carlton House, May 2nd, 1817.

“MY DEAR FRIEND,

“I have only just now received your note, and which I lose not a moment in replying to. In a former answer of mine to you, upon a similar application, I already assured you that any recommendation proceeding from you could hardly ever fail of meeting with my fullest approbation and sanction, and I am therefore particularly happy, upon this occasion also, to afford you a further proof of my highest esteem and most affectionate regard, in signifying to you my thorough acquiescence in the arrangement you have proposed, of placing Mr. Attorney-General, Sir William Garrow, in the Court of Exchequer, in succession to the present Lord Chief Baron, Sir Richard Richards. After having said thus much, I cannot resist adding one short word more, and which is this—expressing my earnest desire and hope to you that you will suffer as little time as possible further to elapse before you nominate the Attorney-General’s successor (which, I trust, will be our present most admirable Solicitor-General), and if so, his successor also; for I am sure that if there is much, or indeed even any, delay in these nominations, after the appointment of Sir William Garrow is known to the public, there will be no end or measurement to the plague you and I shall both of us experience from the various applications we shall receive, arising out of the numberless (and, in most instances) most extravagant and absurd pretensions of different individuals. Forgive me also, my dear friend, if I add and bring to your recollection (and I can hardly do so without its forcing at the same time a smile on my countenance), that a snail’s gallop is but a bad thing, and a very poor pace at best, in most of the occurrences of life, and I am sure that you would particularly find it such in the present.

“I remain, my dear Lord, always

“Your very affectionate Friend,

“GEORGE P. R.

“P.S.—I shall expect to see you as usual on Sunday morning.”

Enough had now been done to attract attention at home, whither we shall now turn our eyes to notice a gathering at Brighton, to which all the members of the royal family were bidden. The town was pleased and rather puzzled at this descent, which was believed to be connected with the nefarious steps that were being planned against the Princess,\* and to lay before the family, in council, what description of person she was. Connected, no doubt, with the same matter were certain letters, written in the favorite style of the Regent, and addressed to the Chancellor. These consultations boded ill for the Princess, and, it is stated, were prompted chiefly by the reports sent home by Captain Pechell to the Admiralty.

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\* Some servants of one of her attendants met the Duke of Cumberland's servants at Brussels, and reported strange tales of her behavior. These the Duke carried to London, and it is said that Lord Charles Stuart was despatched to Milan to inquire.

## CHAPTER XVI.

1817.

AMID all these ominous portents and gatherings of enemies one remained faithful—her true-hearted daughter. She was much distressed at her mother's behavior, but they could not turn her against her. She was now on the eve of her confinement, and, as it proved, on the eve of her death, and almost her last act was to write the following to Lady Charlotte Lindsay:

“The only person now remaining with my mother, and who, I trust, will take courage and continue with her, is Dr. Holland, who, I believe, from everything I have heard of him, is a most respectable and respected character. I have it not in my power at present to repay any services shown the Princess of Wales, but if I ever have, those who remain steadfast to her shall not be forgotten by me, though I fear sensible people like him never depend much on any promises from any one, still less from a royal person; so I refrain from making professions of gratitude, but I do not feel them the less towards all those who show her kindness.

“I have not heard from my mother for a long time. If you can give me any intelligence of her, I should be much obliged to you to do so. I am daily expecting to be confined, so you may imagine I am not very comfortable. If ever you think of me, dear —, do not imagine that I am only a princess, but remember me, with Leopold's kind compliments, as your sincere friend,

“CHARLOTTE PSS. of S. Coburg.”

But, as we have seen, the excellent and agreeable Holland had been already compelled to leave her.

The sad event which may be said to have affected the English nation more genuinely than any modern event was now impending. Knowing that the people of London wished to see more of her, the young Princess now determined to come to town, and Marl-



borough House was to have been her residence. She was full of happiness and enjoyment, looking forward to more.

Some were anxious that she should come to town for "the event," but she preferred to stay at Claremont. Physicians were engaged—Sir Richard Croft and Dr. Baillie; both men of eminence. The former was a well-known fashionable *accoucheur*, and his brother, Sir Herbert Croft, had assisted Johnson in his "Lives of the Poets," and written a strange book on Miss Ray's murder—"Love and Madness." These advisers came to stay at Claremont; but the *accouchement* was delayed beyond the time anticipated, so that they were detained in the house over three weeks, during which the amiable young Princess was as agreeable and pleasant as possible. It was noted that at times a strain of serious presentiment came over her.\* Mr. Wilberforce heard that she said a few days before the event: "Certainly I am the happiest woman in the world. I have not a wish ungratified. Surely this is too much life to last."

On November 4th expresses were hastily despatched for the various great officers of state, and before night a crowd of bishops and ministers had arrived. The crisis seems to have been unexpectedly prolonged, and Croft, a nervous man, grew flurried. It was prolonged nearly the whole of the night and during the next day, the physician not interfering or aiding; until, at nine o'clock on the 5th, it was announced that the Princess "had been delivered of a still-born infant and was going on favorably."† When she was told of this result she took it calmly enough, but a crisis lasting fifty hours was considered a serious and exhausting one. Stockmar shall tell the rest.

"Baillie sent to say that he wished I would see the Princess. I hesitated, but at last I went with him. She was in a state of great suffering and disquiet from spasms in the chest and difficulty in breathing, tossed about incessantly from one side to the other, speaking now to Baillie, now to Croft. Baillie said to her, 'Here comes an old friend of yours.' She stretched out her left hand

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\* Prince Leopold had shown a praiseworthy eagerness on the subject of the baptism of his child, which he wished should be performed at once. Lord Liverpool, however, in an official strain, pointed out to him that it was against precedents.

† Lord Eldon says that Baillie thought so seriously of the situation that he declined signing the bulletin "favorably." But his name is attached to all the bulletins.

eagerly to me, and pressed mine twice vehemently. I felt her pulse, which was very quick; the beats now full, now weak, now intermittent. Baillie kept giving her wine constantly. She said to me, 'They have made me tipsy.' For about a quarter of an hour I went in and out of the room, then the rattle in the throat began. I had just left the room when she called out loudly, 'Stocky! Stocky!' I went back; she was quieter, but the rattle continued. She turned more than once over on her face, drew her legs up, and her hands grew cold. At two o'clock in the morning of November 6th, 1817—therefore about five hours after the birth of the child—she was no more." \*

The shock of this intelligence may be conceived. The first duty was to communicate it to her father. The Regent was at this time down at his favorite, Lord Hertford's, in Suffolk, for a week's shooting, where he had received a letter from the physician saying "that his daughter's recovery would be slow." He left suddenly and travelled all night.

"The Prince Regent arrived at Carlton House," Lord Bathurst wrote to Lord Liverpool, "at a little before four o'clock this morning, setting off as soon as he received the account that Dr. Sims had been sent for. He had missed the two last messengers. On finding that the Regent had arrived, I went with the Duke of York to Carlton House a little before seven, and having waked Sir Benjamin Bloomfield, we desired his royal highness should be immediately waked, and informed that we were waiting. On going up he asked most anxiously how things were going on. I told him at once that her royal highness had been seized in an alarming manner at half-past twelve at night; and, after a short pause, added that it was over at half-past two. He struck his two hands on his forehead, and bowed down, without saying a word, for a minute. He then held out his hand to me, and calling his brother, threw himself into his arms. He has really behaved in a most becoming manner."

He was so terribly affected, indeed, that he had to be cupped. But his feelings, for he had much sensibility, must have been mingled with some self-reproach for the many weary hours of tor-

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\* It will be noted that Stockmar is guarded in his account, and "hesitated," he says, "to come to the Princess." The truth was, as I have heard from a person to whom he related it, that he earnestly warned the physicians that the Princess was sinking, and had at last been repelled by Croft, "Are you or I, sir, in authority here?"

ture and misery he had inflicted on the amiable young creature now lying dead. His first step to relieve these feelings was to offer the afflicted husband "an immediate asylum" at Carlton House, but his son-in-law naturally preferred his solitude. The Regent found comfort in a long audience with Lord Sidmouth discussing the pomp and preparations necessary for the funeral. He, later, set off to join his mother and family and share their grief.\*

All over the kingdom the effect was prodigious; many now can recall the profound grief, the universal wearing of the deepest black, the sermons in the churches, and the fresh tide of unpopularity that overwhelmed the luckless Regent. Strange ridiculous rumors of foul play got abroad, founded on the neglect with which a young creature had been treated, not one of the numerous royal matrons being with her. But this, it is probable, was owing to her own desire, and the result of her rather self-willed independence. "The Regent being away, and all the females of the family," Mr. Brougham said, "gives great dissatisfaction." It was considered that her case had been mismanaged, and the hapless Croft was overwhelmed with attacks. It seems that some of his distinguished patients wrote to the physician declining his further services. The mind of the wretched man† at last gave way under the persecution, and he destroyed himself.

There was another person to whom it was proper that some pains should be taken to break the news—viz. the absent mother. The Regent and his ministers on such an occasion resolved to ignore her, and an undignified mode of shirking the difficulty was resolved upon. And Lord Liverpool wrote to Prince Leopold's equerry that he should undertake the task, as "some inconvenience might arise to the Regent after all that has passed, in renewing any

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\* He narrowly escaped a "screed of doctrine" from Mr. Wilberforce; but the poor widower was not so fortunate. "I thought in the night of writing a letter to the Prince Regent, hoping to find his heart accessible, and put down some notes for it, but this day scarcely spent so profitably as Sundays should be. Sent off a suitable letter with my Practical View to Prince of Coburg. May God prosper it."

† "He was in a state of great agitation," says Lord Sidmouth, "such as I never before witnessed."—"He was observed to be in a state of fever and excitement, so that he often lost all command of himself. Early in February he spent the night in the house of a lady, in order to attend her sister, the wife of a clergyman, in her confinement. As this was protracted, he became quite beside himself, and exclaimed, 'If you are anxious, what must I be?' During the night he shot himself with a pistol, which he found in the room he occupied. The clergyman's wife was safely confined."—Stockmar, i. 70.



channel of communication of this nature." On the other hand, it might give umbrage if no notice whatever was taken of her royal highness after such a calamity. Such a communication from the husband to the mother, on the death of the child, would appear liable to no objection, and subject to no inconvenience. She was stated to have fainted on receiving it. In her odd English she wrote to Lady C. Campbell, on December the 3rd: "I have not only to lament an ever-beloved child, but one most warmly attached friend, and the only one I have had in England! But she is only gone before. I have her not *losset*, and I now trust we shall soon meet in a much better world than the present one." Her style of mourning was characteristic. "To my infinite surprise," as a visitor describes her, "her royal highness wrote, and desired me to wait upon her yesterday, which I did accordingly, and found her looking very well, but dressed in the oddest mourning I ever saw; a white gown, with bright lilac ribbons in a black crape cap!" But the poor soul might well become reckless now, for this was a fatal blow to her fortunes. She had lost not merely her only friend, but the only stake she had left. She had nothing now to offer to partisans, who might favor the mother for the sake of the daughter. Even those who were well disposed felt that she was now a ready prey to her enemies.

"Grey and I," says Lord Brougham with great sagacity, "in discussing the event, took somewhat different views. He held that death had mercifully saved Princess Charlotte from what would have been, to her, the fearful consequences of the disgraceful proceedings against her mother. I, on the other hand, felt persuaded that, had she lived, the proceedings of 1820 never would have seen the light. Even against her, standing alone, George IV. would scarcely have ventured to have instituted them; but against her, supported by Leopold, he would have found such a course impossible. For Leopold, of all men I have ever known, possessed every quality to ensure success against such a man as George IV., and even against such ministers as had weakly, if not dishonestly, done his bidding in 1820." This view commends itself.

A more serious view of the situation was that there were now only heirs-presumptive to the throne. The Duke of York was without children; the Duke of Cumberland had a son; the other royal brothers next in the succession were unmarried. With the new year the matter was seriously taken in hand in a thoroughly comprehensive fashion, and three of the royal brethren had selected wives.

## CHAPTER XVII

1819

It may now be found interesting to consider the Regent's family. All through his career the figures of these personages stand out conspicuously; and at certain great solemnities he would appear attended by his six brothers and often by his sisters. Some, at least, were men of marked character, but for the most part with a certain eccentricity, which they shared with the Regent. In the case of the Dukes of Clarence and Cumberland this weakness seemed at times to be borrowed from that of their hapless father. The Duke of Kent was an amiable, if not feeble, being, who suffered all his life from grievances for which he had not weight of character to obtain redress. The Duke of Sussex was chiefly remarkable for his attachment to his Scotch fancy dress, and for taking the chair at charity dinners, and for his library, in which he gathered a vast number of rare Bibles. The Duke of Cambridge was scarcely considered. The majority of the brothers were perpetually before the public—their debts, escapades, and quarrels periodically engaging attention. It has been shown what a romance marked the youthful days of the Duke of Sussex, then Prince Edward. The heroine of that romance lived till 1830; when he contracted another private marriage with a subject.\* This lady's position has been recognized, and she was created Duchess of Inverness in the present reign. His son by the first lady, Sir Augustus D'Este, gave King William much trouble owing to claims for recognition, while his sister, Mademoiselle D'Este, espoused the late Lord Truro. It is to the credit of the Duke of Sussex that he always maintained a manly independence, and did not scruple taking part with Queen Caroline and

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\* Cecilia-Lætitia Underwood, married May 14, 1815, Sir George Buggin, Knight, of Great Cumberland Place, who died April 2, 1825. She was daughter of Arthur Saunders, second Earl of Arran, K.P., by Elizabeth, his third wife, daughter of Richard Underwood, Esq., of Dublin, assumed the surname and arms of Underwood, March 2, 1834, and was elevated to the peerage April 10, 1840.

the Princess Charlotte against his royal brothers. Mr. Adolphus, who was in his company a good deal, gives a pleasing sketch of him in his velvet cap, with his meerschaum pipe, and indulging in gossip.

In the Duke of York, after all his defects, excesses, and scandals, is left a measure of worth and excellence which redeems much. When almost a youth he had commanded armies in the field. He had administered the affairs of the English army at home with a certain credit, setting aside, of course, the Clarke scandal. He had shown courage and spirit, according to the world's canons, in fighting a duel. He was a good speaker, and in the later days was to do good service to the anti-Catholic party. Since his restoration to the command of the army, he had for some years ceased to attract attention by anything that could give public offence. Now indeed of an age when excesses and frivolities excite pity and contempt, he began to show his better qualities and even virtues—among which was the all-redeeming one of never forsaking a friend—with an unfailing good nature and good feeling rare in princes. He had also begun to devote himself to the duties of his office with a praiseworthy energy and ability which before his death left substantial results. Unfortunately, however, these merits were counterbalanced by a love of jovial society and a fatal passion for play, while the excitement of sitting up late was carried to a reckless regard for his health. This and other old extravagances had plunged him in debts beyond all hope of extrication, leading on occasions to painful pressure of embarrassment and processes to which vulgar beings are exposed. Mr. Greville, his friend and the manager of his racing establishment, describes some of these scenes with much particularity, sketching his hospitalities at Oatlands, and its eccentric hostess. Of a Saturday it was difficult to procure chaises at the White Horse Cellar, so many guests were going down from the clubs—the host himself only staying from Saturday till Monday. After dinner, the Duke would sit down to his favorite whist, whence he would never rise “so long as he found any one ready to play with him.” During the latter two or three years of his life, from some dropsical affection, he got into the habit of sleeping in a chair, which really gave him no repose and added to his ailments. Mr. Greville gives the following character of him, worthy of one of Sir Fretful Plagiary’s “d——d good-natured friends:” “He is not clever, but he has a justness of understanding to avoid the errors into which most of his brothers have fallen. He is the only one of the Princes who has



the feelings of an English gentleman; his amiable disposition and excellent temper have conciliated for him the esteem and regard of men of all parties, and he has endeared himself to his friends by the warmth and steadiness of his attachments, and from the implicit confidence they all have in his truth, straightforwardness, and sincerity. He delights in the society of men of the world, and in a life of gayety and pleasure. He is very easily amused, and particularly with jokes full of coarseness and indelicacy; the men with whom he lives most are *très-polissons*, and *la polissonnerie* is the *ton* of his society." Such is the view of a man of the world and of a man of pleasure. The meaning of the whole is, in the eyes of more exact judges, that the Duke might be considered a good-natured voluptuary. If, however, we add another element, that he set up as champion of religion and the Church with a devotional *onction*, an unpleasing element is introduced, or at least a strange instance of self-delusion. Much, however, is redeemed by one touch: that he never would abuse an absent or a fallen friend, nor bear to hear him abused. With those who had offended him, he was always glad to be reconciled—a strange contrast to his eldest brother, who seemed to cherish rancor. It was also a peculiar quality in the Duke, as we have seen, that he never was known to desert an old friend.

Some significant stories, illustrating this regard of his friends for the Duke, as well as the relations of the royal family to each other, are recorded by Mr. Raikes. "Many years ago, Berkeley Craven and myself were sitting late after dinner at Brookes's, when the waiter came in and said that St. James's Palace was on fire. The Dukes of Cumberland, Cambridge, and Gloucester were running about in every direction encouraging the firemen, and were very conspicuous. I then remarked to Berkeley what a pity it was that the Duke of York, who lived in the Stable Yard, should not have been apprised of it, and thus be the only one of the royal family absent. We got into a hackney-coach, and drove to — immediately. It was some time before we could get admittance; but on giving in our names the message was carried up, and in five minutes the Duke, evidently much alarmed, received us, asking what the devil could have brought us there? On stating the case, he entered immediately into our feelings; said he should never forget the obligation, and no other conveyance being at hand, got into the coach, and in half an hour afterwards was seen more prominent than any one else in extinguishing the flames." A little trait creditable to all concerned.

The Duchess seems to have been truly eccentric. Her curious taste was for keeping pets, whose graves were duly marked by tablets in enormous numbers. In an amusing passage, Mr. Raikes speaks of the "adroitness and tact with which she so successfully avoided any collision with the cabals and *tracasseries* which for so many years unfortunately ruled in various branches of the royal family;" and her tact was attested by the fact that all the men of her "set" had the highest regard for her, and sent her little presents on anniversaries. This singular Princess died in 1820. Her letter to one of these friends, Lord Lauderdale, written a few days before her death, has all the intrepidity of the "woman of the world," or, as the dandy would say, *très-grande dame*.

"MON CHER LORD L.,

"Je fais mes paquets, je m'em vais incessamment. Soyez toujours persuadé de l'amitié que je vous porte.

"Votre affectionnée Amie,

"F."

"Among her own household," says a contemporary account, "not a servant was married without having a house furnished by her." Every charity in the neighborhood was provided for.

Besides this, she had a long list of infirm pensioners, of both sexes, in London, who received regular allowances, some five, others ten, and some even twenty pounds a year. Nor let it be forgotten, that in all these exercises of humanity, the Duchess met with the full and cheerful concurrence of her royal consort, who was pleased, at her demise, to direct that all her charities should be regularly continued.

To dogs the Duchess was remarkably attached; and it was no uncommon thing to see her in the park surrounded by thirty or forty of these animals of various sorts, as English lapdogs, Dutch pugs, and French barbettes. "Their respective litters were taken great care of, and the young ones not unfrequently boarded out, under the superintendence of the cottagers."

The Duke of Cumberland has been described by Mr. Greville with a pitiless minuteness. His own brother gave him the character of delighting in setting husband and wife, lovers, brothers and sisters, parents and children, by the ears. His singular quarrel with Lord and Lady Lyndhurst is well known, and an excellent specimen of his temper. Strange mysterious stories were circulated, and the

well-known midnight onslaught of the valet, Sellis, was always associated by the public with some tale of mystery beyond.

The eccentricities of the Duke of Clarence are more familiar. His extraordinary attachments, his sea manners and rough phrases, made him a most singular person. For a period of nearly forty years his course was steadily marked by strange and eccentric behavior, like that recorded by Miss Burney at the time of the King's first seizure. Such, too, are his attachments; his freaks as Lord High Admiral, described by the Duke of Wellington as "more expensive and foolish than in any way serviceable," and his early doings as King, described by Mr. Greville. The wonder was that such oddity did not break down the feeble barrier that divided it from madness. He was fond of offering his hand to young ladies, as he did in 1818 to Miss Wykeham, who accepted him. "The Prince," we are told, "accompanied by the Duchess of Gloucester, went to Windsor to inform the Queen of this happy event, who was of course outrageous. The Council have sat twice upon the business; and it is determined, as I understand, to oppose it. You may imagine the bustle it creates in the royal concerns. The Drawing Room, on Sunday, was put off; on Monday it was resumed. My own private belief is, that the Prince has been encouraging the Duke of Clarence to it, at Brighton, and now turns short round upon him, as is usual, finding it so highly objectionable. They talked, scolded, and threatened him out of his love-match." This large family of Princes and Princesses, their debts and increased allowances, were destined to be a serious drain on the resources of the country.\*

The Princesses were all excellent, "well-brought-up" ladies. One of Gainsborough's most pleasing pictures represents three of them walking in the "Mall," with the crowd promenading, and, as may be conceived of such a painter, they are portrayed as elegant,

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\* From a return made in the reign of George the Fourth, we find under the head of "Pensions to the Royal Family" the following sums: To the Duke of Clarence, £32,500; to the Duke of Cumberland, £27,000; to the Duke of Sussex, £21,000; to the Duke of Cambridge, £27,000; to the Duke of Gloucester, £14,000; to the Princess Sophia of Gloucester, £7,000; to the Duchess of Gloucester, £14,000; to the Princess Elizabeth of Hesse-Homburg, £14,000; to the Princess Augusta, £13,000; to the Princess Sophia, £13,000; to the Duchess of Kent, £12,000; to the Duchess of Clarence, £6,000; and to the Prince of Coburg, £50,000. Besides which, a sum of £171,000 had been distributed as presents among the royal family out of the "droits."



graceful young women. They were brought up strictly under Madame La Fite, and there are still preserved many of their childish letters, written in the French tongue, and addressed to their *gouvernante*. One of these, of a penitential character, and written by the Princess Augusta when about ten years old, will be found interesting:

“Une pauvre méchante, nommée Auguste Sophie, qui est extrêmement fâchée de la sotte manière dont elle s’est conduite envers sa bonne amie Madame de La Fite, la prie d’excuser son espièglerie, et ayant examiné avec attention sa conduite si sotte et si imprudente, elle est frappée de cette méchante, et prie très humblement sa bonne Madame de La Fite d’oublier ses sottises et de la croire sa toujours fidelle amie,

“AUGUSTE SOPHIE.”\*

But the Princess Elizabeth, afterwards Landgravine of Hesse-Homburg, seems to have been a person of character, and was generally employed by her mother to write for her to the Chancellor and other officials. It will be recollected that the Prince of Wales, on entering on the regency, announced as part of his programme a generous increase—from the nation—to his sister’s allowances. The following familiar letter shows with what fluttering eagerness the family turned towards him who was to be now virtually the new King:

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO THE DUKE OF CLARENCE.

“March 25th, 1812.

“A thousand thanks for your most kind and entertaining letter, which amused us all not a little. My mother desires me to say on Saturday the man who is to take care of the Jerusalem ponies will be with you, and will stay till you order him back with the curls. Your very affectionate manner of expressing yourself on our business is most kind and like yourself. We only feel hurt that we should have been the innocent cause of anything being brought forward that must have been unpleasant to the P. R. It only makes us feel more strongly how much we owe him; and his whole conduct has been so delicate, so angelic, and so like himself, that I cannot say how penetrated I am with it. Was I to go on, I should

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\* Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.

never end, and having an abominable pen, I will not take up more of your precious time."\*

The Princess Sophia survived until the year 1848. Her brother, the King of Hanover, outlived her by three years, and was the last survivor of the generation. The Prince's favorite sister was Charlotte, Princess Royal, married to the Duke (later King) of Wurtemberg. Her well-known resolute behavior to Napoleon, under trying circumstances, helped to save her husband's kingdom, and won the praise of the despot himself. She exhibited as much tact as resolution.†

The Duke of Kent, an amiable suffering prince, was treated with much harshness by his father. Sunk in debt, he was at one time so indiscreet as to print a pamphlet, in which were set out his complaints. Yet he seems to have been fairly provided for, being colonel of a regiment at an early age, Governor of Gibraltar—whence he was recalled, owing to unpopularity from repressing abuses—Commander-in-Chief of the English forces in America, and finally Field-Marshal. His debts amounted in 1807 to the large sum of £108,000, owing, as he maintained, to his having received no allowance for his various "outfits." From that time he was always clamoring, or piteously appealing, for assistance to the Government; and a pamphlet was printed, if not published, declaring his grievances to the public, about the same time that the Duke of Sussex, who had his own hardships, was also consulting with Romilly on printing *his* grievances. The poor Duke of Kent, who had given bonds to his creditors which for many years he honorably acquitted, became at last so pressed for money that, when the time of the birth of an expected heir to the throne drew near, he had to appeal to a friend for cash to enable him to carry out his cherished and becoming wish that the future occupant of the throne should be born on English soil.‡

No one, however, seemed to be much interested in his case. The fact was, the Duke had not been badly treated by the country. Besides his various appointments, he had received £12,000 a year, afterwards increased to £16,000; £26,000 was given him by Mr. Pitt

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\* Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.

† Miss Wynne gives a graphic picture of this Princess in her old age, in which is included a detailed account of her mode of dealing with the conqueror.

‡ The letter is in Lord Houghton's collection.

for payment of his debts, out of "Admiralty droits," and on his marriage £6000 a year was settled on him and his wife. But nothing seemed to help him, and we find him at last petitioning Parliament to allow him to dispose of his estate and effects by lottery. Always in opposition he could not expect assistance. Imitating the example of his eldest brother, he broke up his establishment, and retired to a modest house at Sidmouth, where her present Majesty, then an infant, had a narrow escape from a rustic shooting sparrows. The shot actually broke the window of the nursery.

The marriages of the royal brothers had now been arranged, and were to inaugurate some very disagreeable discussions on the allowances the nation was to make to them. There was something amusing in this sudden ardor to secure the chance of presenting heirs to the crown. The Duke of Cambridge was contracted to the Princess Augusta of Hesse, the Duke of Clarence to Princess Adelaide of Saxe Meningen, and the Duke of Kent to Princess Victoria of Leiningen. Two years before Princess Mary had been married to her cousin, the Duke of Gloucester, while Princess Elizabeth now chose the ungainly Prince of Homburg, or "Humbug," as he was called. This, with Princess Charlotte's marriage, and that of the Duke of Cumberland to Princess Salmos, made up no less than seven royal marriages within a short period; and no wonder the English public was in surly humor when these personages came asking for handsome provision. When £10,000 a year was proposed for the Duke and Duchess of Clarence, the House of Commons promptly reduced the sum to £6000, on which the sailor Duke formally announced, through Lord Castlereagh, that he had broken off the match. By pressure the House was induced to give way to his wishes. Six thousands pounds a year each was then granted to the others, save in the instance of the Duke of Cumberland, who, in the most pointed, mortifying way, was actually refused any provision whatever; a jointure, however, being given to his wife.

At last, on July 11th, the two marriages took place in the drawing-room at Kew, as the Queen was too feeble to go out. There was something pathetic in this her last appearance, for she was now actually dying, and she showed her undaunted spirit, determined to go through every ceremony to the end. In November her long and troubled life came to a close. It is gratifying to record that her eldest son was remarked for his assiduous care and anxiety to alleviate her sufferings.

In the interval, however, he attracted public attention by an ab-



surd exhibition at table, where he entertained the foreign ministers by singing some jovial songs, to which they listened with due gravity.

Indeed, many stories of this grotesque kind were beginning to get abroad. As he was now nearly sixty years, a little sobriety and seriousness might have been expected. However, the healthy pastime of yachting, which he had lately begun to follow, gave evidence of a better taste. The following year he had intended visiting the Isle of Wight for the regatta given by "The Sailing Club Society;" but the death of the Queen was expected, and he could not in decency leave town. "All the Princes," Mr. Greville writes, "were delaying their departure, expecting and looking out for the plunder to arise from the Queen's death." The dying lady must have felt strange memories coming back on her of that long life, the last twenty years of which, at least, were charged with more troubles and sorrows than seemed likely to fall to the lot of one of her ordinary subjects. It was, indeed, a sad life to review: a husband afflicted with incurable madness; a son waging war with his parents, and the cause of his father's malady; other children bringing discredit on their name and family; a loved daughter and grand-daughter cut off in a sad and sudden way; a daughter-in-law associated with scandals not yet ripe, indeed but part ripening; marriages made in defiance of her wishes; debts and borrowings; such had been the afflictions of her middle and old age. She died in her chair, as her son, the Duke of York, was later to die, on November 17th, 1818.

The loss of this parent, however, furnished the Regent with an opportunity for exercising his darling taste. Buckingham House, long known as the "Queen's House," had become now his own—an ancient, old-fashioned, and dilapidated pile of red brick, and much in the condition of Carlton House when it came into his hands. But these were actual advantages—"great capabilities," as Mr. Brown used to say—opportunities for alteration, rebuilding, and adornment. Carlton House was scarcely to his mind, though recently he had assembled a cabinet of virtuosi and architects to debate new improvements, and "add a new wing." How much better to begin afresh on the old pile; and accordingly he proposed to set to work on the palace; the public furnishing money for the necessary alterations.\* It had been seen what a fascination the

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\* Mr. Herries, in his memoir of his father, mentions a formal resolve of the

costly pastime of building had for the Prince all through his life. This folly involved him in distress and discredit, but it must be owned that London owes to him the patronage of the magnificent wholesale projects which laid out the long line of handsome streets that stretch from Carlton House Terrace up Waterloo Place, Regent Street, to Langham Place, terminated by the handsome Regent's Park. It has been told how bold and imperial was the scheme. The inspirer of the whole was Nash, the architect, who introduced the "stucco palaces" and the ambitious style of terrace found in the Regent's Park; which, indeed, offer a great variety of treatment. After all objections, the new quarter remains a creditable and even imposing work of an architectural pretension; and it will be noted what variety was obtained by breaking the line of houses into distinct groups or blocks. Within living memory a fine piazza ran on both sides of the Quadrant, which was removed in deference to the commercial interests of the shopkeepers. Her Majesty's Theatre was newly fronted, in the same taste, by the architect, and with fine effect. The architect was accused of having bought ground at a low price, and at his own official valuation, from the commissioners, which he disposed of for building purposes at about three times the price.\* The patronage of the King, who was all through his friend, brought him valuable assistance and fortune.†

Yet within a few years, with a curious capriciousness, the King was willing to sacrifice the palace, for which this costly scheme had been originally designed, and cheerfully consented that Carlton House should be pulled down. On the Queen's death he proposed, as we have seen, "removing to Buckingham House," which led to an extraordinary suggestion on the part of the Premier, Lord Liverpool, though accompanied by a lecture. He felt it to be his duty to submit his opinion that, "however desirable some addition to the Queen's palace may be (with a view to his Royal Highness holding Drawing Rooms), it would not be felt by the public to be indispensably necessary; and could but think, therefore, that in the

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King "never to build a palace." But he preferred "restoration," and those at Windsor, Carlton, and Buckingham cost far more.

\* The architect, however, was acquitted of having thus turned his opportunities to undue profit, though the transaction was brought before the House of Commons.

† Augustus at Rome was for building renowned,  
And of marble he left what of brick he had found;  
But is not our Nash, too, a very great master?

He finds us all bricks and he leaves us all plaster.—G. R. 1825.

present circumstances of the country such addition would better be deferred. The only measure which could be resorted to would be to sell or to lease the site on which St. James's Palace now stands. Lord Liverpool would not be acting fairly by his Royal Highness if he did not endeavor to impress upon him that any measure of this sort would be viewed with particular jealousy, and if it could be carried through the House of Commons, it would be only on the ground that the Treasury were to be strictly responsible for the extent of the undertaking (not exceeding the amount of the sum raised by the means above mentioned), and for the execution in detail of the intended improvement."

On the death of the Queen the family met to settle about her property, and the four young Princesses were to receive the "golden heaps," to the great disappointment of the Princes, "particularly Clarence," says Mr. Fremantle, "who fully expected something."\*

It had been well had there been merely question of a division of her personalty, but she had left behind her a vacant office, namely, the guardianship of the King. It was the fate of the royal family always to exhibit a certain eagerness for such offices that excited public notice. It was perhaps natural that the Duke of York, her second son, should succeed as "Custos;" but, considering that the late King's expenses were defrayed out of his own allowance, it was urged that £10,000 a year was an immense sum to allow for the expenses of an occasional visit to Windsor, "to look at his Majesty." Indeed the outcry was so strong that the Duke at last proposed to his brother to undertake the office *gratis*, or for the mere expenses out of pocket. The latter, with that caustic shrewdness which marked him in such matters, said, "So, sir, you would be popular at our expense!" †

During these discussions, a piece of national extravagance was revealed which seems surprising to our more economical times, namely, that presents in the shape of snuffboxes, etc., had been made to the foreign ministers to the amount of £22,000!

Not so well known, or perhaps recollected, is the circumstance that previous to the birth of the Princess Victoria there had been

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\* "Regency," ii. 291.

† "The royal Duke's only duty to his afflicted father," said Mr. Tierney, "would be to go from London or Oatlands to Windsor once or twice a week, and it was modestly proposed that he should be allowed £10,000 a year for the hire of post horses! The real expense," he added, "would not be more than £200."



another Princess in the line of succession, who, had she lived, would have excluded her present Majesty. This was the daughter of the Duke of Clarence, the Princess Charlotte, born on March 1, 1819, but who lived only a few hours. The Princess Victoria, born on May 24, 1819, then came into the direct succession, but was displaced by another daughter of the Duke of Clarence, Princess Elizabeth, born in December, 1820, who lived only three months. Her death restored the Princess Victoria to the chance of succeeding to the throne.

This event—the birth of the future Queen of England—seems to have been considered but of slight importance, probably on account of the poor estimation in which the Duke was held: or being perhaps considered certain that the Duke of York would inherit, and that the recently married Dukes would have children, the Duke of Kent being only the King's fourth son. The christening of the Princess Victoria took place on June 24th, in the grand saloon of Kensington Palace, in presence of the Regent, the Duke of York, and the Princes and Princesses. She received the names of Alexandra Victoria; the first in compliment to the Emperor of Russia, who had been selected as godfather.

The ferment in the public mind continuing, taking the shape of vast disorderly assemblages, and which culminated in the well-known Peterloo riots, helped to rally to the Regent the support of men of position and politicians opposed to his Government. We find the Grenvilles and Buckinghams renewing their old adhesion, just as the Duke of Portland and other Whigs had done a generation before, through apprehensions of the excesses of the French Revolution. The result was crowded and brilliant levees, which the Regent now held at Buckingham House for the first time, and it is not surprising to find that this general adhesion was interpreted as a sign of popularity.

At last the time approached when the good old King was to lay down his weary life. After reaching the age of eighty-two, and reigning sixty years, the last ten of which had been a living death—blind, as well as insane—on January the 29th he closed his unhappy course. Only a week before, his son, the Duke of Kent, was carried off by a feverish cold, which terminated a life that seems to have been one long course of anxieties and struggles. The aged King breathed his last attended by his favorite son, the Duke of York; but his eldest was not able, from ill-health, to be with him. Thus, at the age of fifty-nine, KING GEORGE IV. ascended the throne.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

1811—1820.

At this point, when the Regency has come to a close, it may be interesting to take a review of the glories for which the old "Regency Days" were celebrated—its dandies and other personages, its triumphs of dress, and, above all, the peculiar fashion of manners and entertainments which it introduced, with a person at the head of affairs of special taste in this direction, eager to inspire changes in modes and costumes. As we recall these glories, one name rises to our lips as the very incarnation of dandyism, not merely in the superficial externals of dandyism, but in its character—that of George Brummell, of whose course I shall give a sketch.

The career of this personage is not uninstrusive, or without a wholesome moral, for those who are called votaries of fashion; for a more terrible finale to incurable selfishness and heartlessness is not to be found "in the books." When he was only sixteen, he was given a commission in the well-known "Tenth" (the Prince of Wales's); but when it was first ordered to Manchester, the shock proved too much for Mr. Brummell, who retired. He became the friend of the Prince of Wales, owing to his amusing and caustic style of conversation. He took the lead in questions of dress. The Prince would drive to his house in Chesterfield Street of a morning, sit there long, and then propose that his host should give him a little dinner, when the night was prolonged into an orgie.

His father was wealthy, a man of business to Lord Liverpool, and it is stated he gave each of his children nearly £30,000. The details associated with his dandyism become sickening from their triviality and childishness. We are told that this eminent arbiter required two different artists to make his gloves, one being appointed to provide "thumbs," the other the fingers and hand, on the ground that a particular "cut" was necessary for each. The valet carrying down the load of crushed neckerchiefs, which the beau had not succeeded in squeezing with his chin down into the proper folds, and carelessly described as "our failures," is an old well-worn

legend, but trustworthy. "He believed that with strict economy dressing might be done on eight hundred a year." He always went home after the opera to change his cravat for succeeding parties. Like Count d'Orsay, a later dandy, he carried about with him an enormous chest, containing every appliance for the toilet; the dishes, bottles, etc., being of silver. The use of these costly articles he justified on the ground "that it was impossible to spit in earthenware." Another of his pleasant, insolent speeches was to a friend inviting his criticism or admiration of his new coat: "My dear —, do you call that thing a coat?"

There was a flavor in his wit, too, whether he wrote or spoke, that was quite distinct and piquant; something of a Voltairean heartlessness and finish. A good specimen is his answer to a question: Had he heard anything as to how a newly-married pair, at whose wedding he had assisted a week before, were getting on? "No, no; but I believe they are still living together." Another speech of his is excellent, referring to a beginner who had been recommended to his patronage. "Really, I did my best for the young man. I once gave him my arm all the way from White's to Watier's"—*i.e.* from St. James's Street to Bruton Street.

It is well known that a serious quarrel broke up the intimacy between the Prince and the dandy; and a sort of dramatic point is given to the incident, owing to a happy repartee of the Prince's. This, like so many mock pearls of history, has been seized on by the public, who will not part with it, and prefer it to the real stone.

The real cause of this quarrel was no doubt disgust and jealousy, the Prince probably resenting his independent airs. There was a corpulent gentleman who used to ride a roan cob in the Park as the Prince himself did, and Mr. Brummell, in a free and easy strain, got into the habit of speaking to his friends of the Prince as "Our Ben." This indiscreet jest was, of course, repeated, and the "Adonis of Fify" did not relish such familiarity. There are a good many versions of the story. In one the beau was represented as being so familiar as to say, "George, ring the bell!" the Prince complying with the request and ordering "Mr. Brummell's carriage;" on which the intimacy of years ended, and was succeeded by an internecine war. It may be said on the best evidence that this anecdote is exaggerated. Mr. Raikes, who knew him very intimately, declares that Brummell always denied the story. Captain Jesse, the writer of a curious account of the beau, now so exceedingly scarce as to be worth guineas, also says that Brummell denied



it, but that the incident occurred; the hero being a young nephew of the well-known Captain Payne, who had taken too much wine and grew familiar. The Prince rang the bell for the servants, and said, "Put that drunken boy to bed." Lord William Lennox, also well acquainted with Brummell, says that he also denied the truth of the story to him. This alone might show how doubtful the authority of the tale is; but Captain Gronow, an ex-dandy, actually learned what took place from a guest who was present at the Prince's dinner-table: "Brummell was asked one night at White's to take a hand at whist, when he won from George Harley Drummond £20,000. This circumstance having been related by the Duke of York to the Prince of Wales, the beau was again invited to Carlton House. At the commencement of the dinner, matters went off smoothly; but Brummell, in his joy at finding himself with his old friend, became excited, and drank too much wine. His Royal Highness—who wanted to pay off Brummell for an insult he had received at Lady Cholmondeley's ball, when the beau, turning towards the Prince, said to Lady Worcester, 'Who is your fat friend?'—had invited him to dinner merely out of a desire for revenge. The Prince, therefore, pretended to be affronted with Brummell's hilarity, and said to his brother, the Duke of York, who was present, 'I think we had better order Mr. Brummell's carriage before he gets drunk.' Whereupon he rang the bell, and Brummell left the royal presence.

The speech, "Who is your fat friend?" Mr. Raikes says was uttered to Jack Lee in the street; while yet another account describes the dandies—Alvanley, Brummell, Pierrepont, and Sir H. Mildmay—giving a ball at the Hanover Square Rooms, to which the Prince at the last minute had invited himself. The four received him at the door with wax lights, the Prince greeting each, until he came to Brummell, whom he looked at as if he did not know him, and "cut." Then it was that the discarded beau made the remark to Lord Alvanley. But there is a better and more accurate version of the story supplied to me by Lord Houghton, in which the scene and characters are a little changed.

"The tradition of his impertinence rests on certain stories which are often told without the circumstances that explain or excuse them. An example of this may be given in one, which, as it is usually related, is simply insolence without humor, but which, as it really occurred, is not without its vindication. Mr. Brummell was one of the committee of the fête given by the three most fashionable clubs to the allied sovereigns in 1815. The scene was Bur-



"WHO'S YOUR FAT FRIEND?"





lington House, or rather the garden behind it, where a monster marquee was erected. The committee lined the passage through the house, and each royal personage as he passed shook hands with the members alternately from side to side. Mr. Brummell was standing opposite Sir Henry Mildmay, with whom the Regent shook hands, and instead of taking him in his natural turn, passed him over and saluted the next opposite member, thus presenting the reverse of his portly figure to Mr. Brummell, who, leaning over it, said to Sir Henry in a loud aside, 'Henry, who is our fat friend?'

"Considering the old intimacy, indeed, as far as the difference of state permitted, the friendship between Prince and playfellow, this was felt at the time to be rather a witty retort to a provocation than an unmannerly insult. In the same sense, the anecdote of Brummell telling the Prince to ring the bell is very much altered by the circumstance that the Prince was sitting on a sofa close to it, so that the speech of the familiar guest was rather uncourtly than ungentlemanlike."

Later he took the matter up with a sort of jocular tone, as when the Prince was getting out of his carriage in Pall Mall, to visit a picture-gallery, and the sentries presented arms, Brummell, who happened to be passing, affected to accept the salute as to himself, took off his hat graciously, keeping his back to the carriage. Those who stood by noted the Prince's angry look as he passed.

"I was standing," runs another story, "near the stove of the lower waiting-room, talking to several persons, of whom one is now alive. The Prince of Wales, who always came out rather before the performance concluded, was also standing there, and waiting for his carriage, which used to drive up what was then Market Lane, now the Opera Arcade. Presently, Brummell came out, talking eagerly to some friends, and, not seeing the Prince or his party, he took up a position near the check-taker's bar. As the crowd flowed out, Brummell was gradually pressed backwards, until he was all but driven against the Regent, who distinctly saw him, but who of course would not move. In order to stop him, therefore, and prevent actual collision, one of the Prince's suite tapped him on the back, when Brummell immediately turned sharply round, and saw that there was not much more than a foot between his nose and the Prince of Wales's. I watched him with intense curiosity, and observed that his countenance did not change in the slightest degree, nor did his head move; they looked straight into each other's eyes; the Prince evidently amazed and annoyed.

Brummell, however, did not quail, or show the least embarrassment. He receded quite quietly, and backed slowly step by step till the crowd closed between them, never once taking his eyes off those of the Prince."

At Watier's club, where gaming prevailed to an extravagant degree, he reigned supreme. He was particularly noted for his snuffboxes—a mania of the time—costly jewelled and enamelled and be-miniatured boxes being displayed and given as presents.

"At this place he" (Mr. Raikes says) "was the supreme dictator, 'the perpetual president,' laying down the law in dress, in manners, and in those magnificent snuffboxes for which there was a rage; he fomented the excesses, ridiculed the scruples, patronized the novices, and exercised paramount dominion over all. He had great success at Macao, winning in two or three years a large sum, which went no one knew how. I remember him coming in one night after the opera to Watier's and finding the Macao table full, one place at which was occupied by Tom Sheridan, who was not in the habit of playing, but having dined freely had dropped into the club, and was trying to catch the smiles of fortune by risking a few pounds which he could ill afford to lose. Brummell proposed to him to give up his place and go shares in his deal; and adding to the £10 in counters which Tom had before him £200 for himself, took the cards. He dealt with his usual success, and in less than ten minutes won £1500. He then stopped, made a fair division, and giving £750 to Sheridan, said to him: 'There, Tom, go home, and give your wife and brats a supper, and never play again.'"

At a dinner given on the reopening of Watier's club in Piccadilly, Brummell and the late Duke of Beaufort, then Marquis of Worcester, were present. Leaning back in his chair, Brummell thus addressed the waiter: "Is Lord Worcester here?" (he was seated within two of him). "Yes, sir," was the answer. "Tell his lordship," continued Brummell, "I shall be happy to drink a glass of wine with him." "Yes, sir," replied the servant. "Tell him I drink his health." This was to avoid turning his head. After the proper interval, Brummell inquired: "Is his lordship ready?" "Yes, sir." "Then tell him I drink his health!" \*

The scene now changes to Calais. Even to this hour the little

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\* Lord Houghton, who has furnished us with this version and with many other details, to the advantage of the work, was well acquainted with Brummell, and often visited him on passing through Calais.

town is scarcely altered, and suggests ideas of a hideous monotony should fate compel one to be imprisoned there. But how almost dramatic is the terrible character of the change for the elegant man of fashion—in a night become a runaway exile, destined to be hunted by French bailiffs instead of English ones; to be immured in a squalid noisome French gaol with felons; and die in a mad-house, a painful, odious, and unregretted object! The house where he lived is still, or was till lately, shown in the Rue Royale, or Lèveux, close to the old Dessein's Hotel, which Sterne made famous. In 1816 he astounded Mr. Raikes, who was meeting him at every party, by confiding to him that his situation was utterly desperate, and that he was flying that night to France. He appeared at the opera, then flung himself into a carriage-and-four, and, travelling all night to Dover, was landed in Calais on the following day. True to his selfish instincts, and without money beyond what he could borrow, he set up in this miserable place as the man of fashion and luxury.

In a curious little book on Calais, written in 1852, it is stated that there were then several exiles in the place who recalled Mr. Brummell as he used to appear, unfailing as the town-hall clock, for his regular promenade on the Place. A triste spot enough, on which every little street determines—the little harbor, the forts, the walls, all make it like a sort of yard. Yet in those days it was more like what Boulogne is now, for it was crowded with emigrants. Brummell soon left Dessein's and quartered himself on a Mr. Leleux, whose rooms he made quite elegant with his charming and costly china, snuffboxes, bijouterie, mostly purchased out of borrowings from faithful friends who passed through, and who never failed to see him and give him a dinner. His debts in the town soon mounted to nearly a thousand pounds. When his old patron became King, he fancied, not unnaturally, that the past might be forgotten. "Will his resentments," he wrote to the same friend, "still attach themselves to his crown? An indulgent amnesty of former peccadilloes should be the primary grace influencing newly-throned sovereignty—at least, towards those who were once distinguished by his more intimate protection. From my experience, however, of the personage in question, I must doubt any favorable relaxation of those stubborn prejudices. I cannot decamp a second time," etc.

We may pursue this dismal story to the end, anticipating events by many years. The King, just returned from Ireland, lost no



time in planning another expedition, and had hardly rested from the fatigues of his journey when he started for Hanover. On the 22nd of September, 1821, he sailed from Ramsgate, and after a rough passage, reached Calais. That little town was *en fête*, the inhabitants, native and foreign, in prodigious agitation. To none did this arrival, however, bring more excitement than to the broken-down bankrupt man of fashion, the King's former favorite and companion, whose hopes were raised. He had gone out to take his accustomed walk in an opposite direction, and was returning to his lodgings at the very moment that his former patron, accompanied by the French ambassador, was proceeding in a close carriage to the hotel. "I was standing at my shop-door," said his landlord, "and saw Mr. Brummell trying to make his way across the street to my house, but the crowd was so great that he could not succeed, and he was therefore obliged to remain on the opposite side. All hats were taken off as the carriage approached, and when it was close to the door I heard the King say in a loud voice, 'Good God! Brummell!' The latter, who was uncovered at the time, now crossed over as pale as death, entered the house by the private door, and retired to his room without addressing me. A sumptuous dinner was given in the evening at Dessein's, and Sélègue, Brummell's valet, who was a *chef* in his way, attended to make the punch; he took with him also, by his master's orders, some excellent maraschino, a liqueur to which he remembered the King was extremely partial, though cannelle was, I believe, his favorite dram. In the afternoon it was observed his Majesty was not in his usual spirits, was this occasioned by his recognition of the morning, and to the uncertainty whether Brummell would make his appearance or not? *Chi lo sa?* he never came; the maraschino at dinner diminished any unpleasant feeling—if it ever did exist—that the dread of such a *contretemps* might have created, and the evening passed off admirably."

The next morning all the King's suite, excepting Bloomfield, called upon him. It is stated that they pressed him to request an audience, but that he refused. He, however, wrote his name in the visitors' book at the hotel. At all events the King quitted Calais without seeing him, as his Majesty was heard to remark in the courtyard at Dessein's. The poor beau had by this time abated all that haughtiness and independence, and would have been as eager to secure a pecuniary souvenir from his Majesty as from his own friends. His sending his maraschino and some of his favorite snuff

were so many reminders. It seems likely that the King shrank from the inconvenience of reconciliation with a man in such decay, and sent him—so it was rumored—a banknote for £100, with a contemptuous remark that that was, he supposed, what was desired. The King, however, and he never met again.

Friends at home were now exerting themselves. Something, it was felt, “must be done for Brummell.” No less a personage than the Duke of York, always good-natured and ready to do a kind thing, procured for the beau the consulship at Caen. He was a favorite with the Duchess, who no doubt aided his cause. After many difficulties he was enabled to get away, and establishing himself at his new scene of action, was treated with great consideration, and flourished away as the leader of *ton* and manners in a provincial town. Before this, the Duke of Wellington told Mr. Greville, in 1829, “that Lord Aberdeen hesitated; that he had offered to take all the responsibility on himself; that he had in Dudley’s time proposed it to him (Dudley), who had objected, and at last owned he was afraid the King might not like it, on which he had spoken to the King, who had made objections, abusing Brummell, said he was a damned fellow, and had behaved very ill to him—(the old story, always himself—*moi, moi, moi*)—but after having let him run out his tether of abuse, he had at last extracted his consent; nevertheless, Dudley did not give him the appointment. The Duke said he had no acquaintance with Brummell.”

And now we come to what seems to have always been held a mystery, and which is yet held intelligible—his abrupt resignation of his consulship at Caen. It seemed, indeed, like madness that this professional mendicant should throw up his only chance of support. He wrote to Lord Palmerston to say that the place was a sinecure; there was nothing to do, and that it ought to be abolished. Lord Palmerston reluctantly accepted the suggestion. There was a cry, he said, for retrenchment, and what could he do? Abolished accordingly it was, and the infatuated man left penniless. Four hundred a year was no indifferent provision; his Calais debts ought to have been discharged out of it in three or four years. What then was the motive of this mysterious act? It can only be set down to the curious temper of this most selfish of beings. He was deeply in debt at Caen, and had been drawing on his old creditor at Calais, anticipating his income, even after its mortgage, until no more could be obtained. He was already using as lever to extract money from this person that “it was his interest” to advance money, as,

if he were forced to forfeit his position owing to not being able to pay butcher, baker, etc., the security would be lost. We may suppose that he saw no reason for performing the duties of an office the whole emoluments of which were to go to a greedy creditor, whom in a moment of pique he determined thus to punish. His own story is that he sent in his resignation with a view to obtain something better at Havre or elsewhere. After taking this step, the royal arms being removed from over his door, it was all over with this unfortunate. The Calais creditor was not slow to punish such treatment. One morning, in 1835, he was arrested at his suit and dragged off to the dreadful gaol of the place. The part of the transaction that most affected him was his having to dress before the *gens d'armes*. His sufferings in this terrible place may be conceived; but he contrived to have his essences, dressing-case, and two quarts of milk daily to mix in his bath! However, he had a useful agent named Armstrong, one of those Englishmen who sell, and do everything—and this person, seeing that the prisoner had valuable friends in England, determined to work this vein thoroughly, and set off to wait on the Alvanleys, Worcesters, and other dandies. Large sums were given by those who had given largely before. King William contributed £100, and Lord Palmerston added £200 from the public purse. So successful was the expedition that all his debts were compounded for, and a promise of a sort of annuity obtained from Mr. C. Greville, Lord Sefton, and others. It was remarkable, as a good test of character, that to those who exerted themselves to relieve his sufferings in prison he showed himself careless and indifferent, as resenting an obligation associated with so humiliating a passage in his career. He was now enjoying about £120 a year. He was soon in difficulties again, oddly enough on the score of his boot-varnish, at five francs a bottle, brought from Paris specially. But soon significant changes began to be noted in the beau. He gave up not merely white cravats, but washing, and became notorious for the neglect of his appearance.

Nothing is more pitiable than the story of his steady settled decadence into idiocy. The scene of his sitting in his lonely room and having ghostly visitors announced, though somewhat elaborated for dramatic purposes, has, no doubt, foundation. In 1838 his condition had become truly deplorable from dotage and helplessness: no one was inclined to take charge of the outcast Englishman. At last he found a refuge in the asylum Bon Sauveur, where kindly nuns soothed the last hours of the miserable old creature.



The clergyman who attended him tried in vain to draw his mind to consider his soul, and, rather unreasonably, inveighs bitterly against this indifference in an imbecile. "I never," he says, "in the course of my attendance upon the sick, aged, and dying, came in contact with so painful an exhibition of human vanity and apparent ignorance, until a few years before he died, when, in reply to my repeated entreaties that he would try and pray, he said, "I do try;" but he added something which made me doubt whether he understood me." A good nun who came later takes a kindly woman's view. "On the evening of his death," she says, "I observed him assume an appearance of intense anxiety and fear, and he fixed his eyes upon me with an expression of entreaty, raising his hands towards me as he lay in the bed, and as though asking for assistance (*ayant l'air d'implorer que je vienne à son secours*), but saying nothing. Upon this, I requested him to repeat after me the *acte de contrition*. He immediately consented, and repeated after me in an earnest manner that form of prayer. He then became more composed, and laid his head down on one side; but this tranquillity was interrupted about an hour after by his turning himself over and uttering a cry, at the same time appearing to be in pain; he soon, however, turned himself back, with his face laid on the pillow towards the wall, so as to be hidden from us who were on the other side; after this he never moved, dying imperceptibly." It was a quarter past nine in the evening of the 30th of March, 1840. Such was the fate of Brummell!

Another dandy of influence who survived the Regency, its pleasures, his royal master and companion, and lived to be nearly eighty years old, was Lord Yarmouth, afterwards Marquess of Hertford, who was fortunate enough to carry off the young heiress, Miss Fagniani, and well known among his friends as "Red Her-rings."\*

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\* This system of nicknames was continued to a later generation. Thus we find "Kangaroo" Cook, a colonel of that name, who had some adventure, or story of an adventure, with a kangaroo. Mr. Frederick Byng, universally known as "Poodle" Byng, whom Lord Melbourne, when seats were being allotted in a carriage, declared that "Byng was to go under the carriage, of course." "Ball" Townshend; "Bacchus" Lascelles; "Teapot" Crawford, and "Skirmish" Bligh; "Punch" Greville, or "the Gruncher," was the *sobriquet* of the writer of the well-known "Memoirs;" Sir Francis Burdett was "Old Glory;" Lord Allen was "King" Allen; and Matthew Lewis, "Monk Lewis." There was also "Tippoo" Smith.

About the dandy of the Regency there was a certain politeness, accompanied by unbounded selfishness, extravagance, and general recklessness. They were "bloods" as well as dandies; of a different stamp to the effeminate macaronis. The "saloon" being an essential ingredient in theatrical amusements, described so minutely in the adventures of "Tom and Jerry," it will be understood that refinement of bearing or manners was scarcely in vogue. Mr. Boaden notes that even the behavior of gentlemen in the boxes had grown boorish; loud talking, hectoring, quarrels, and putting the feet up on the seats, being among the customs and habits of men of fashion.\*

There was a great improvement of tone, however, in the later generation of Albanys, Brummells, Worcesters, Grevilles, and others; as, indeed, the Duchess of York assured the latter gentleman: "There was more heart, restraint, and good-nature."

One of the chief leading dandies was Lord Allen—known as "King" Allen—to whom the remark was attributed that "the English could make nothing well but a kitchen poker," and who could not live a day out of Pall Mall or the Bond Street lounge. Being obliged to go to a watering-place, he lost his sleep and pined to return, until his friend, Lord Albanley, good-naturedly engaged a hackney-coachman to drive up and down of nights past his lodgings, with a man to call the hours like a London watchman. Lord Fife was another of these veteran "bucks," who distinguished himself in his old age by expending £80,000 on a dancer. He was, however, to be one of the few whom George IV. was to regard with affection. "Ball" Hughes is remembered by many now alive—being known as "Golden Ball"—a good dresser, with £40,000 a year, a spendthrift, a gambler, so eager for the excitement dependent on chance that he would stake immense sums on "pitch and toss," and play battledore and shuttlecock the whole night long for a match. He distinguished himself by a ridiculous marriage with a *figurante*. As a pendant we find Mr. Haynes—better known as "Peagreen" Haynes—against whom the well-known Miss Foote brought an action for breach of promise.

Lord Albanley was another of the dandies whose wit and humor were excellent and racy. He was always ready with a pleasant or

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\* In the prints of the day we see such representations as an English fireside, where the men stand up with their backs to the fire, their hands in their breeches-pockets, or snoring on the sofa, the ladies looking on.

biting retort. To him was attributed the reply to the original Gunter, who was complaining of his horse being "too hot to hold"—"Ice him then, Gunter"—the credit of which, however, has been given to one of the royal dukes. His pleasant saying to the hackney-coach after the duel ("for bringing me back") is well known. He was much distinguished as an epicure, wishing to have the best of everything. His dinners "were considered perfect," and his standing direction to his cook was to have "an apricot tart" every day. Indeed, he would say that a neck of venison (with some other *plat*) and an apricot tart was "a dinner fit for an emperor." Strange credentials these for the grateful memory of posterity. At country houses, where his jocund face was always foremost at the hunt, he was but an inconvenient if not dangerous guest, from his practice of putting out his candle by flinging the bolster at it, or thrusting it under his pillow.

This generation also included such strange men as Dr. Parr and Porson; and, of another degree, Dr. Kitchener, the "gastronome." The first, "a very dungeon" of learning, is a remarkable figure, with his eternal pipe, his blunt sarcastic speeches, vigorous politics, and unshaken independence. Porson equally united Greek and eccentricity. We find Dr. Parr at the Prince's table; and it is certainly to the latter's credit, that he should have thus invariably drawn to himself, from curiosity or taste, for a longer or shorter period, whatever was intellectual or intelligent in the kingdom. In no instance had evil company and low tastes done more mischief; but these influences had never succeeded in stifling his instincts, and the love of wine was cultivated and intellectual.

Many of these persons made reputations and earned their names by some ridiculous freak or wager. "Walking" Stewart seems to have walked to Edinburgh to hear the lectures of his namesake, Dugald Stewart; while "Jerusalem" Whaley had agreed that "he would play ball" against the walls of that city. At this time also flourished Beckford, with his "Arabian Nights" projects of vast towers and halls, and which he was suffered to attempt to realize to the public wonder and admiration, instead of contempt or laughter. The mysterious privacy and inalienability that he affected, the rumors of strange rites and practices within his high walls, the falling in of the Babel-like tower he was rearing; his strange clever romance, "Vathek," his freaks—all these tales were repeated, and caused the deepest interest and curiosity. Even that eccentric and manœuvring lady of quality, the Duchess of Gordon, it was re-



ported, eager to secure the millionaire for one of her daughters, had succeeded in getting within the gates, but could not see the lord of the castle.

Even the toleration extended to such public jokers as Theodore Hook was remarkable; and the relish with which his well-known "Berners St. Hoax" was enjoyed was significant of the time.

The Princess of Wales encouraged games of romps at Blackheath and other places. Much of this taste was indeed owing to the jovial Prince, who led society, and who dearly loved a joke and practical joking, as well as a good story. Any one with social gifts, and endowed with a love of frolic, and a power of saying good things, was certain to find his way to the table at Carlton House. There, too, he could retain his place, so long as his powers remained unflagging.

Accompanying all this buffoonery and jesting, a spirit of wit and even sagacity was cultivated. Many of the sayings and repartees circulated have really high merit for their readiness and brilliancy, and it has been already noted what lively spirited letters they were capable of writing. "Verses of society," full of happily-turned compliments and pleasant allusions, or lively epigrams, were a part of their accomplishments. Indeed, a long list could be made of agreeable occasional poems, written by these men of fashion, including "The Waltz," by Lord Byron; "The Pursuits of Fashion," "The Art of Poking the Fire," "Conversation," and many other productions. Good songs, plays, essays, and stories came abundantly from this agreeable coterie.

A turn for epigram was one of the features of the day, and led, of course, to much ill-nature. A fair specimen is Lord Byron's attack on Rogers. They began:

Nose and chin to shame a knocker,  
Wrinkles that would puzzle Cocker.

The poet of Memory was himself as unsparing of others, and wrote of an acquaintance:

They say that Ward's no heart, but I deny it.  
He has a heart and gets his speeches by it.

Physical infirmities or blemishes were "fair game." A wit said to a courtier with long legs and a long sword: "My dear —, I cannot see whether you have three swords or three legs." Sir

Lumley Skeffington, a decayed old fop overtaken by debts and difficulties, and restored to society on being extricated from prison, old and broken down and discredited, was greeted by the lively Alvanley as a new edition "illustrated by cuts." Lord Byron also condescended to ridicule him:

Still Skeffington and Goose divide the prize,  
And sure great Skeffington must claim our praise  
For skirtless coats and skeletons of plays.

Lord Carhampton, the old opponent of Wilkes, survived till the year 1825, one of the "hardest livers" of his time. When he was lying hopelessly ill in Berkeley Square, some parasite brought news of his condition, or that he was dead, to the King, then sitting at the head of a convivial party at Carlton House. The story went that the Regent at once bestowed his regiment of Carabineers on a guest who was at table. It is characteristic of the spirit and good-humor of these men of pleasure, that the other should have sent a pleasant message to beg that the Prince would dispose of any other regiment but that one, and that he might rest assured that he would receive the earliest information of a probable vacancy from himself.

When Captain Gronow visited Lord Petersham, whom he found employed in making a particular sort of blacking which "he said would eventually supersede every other," the room was like a shop: all round the walls were shelves with canisters of rare teas, of which this nobleman had made a choice collection; on other shelves were canisters of rare snuffs, with apparatus for mixing and moistening. The mixtures which he devised used to be well known to tobaccoconists. He had also made a collection of costly canes. He devised a particular kind of great-coat, with a cape, which used to bear his name, and adopted a particular pattern for his liveries. His snuffboxes were remarkable, and he would say affectedly, when one of his Sèvres articles was praised: "Yes, a nice summer box, but wouldn't do for winter wear." All his servants wore a particular brown-colored livery, and his carriages were painted of the same color, which his friends reported was owing to his having been "jilted" by a widow of the name of Brown.

It was in these times that Hoby the bootmaker made a reputation, maintained almost to our own time. The ridiculous stories of boots made for riding only, and splitting "when used for walking to the stable," illustrate further the absurd gravity with which the question of dress was treated. Now flourished Rouland, the exquisites'

hairdresser, later more celebrated as Rowland, and inventor of the famed "Macassar."\* These two eminent artists had their shops in St. James's Street.

The death-beds, too, of these unhappy beings were attended by circumstances in keeping with their frivolous lives. One committed suicide, leaving in writting the characteristic reason for the act, "that he was tired of buttoning and unbuttoning." Brummell, their leader, expired, as we have seen, "a driveller and a show." Montrond, the French dandy, in wit second only to his friend Talleyrand, declared to a friend on his death-bed that "there was nothing left—for he could not eat or drink." The slovenly Mr. Ward, afterwards Lord Dudley, whose absence of mind and oddities were as entertaining as wit in other men, was in 1832 consigned by Sir H. Halford to the charge of a keeper. Lord Sefton, a gay friend of the Regent, sank into torpor and a sort of idiocy. Of Mr. George Payne—not the agreeable "man about town" of recent times—says Mr. Raikes dramatically:

"One evening I went into Watier's club, where I found Mr. George Payne waiting to make a rubber at whist; others soon arrived, and the play began. Nothing remarkable passed except that Mr. Payne was anxious to continue the game; and though we played till four or five o'clock, seemed disappointed at the party breaking up. I went home to bed, and soon after ten o'clock my servant Chapman came into my room to tell me that Mr. Payne had been that morning shot in a duel on Putney Heath. Thus he had been purposely playing all the night in order to pass the time till he was summoned into eternity."

"Jack" Talbot, another *viveur* of mark, begged to be allowed to die in peace, "undisturbed by doctor or parson;" on which a lively brother *viveur* said that "he ought to have been cupped, as there was more claret than blood in his veins." His brother, a man about town, was found dead in his armchair—an unfinished bottle of sherry beside him. Mr. Berkeley Craven destroyed himself on learning the news that Bay Middleton had won the Derby. There is a strange French book entitled "*Soupeurs de mon Temps*," by Roger de Beauvoir, which chronicles the career and fate of some jovial roysterers—as witty too as they were jovial—of Louis Philippe's era, in which the same disastrous ending of madness or destitution seemed to attend nearly all.

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\* Five shillings was his charge for treating a gentleman's hair. At a dinner-party at a great house a guinea was expected by the butler.



Under all this frivolity there was a certain sagacity and force of character and observation exhibited in some of their notes on men and manners which many have left behind. Mr. Greville, who, however, flourished under the reign of George IV., exhibits this shrewdness in his *Memoirs*, well known for their sarcastic tone and ill-nature. Yet under the mask of this cynic and follower of pleasure there was something good, and betokening heart.\*

Nor were the ladies of the period inferior. The *très-grande dame* then reigned supreme; and with beauty there was to be found the gifts of a sprightly gayety and wit, with a stately and refined tone. The type of the *grande dame* is now scarcely appreciated. What these dames resembled may be gathered from the pictures of Lawrence, in which we see faces of delicate fairness and refinement, with an air of placid dignity.

The ridiculous and grotesque extravagance of the costumes of this time seems scarcely conceivable out of a pantomime. In the caricatures and the plates of fashion—which seem more caricature than the caricatures themselves—are set forth these extraordinary habiliments, which were of the most fantastic and ludicrous kind. Brims so curled as to reach to the top of the hat; the crown of the hat so broad at the top, and so narrow at the bottom, as to resemble

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\* "One day, at Broadlands," writes Mrs. Augustus Craven, "when Mr. Charles Greville was with us, he brought me what he called a very interesting book, and begged of me to read it. I took it to my room, but, glancing over a few pages, I saw that, interesting as it was, it was written in a sceptical and unbelieving tone, that seemed to me as odious as it was unjust. That same evening I returned him the book, asking him why he had suggested it to me, since he must have known that it could only have pained me to read it. He replied that he had done so because what was good in it would be certain to please me, while the bad portion would do me no harm. 'Rely on this,' he added, with a feeling that was unusual with him, 'not for the world would I disturb your faith. Oh, God forbid! I should only be taking from you something great, and I have nothing to give you in return.' How often have I realized in reading particular passages in his journal the tone in which he said these words. Next day I heard a knock at my door, and, to my great surprise (for the practice is unusual in England), I saw Mr. Greville enter. 'I wish to speak to you,' he said, 'and take up what we were talking of yesterday, if you will let me.' Then followed a long and sad conversation. He spoke in a strain, too common, alas!—doubts of religion, a wish to believe, impossibility of understanding—a life too much engrossed with other things—time taken up: in short, void, regret, sadness! Such was the whole. I see him still: his head resting on the high chimney-piece, as he stood repeating: 'Oh! happy those who have a true faith. If it could be bought with gold, what would not one give for it!'"

an inverted extinguisher; bonnets like sails; coat-collars which rose above the ears; waists of men, as of women, almost between the shoulders; sleeves like enormous *gigots*; trousers like vast balloons; plumes streaming in the air; eye-glasses in the tops of whips; stripes, flaming colors, topboots, and breeches; such were some of the fantastic freaks of dress. The Oldenburg hat, a hideous enveloping headdress introduced by the princess of that name; the Alcantara mantle, a "unique and elegant article," copied from the dress of the knights of the military order; "the Vigonian helmet," or patriotic bonnet, "which was set off by a waistcoat or wrap-front of marble or leopard-skin, with a Spartan robe for evening wear;" with the Braganza or Andalusian robe, and the "three-quarter or barouche coat;" the Flushing hat, the hat in the "jockey" style: all these designs were carried out with an amazing variety of parti-colors. A sort of travelling-cap, of the pattern that Russian officers now carry, with the addition of a tassel, was much affected by the Princess of Wales. Most of these extravagances came from France, but departed from the classic taste of the Empire. It was curious to find a remarkable foreign lady taking a leading part in directing the fashionable games and ceremonies. This was Princess Lieven, whose full undisputed reign indeed belongs to later date; but whose influence in politics, as well as in fashion, was felt to a late period: for we are now considering an era of manners which was continuous to the latter years of the King's reign. This clever woman was to exercise an extraordinary power over ministers and statesmen, and took her place as a recognized leader of society.\*

The institution over which she presided became the inner sanctuary, as it were, of all that was select and fashionable. This was Almack's, the well-known series of balls held during the season, at the still existing "Willis's Rooms," in King Street, St. James's.† The difficulty of obtaining admittance to these entertainments—always a judicious mode of making admission desirable—has been often described, as well as the passionate importunity with which cards were sought, and the mortification of refusal which brought despair and sometimes serious illness. The lady patronesses exercised their power with a despotism that was almost insolent. Persons of high

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\* See Lord Houghton's "Monographs" for a sketch of her, as well as the memoirs of Mr. Greville and Mr. Raikes, *passim*.

† Almack was originally McCall, and thus oddly transformed his name. He brought his countryman Gow's band from Edinburgh to the balls, which played reels and other Scotch dances.

rank were refused. This rigid system of exclusion led even to duels, and Lord Jersey was challenged by an officer because his wife had been refused a ticket. Lord Jersey declined to "go out," on the ground that it would be impossible for him to meet the vast numbers who could make that a cause of quarrel.

Of the nearly three hundred officers of the Brigade of Guards, mostly of the first families in the kingdom, scarcely half a dozen could obtain admission. It was in the year 1815 that Lady Jersey, "a tragedy queen," and the second lady of fashion of that name and line, introduced the now familiar quadrille, and Mr. Gronow recalled the solemn occasion when the first measure of the kind was performed. The names of the executants deserve to be recorded, including Lady Jersey, Lady H. Butler, Lady Susan Ryder, and Miss Montgomery, Count St. Aldegonde (one of the fashionable foreigners), Mr. Montgomery, Mr. Montague, and Mr. Charles Standish. The same observer recalled the spectacle of the late Lord Palmerston and Countess Lieven solemnly going through a waltz—a much more dignified measure than it is now.\*

"No event," says Mr. Raikes, "ever produced so great a sensation in English society as the introduction of the German waltz in 1813. Up to that time the English country-dance, Scotch steps, and an occasional Highland reel, formed the school of the dancing-master. The young Duke of Devonshire, as the *magnus Apollo* of the drawing-rooms in London, was at the head of these innovations. In London fashion is, or was then, everything. Old and young returned to school, and the mornings which had been dedicated to lounging in the park were now absorbed at home in practising the figures of a French quadrille, or whirling a chair round the room to learn the step and measure of the German waltz. Two Dutchmen—Baron Tripp (appropriately named) and Baron Tuyll—were chief professors: the former some time after committed suicide at Florence. The emperors and their attendants took part in these gay measures, and the example of Courts led to the fashion.

General Thornton was also a popular professor of the new dance, and used to instruct parties of young ladies in the morning; while

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\* A fashionable journal of the day, "*La Belle Assemblée*," thus gravely describes the new dance: "The Waltzer is a native dance of Suabia, and strict translation of the term to denote a roller. A lady and gentleman take hold of each other in a certain graceful manner, turn about together with a simple sort of step, and then pass up and down the room. The movement is moderate."



Lady Harriet Butler, who had been taught by the *dieu de la lance* himself, proved herself so apt and graceful a pupil that every one stopped to look as she performed. Even many years later Pierce Egan describes the ardent devotee of the new dance, who

Holds, lest the figure should be hard,  
Close to his nose a printed card.

Another remarkable woman of the time, whose life was adventurous, came to London in 1814, and, introduced into London society, caused a sort of *fureur*. This was Madame de Staël. The earliest of those attracted by the new star was the Regent, to whom her affectations and her exaggerated enthusiasm promised entertainment. The lady, however, in right of her intellectual sovereignty, stood out for the homage of a first call at her house in Argyle Street, which he was good-humored enough to concede; and he further, as his grand gala at Carlton House was impending, "with more appearance of taste than he usually displays," says Mrs. Trench, went specially to a party at Lady Heathcote's, to allow of an opportunity for being presented to her, so that she might attend the fête on the following evening. When they met, however, she violated etiquette by putting him through a process of questioning, which did not please him. She was also said to have treated him cavalierly, and spoke in a strain of personal praise which was too strong for his taste, "particularly dwelling on the beauty of the form of his legs, but saying very little to him of the glories of his country, or the powers of his mind." The interview was not supposed to be pleasant to either party; nevertheless, Madame de Staël continued her adulatory conduct to the Prince. Her undignified and unsuitable marriage sank her to a lamentable degree, and her days closed in troubles, disappointment, and obscurity.

The story of Lady Caroline Lamb, a high-strung, clever, ill-regulated, wilful creature, moves sympathy. Hers was a strange, and, in its ending, tragic career. Her extravagant admiration of the hero of the hour; her mad behavior at a ball in consequence; the strange novels she wrote in which she and her idol figured; the patient forbearance of her husband, who bore with her freaks as long as they could be borne; and her unhappy death-bed, when she was reconciled to him, form elements in a wild course, and excite the deepest pity.\*

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\* Many of her letters, with other details, will be found in the "Memoirs of Lady Morgan." There is also a sketch of her in Mr. McCullagh Torrens's "Life of Lord Melbourne."

Few events in the history of society caused so deep a sensation as the appearance of Lord Byron. When it is considered he was young, a noble, a poet of the first order, interesting, if not good-looking, and one who was believed to have known strange adventures, this success is not surprising. Further, as is shown by his letters, he possessed *gaieté de cœur*, if not wit, and was lively and entertaining in conversation. It may be said, therefore, that an era at which two such geniuses as Madame de Staël and Lord Byron met in London drawing-rooms was one of special note. The poet used to be merry with his friends on the lady's peculiarities and affectations, and was himself "a lion" quite as great. One scene has been alluded to, which took place at a rout. Another lady of high fashion was found in tears on a sofa at another entertainment, because he had spoken unkindly to her. To a third admirer he addressed a farewell letter, sealed with the seal of the person who had supplanted her—a Mephistopheles touch, significant of his somewhat venomous temper. Nor should we pass by that extraordinary lady, the Margravine of Anspach, Lady Craven, who survived till the year 1828. Her oddities, her theatricals, and her singular and not uninteresting Memoirs, undoubtedly give her a place in the line of remarkable women. She was connected with the Princess of Wales, by furnishing her with Mr. Keppel Craven, her son, as an equerry; while Brandenburg House, her well-known residence at Hammersmith, was occupied by the Princess on the eve of her trial.

Among the oddities of London society must be counted at this time two strange ladies, known for their taste for party-giving, and their eagerness to collect at such entertainments everything remarkable. One of these was the antique Lady Cork, whose husband had been born so long ago as 1742, and who herself had been married in 1786, and who survived full of animation and party-giving till 1840. As is well known, she was a favorite of Dr. Johnson's, with whom she had often a pleasant encounter of wits. Mr. Croker quotes one of her last letters to him, written in 1836, gayly jesting upon the year of her birth. A full account of this old lady would form an entertaining monograph.

The other lady, as eager for party-giving, was the well-known Lydia White, and if old age might seem an obstacle to such gayeties in the one instance, helplessness and infirmity might be in the other. But these seem to have only whetted their spirit. "Going to Lydia White's" was a thing which many laughed at and yet few omitted. Sydney Smith's jest of "sacrificing a Tory virgin" is well known.

What was presented to the guests was most dispiriting. "Immovable from dropsy, with a swollen person and an emaciated face," says a sarcastic observer, "she is placed on an inclined plane raised high upon a sofa. Yet her spirit was unflagging."

With one of these ruling queens of fashion—Lady Jersey—the Regent's name became associated in a curious way. She was daughter-in-law of the better-known Lady Jersey, and also a conspicuous figure in society. After enjoying the favor of the Regent, she incurred his enmity, which he marked by removing her miniature from a collection of "beauties" he had formed, and sending it back to Mrs. Mee, the painter. Lord Byron, an admirer of the lady, wrote some lines, published in the papers:

If he, that vain old man, whom truth admits  
 •   Heir of his father's crown and of his wits;  
 If his corrupted eye and withered heart  
 Could with thy gentle image bear to part.

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These are not lessen'd, these are still as bright;  
 Albeit too dazzling for a dotard's sight;  
 And these must wait till every gleam is gone,  
 To please the paltry heart that pleases none.

Here was the sequel: At a ball, Mr. Rogers was seated beside her in a long gallery, at the end of which the Regent appeared. He saw the person he so disliked, but it was too late to turn back. He passed her with a defiant stare, which she returned as defiantly, and then whispered, "Didn't I do it well?"

The irrepressible gayety of the English was displayed even abroad, under the most extraordinary conditions. The *détenus* at Verdun included men of rank and fashion, like Lord Yarmouth, who indulged in a riotous life that scandalized their keepers. Horse-racing, gambling, balls, and wasteful extravagance were kept up as in town.

"We have had a grand fête," says a private letter from Verdun, dated the 22nd August, 1805, "given here on the 12th instant, in honor of the Prince of Wales, by Mrs. Concannon. Her cards were sent out to one hundred and twenty persons, in the same style as in London. The company met at tea, and were conducted into a large room, fitted up as a theatre, where a little piece adapted to the occasion was performed by Englishmen. It was intermixed with French parts, which were performed by the regular actors of the theatre, and a very humorous epilogue, written by Mr. Concannon,



was spoken after it. The play lasted till twelve, when three supper-rooms, with two tables in each, were thrown open. The tables were covered with everything which the season could produce, and the most renowned wines in France. About two o'clock the ball-room was ready; and the ladies and those gentlemen who wished to dance kept up country-dances, reels, and cotillons till six in the morning. The gentlemen who wished to remain at table kept drinking and singing till the same hour, excepting some few who got round the hazard-table. Captain Prescott sang a very humorous song, which terminated with this chorus:

May we soon arrive on the banks of the Shannon—  
So here's to the health of Mrs. Concannon!

At six we were summoned to the breakfast-room, where tea and coffee kept us till seven, when we all retired to our beds, to be up by two to go to the races.

“Dresses.—The ladies were dressed in a style much beyond what was even seen at Mrs. Concannon's great routs in London: the preparations occupied them a month before, and every town in France, and even in Germany, were laid under contribution. Among the most conspicuous was the honorable Mrs. Clive, who wore a Vandyke diadem profusely set round with jewels, and the Honorable Mrs. Annesley, who wore a dress which cost at Paris one hundred and fifty guineas. Mrs. Concannon had a beautiful bird-of-paradise feather, which cost twenty-five guineas.”

There were other settlements of a less penal kind, such as Calais, which was always filled with refugee English. At midnight, when mails and passengers are hurrying through, few can conceive of days when it was the special refuge of Englishmen of condition in temporary or permanent straits. There too, by an odd perverseness, they soon found means to raise up a crop of foreign creditors, from whom they found it as difficult to escape as they had done from their English ones. Legends were told of escapes planned with considerable ingenuity. One man of fashion, strictly watched, contrived a daily ride along the sands, immersing his horse's legs in the water, far out, until he ceased to excite suspicion. A well-manned boat from the English coast came in close, into which he leaped, and was rowed away with complete success.\* Here went on gaming, and walking on the Place, while the stream of English

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\* See the entertaining “Annals of Calais.”

passing through, and staying at Dessein's, then one of the finest hotels in Europe, furnished pleasant excuse for meeting friends, little dinners, and borrowing money.\*

There was also a little corner of Europe which at this time rose into sudden attraction, and offered a more brilliant scene than it has ever done since. This was the little watering-place of Spa. It has now sunk into a quiet torpor, without having lost any of its natural charms, but the spectacle it presented at the close of the great war must have been a dazzling one.

"In 1818," says Sir H. Holland, "at the time of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, the proximity of the two places brought many diplomatists across the frontier, to the quieter amusements and better atmosphere of Spa; among others the Duke of Wellington and

\* I may be pardoned for quoting from *The St. James's Gazette* this sketch of my own on the fate of this interesting old hotel: "Until very lately Sterne's Room, No. 31, and Reynolds's portrait of Sir W. Scott over the chimney-piece, were still shown and still used. The whole had an antique air. Dessein, however, passed away with his son, and his son's daughter married Quillacq, who kept the Silver Lion, an old hotel, also with a court, to be found now in the Rue Neuve. Here it was that Hogarth stayed. So lately, however, as 1864, L. Dessein, who was keeping the old Dessein's Hotel, issued an important announcement: 'That after the 1st of January his establishment will be transferred to the Hôtel Quillacq, which has been entirely newly done up and will take the name of Hôtel Dessein. The premises of the old hotel having been purchased by the town of Calais, it ceases to be an hotel.' So accordingly it ceased to be; and in 1874 it was transformed into a museum, with Indian boats, skeletons of birds and fishes, arrows, pictures, etc. It was the occasion of one of those agreeable little French fêtes which are in such harmony with an old town; in 1878 I came by that road once more, and found the old hotel still yellow, and its old trees and gardens still blooming. No one, I fancy, ever asked to see the things of the museum. In 1880 I was once more in old Calais, coming over by moonlight, and with that not unromantic landing at the station, and by one in the morning was standing ringing at Quillacq's. Dessein's was sadly changed from those old busy days. There was hardly another person in the house. They were civil, obliging people, and Madame Dessein, a pleasing old French dame, sat in her parlor and administered. The fare was good and the house comfortable. Overhead, at the roof could be seen the silver lion rampant. I went out betimes to see the old Dessein's in the Rue Leveux, erst Royale. It was pouring rain, and somehow I could not find it. This was set down to forgetfulness. The trial was made again later, but with the same result. The streets did not wear the same look. At last the news was rudely broken to me. In place of Dessein's was to be seen the shell of an enormous brick building, ready but for roofing—a vast communal school, one of M. Ferry's offspring. Dessein's fair gardens, the quaint old hotel, the *remise*, Sterne's room—all had been levelled, and this precious structure reared in its place! And thus there was an end of Dessein's Hotel."

Lord Londonderry, the Duc de Richelieu, Prince Hardenburgh, Prince Dolgorouski, etc. The Emperor Alexander, the Prince and Princess of Orange, the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland, and two or three Prussian princes, were among the numerous other visitors of this year. The Spadois were flattered and enriched by this concourse of princes around the Pouhon Fountain, and by seeing three or four gartered English noblemen every evening at their assembly-rooms and roulette tables. The acting of Mdle. Mars at the little theatre of Spa graced the season in another way; somewhat past her perfection, but still supreme in the parts she filled. I saw a good deal of the Duc de Richelieu in society; quite enough to tell me that Talleyrand cared more for his *bon mot* than for the truth of his sarcasm, when he eulogized the appointment of the Duke as Prime Minister—'*Il est l'homme de la France qui connoît mieux la Crimée.*' The Duc de Richelieu was a fine specimen of what we are taught, rightly or wrongly, to picture as a French noble of the old school. He, the Duke of Wellington, and Lord Londonderry, walking arm-in-arm as I saw them at Spa, would have made an interesting subject for photography had the art then existed. I had a good deal of intercourse with Lord Londonderry at Spa. I saw much too at Spa of Montrond, the friend of Talleyrand; if friendship be the word to denote the link between two men who lived in a common contempt of the feelings and fashions of the world."





## BOOK III.

*THE KING.*—1820-1830.





## CHAPTER I

1820.

AT midnight, January 29, 1820, the great bell of St. Paul's announced the death of George III and the accession of George IV. The good old King was, at last, to close his weary, suffering life, and, for so many years dead to reason and sight, to shuffle off with that life the mere semblance of royalty.

The Regent had been too ill to attend his father's death-bed, over which the Duke of York, his favorite son, we are told, "hung with the most affectionate solicitude." But Sir William Knighton was with him on the night when the news arrived from Windsor, and testifies that it was received "with a burst of grief that was very affecting." His situation presently became most critical. At his favorite residence, Brighton, he had caught a cold, for which he lost eighty ounces of blood. But on the night of Tuesday, February 1, a fresh attack coming on, he was almost in danger of suffocation. Sir Henry Hallford was absent, and had left directions that there was to be no further bleeding till his return. The cautious Knighton was afraid to disobey, and Mr. Grenville states that he might have died but for Bloomfield's sending for Tierney, who promptly took fifty ounces of blood from him, almost bleeding him to death. It was believed that, but for this step, he would have followed his father on the second or third day of his reign. In all these attacks, his fine constitution, not yet shattered, helped him to rally. It was characteristic of his effusive nature, which for the time was even affectionate, that, in the moments of his greatest danger, he despatched expresses to his dear friend, Lord Wellesley, with messages as to his state. By the 17th he was restored, and receiving addresses from the City of London. "Sheriff Perkins" declared that his Majesty was one of the most robust-looking men in the kingdom. "His limbs," he added, "retain their fine proportions, and his eye its wonted vivacity." But at the Council less partial judges declared that he was "very weak and tottering."

## THE KING TO LOUIS XVIII. AND OTHER SOVEREIGNS.

"SIR, MY BROTHER,

"Amidst my own and the public grief for the loss of his late Majesty, my most honored father, of blessed memory, whom it pleased God to release from the sufferings of a long illness on the evening of the twenty-ninth instant, at thirty-five minutes past eight o'clock, I cannot omit giving your Majesty the earliest intelligence of the event, being convinced that you will participate in the concern which I feel upon this melancholy occasion. Upon my ascending the throne of this imperial kingdom, I renew to your Majesty the assurance of my constant desire to cultivate and maintain that amity and good correspondence which so happily subsists between our two crowns; and that I will not be wanting on my part in anything that may tend to the advancement of the prosperity and welfare of your dominions. And so, wishing your Majesty health, peace, and true felicity, I am, with the highest esteem,

"Sir, my Brother, your Majesty's affectionate Brother,

"GEORGE R.

"Given at my Palace of Carlton House, the 31st day of January, 1820. To my good brother the most Christian King."\*

At the Privy Council, on the customary oath being taken, his Majesty made the following declaration:

"I have directed that you should be assembled here, in order that I may discharge the painful duty of announcing to you the death of the King, my beloved father.

"It is impossible for me adequately to express the state of my feelings upon this melancholy occasion; but I have the consolation of knowing that the severe calamity with which his Majesty has been afflicted for so many years, has never effaced from the minds of his subjects the impressions created by his many virtues; and his example will, I am persuaded, live forever in the grateful remembrance of his country.

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\* This document, written on a quarto sheet of paper with gilt edges, has somehow found its way into the British Museum. It is in the nature of a circular letter, and is merely signed by the King.

“Called upon, in consequence of his Majesty’s indisposition, to exercise the prerogatives of the crown on his behalf, it was the first wish of my heart to be allowed to restore into his hands the powers with which I was entrusted. It has pleased Almighty God to determine otherwise; and I have not been insensible to the advantages which I have derived from administering, in my dear father’s name, the government of this realm.

“The support which I have received from Parliament and the country, in times the most eventful, and under the most arduous circumstances, could alone inspire me with that confidence which my present station demands.

“The experience of the past will, I trust, satisfy all classes of my people, that it will ever be my most anxious endeavor to promote their prosperity and happiness, and to maintain unimpaired the religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom.”

It was naturally desirable that the first step taken should be to close the unseemly chapter of nearly forty years’ pecuniary embarrassments and scandals. This delicate task was undertaken by his confidential friend Knighton, who devoted himself to it for the next ten years with infinite pains, carrying it out with an inflexible severity, which made him incur the displeasure, if not dislike, of his royal master; not the least disagreeable part being the undertaking distant journeys on “delicate missions” in the depth of winter. It is stated that the old debt to the Duke of Orleans was now cleared off with interest, together with other long-standing encumbrances, while the King himself eagerly pressed his ministers for a substantial addition to the Civil List, which, he maintained, was inadequate for his state. They refused—declaring that the settlement must be considered a settlement for the reign, though they held out a hope that some special grant might be made in the future. It was curious to find the King thus renewing the old attempts of the Prince, and clamoring for “increased allowance.” When the new Parliament met, he was able in his speech to “congratulate the nation on there being no addition to the burdens on the people.” On this occasion he sat on the “new throne,” arrayed “in purple and gold.” The next step was to dispose of his Queen.

He had discovered a convenient ally and instrument—a pliant lawyer, who seems to have been the only man of position and ability who adopted and favored his plans. This was Leach, already his Chancellor of Cornwall, and who looked to a higher



reward. All the reports of the spies abroad with the more respectable communications of Lord Exmouth and Sir C. Stuart, had been gradually accumulating, and this adroit partisan suggested that it was time that some action should be taken upon these materials.\* From him and Lord Liverpool we learn how the first step was arranged, and that in 1818 commissioners had been sent out to Milan to collect evidence. In Mr. Grey-Bennett's diary some account is given of the persons to whom this delicate task was entrusted.

"I have read a letter from Sir John Leach, the Regent's Chancellor for the Duchy of Cornwall, to Lord Essex, which gives the following particulars: Late in the autumn of 1817 (after the Princess Charlotte's death), a large parcel of papers was laid before him (Sir J. L.) by order of the King, a considerable part of which came from the Foreign Office. After having perused them, he recommended an inquiry to be instituted; and, accordingly, with the full consent and approbation of some of the ministers, such as the Lord Chancellor, Lord Liverpool, and Lord Castlereagh, one was nominated, consisting of Mr. Cooke (a Chancery lawyer), Mr. Powell (an attorney), and Captain Brown (a creature of Lord Stewart's), Lord Castlereagh's brother, then our ambassador at Vienna. This commission assembled at Milan, in September, 1818, and transmitted, from time to time, copies of the evidence, as they collected it, to Sir John Leach, who sent them to Lord Liverpool. They returned to England, and made their report in July, 1819. Leach's defence consists in his denial that he ever communicated with them, or with any one else upon the subject, while he was on the Continent (of which he was accused), the commission not assembling at Milan till he left it. Of the character of these commissioners it may be necessary here to say a few words. Mr. Cooke bears a very good reputation as a Chancery lawyer."

Sir J. Leach, this instrument, was a suitable character, with a strange reserve and ambition. "How often have I seen him," says an old solicitor, "when walking through the Green Park, knock at the private door at the back of Carlton Palace. I have seen him go in four or five days following." And there was something significant in his mode of dispensing law. Two large fan-shades were placed in such a position as not only to screen the light from

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\* To present all these proceedings in a continuous form I have reserved for this place the preliminary discussions and arrangements.

the Master's eyes but to render him invisible to the court. After the counsel who was addressing the court had finished and resumed his seat, there would be an awful pause for a minute or two; when at length, out of the darkness which surrounded the chair of justice would come a voice, distinct, awful, solemn, but with the solemnity of suppressed anger: "The bill is dismissed with costs." No explanations, no long series of arguments were advanced to support this conclusion.

One Vimercati, an Italian lawyer, was local manager and employed to hunt up evidence, and when it was known that the English Court was eager to obtain evidence, the "raffish" miscellany of Italian scamps, menials, *valets de place*—never a high type—virtually received an invitation to fit what they had to tell to the standard that was required.

The instigator of the scheme at once received his reward. At Christmas, 1817, he was made Vice-Chancellor, "on the distinct nomination of the Prince Regent himself," Mr. Twiss tells us, Lord Eldon having nothing to do with the matter. That eminent Tory's scruples did not stand in the way. The Regent, for ends of his own, was then calling him his dearest friend, and imploring him not to desert him; and as the public was clamoring for his resignation this appeal became of value. Why the Regent was so anxious not to be "deserted" will be now seen. It is also a little significant that Sir W. Scott, the Chancellor's brother, was heard to remark that the late death of the Princess Charlotte had removed the only objection to the divorce. His "dear young master" had addressed him:

#### THE REGENT TO LORD ELDON.

"My dear friend [he wrote on January 1st, 1818], it must always be a mortifying as well as painful circumstance to me, whenever I am deprived the pleasure of your society; but when I learn the reason of such privation, that it is to be attributed to bodily indisposition, arising entirely from distress of mind, it is then truly that I do tenfold regret the absence of my friend, and that I do feel more deeply for him than I can find words to express. Perhaps (and in addition to what I have just written) there never was a moment when (and in which also from private and personal reasons towards myself) I not only could have regretted and lamented your absence more or so much as that

late one (but when I at the same time am sensible that you could not possibly come to me); for you cannot fail to know how much I depend upon you at all times, and how firmly I rely upon your support and affection in whatever can concern my tranquillity, my happiness, and my honor. You cannot, therefore, be surprised (much difficulty in point of delicacy being now set aside in my mind by the late melancholy event which has taken place in my family) if I therefore turn my whole thoughts to the endeavoring to extricate myself from the cruellest, as well as the most unjust predicament, that ever even the lowest individual, much more a prince, ever was placed in by unshackling myself from a woman who — . . . . Is it then, my dear friend, to be tolerated that . . . . is to be suffered to continue to bear my name, to belong to me and to the country, and that that country, the first in all the world, and myself its sovereign, are to be expected to submit silently to a degradation, under which no upright and honorable mind can exist? This, then, was my main object for collecting certain of my confidential servants here. . . . I shall now take my leave of you, wishing you from my heart many happy returns of the season, and assuring you that if it depends upon me alone, your happiness should never know interruption.

“I remain, my dear Friend,

“Always most affectionately yours,

“GEORGE, P. R.

“P.S.—I hope that you will be able to make out this scrawl.”

But it is now that Mr. Brougham begins to occupy so conspicuous a figure in these transactions—though his behavior at this stage was always deemed perplexing. There can be no doubt that the Princess was thoroughly alarmed by the fact of the inquisition that was held at Milan, and was unequal to maintain the struggle at such odds. Her friends, too, felt that on every account it was desirable she should remain abroad. This was the view of the ministers—in short, there was but one person in the kingdom who was eager to disturb or annoy her.

In this view Mr. Brougham addressed a letter to Lord Hutchinson, a friend of both contending parties, suggesting an arrangement, which he was not authorized to make, but which he seemed to say he had influence enough to persuade her to accept, on the terms of a formal separation, no coronation or title of Queen, and an annuity for life. He added that he thought this would be most comfortable



for her, as since her daughter's death she would not desire to return. This sensible proposal was not accepted, for the reason that at that moment a most singular discussion was going on between the Regent and his ministers. The report of the Milan commission had come to hand, and the Prince was filled with a sort of passionate ill-regulated longing to take action on it. They pressed on him as reasonable the proposals contained in the letter, assuring him that any notion of divorce, such as he suggested "by arrangement," was out of the question. On this he replied, saying that they had misunderstood him, that he intended there should be due proofs of guilt, and put it to them whether, for the purpose of "arrangement," there could be any essential difference between divorce and the sort of separation they referred to, and whether the party who would propose the one would not accept the other?\*

In about a fortnight, on July 10th, ministers at once took into consideration the report of the commission. A couple of weeks later, with this unexpected information before them, they addressed the Regent in a remarkable minute:†

"According to these opinions your Royal Highness's servants are led to believe that the facts stated in the papers which have been referred to them would furnish sufficient proof of the crime, provided they were established by credible witnesses; but it is at the same time the opinion of your Royal Highness's confidential servants that, considering the manner in which a great part of this testimony has unavoidably been obtained, and the circumstance that the persons who have afforded it are foreigners, many of whom appear to be in a low station of life, it would not be possible to advise your Royal Highness to institute any legal proceeding upon such evidence, without further inquiry as to the characters and circumstances of the witnesses by whom it is to be supported."

Then they considered the various courses of proceeding—high treason, suit in the ecclesiastical courts—and found the most serious objections to all.

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\* As these papers are evidently not the Regent's own composition, but written by Sir J. Leach, the substance is merely given.

† Mr. Roebuck states ("History," i. 9), "on the highest authority," that the Whig party conveyed to Lord Liverpool an intimation that, if the King dismissed him and his friends for refusing to prosecute the Queen, they would decline to take office, even though this condition were waived. This does not seem very credible.

“They are satisfied that evidence which in a common case, and before the ordinary tribunals, would be deemed fully sufficient, would, in a proceeding of this kind, be received with the greatest suspicion, particularly where the witnesses happened to be foreigners; and they doubt the success of any application to Parliament upon such a transaction, except in a case in which the testimony was so unexceptionable, clear, and distinct, as to be subject to no reasonable doubt. Most of the objections above stated would not apply to the third proposition—a proceeding for high treason. Such a proceeding would be considered as conformable to the due course of law. But on the other hand, it must be observed that the difficulties of obtaining sufficient evidence of the crime of high treason are greater than in any other criminal proceeding, and it would certainly not be advisable to institute it, if there did not exist the highest probability of success. Upon the whole of this question your Royal Highness’s confidential servants beg leave most humbly to state their opinion as decidedly adverse to any proceeding being attempted in the ecclesiastical courts.”

We venture to say that this document, to which attention has scarcely been sufficiently directed, is as damaging a piece of evidence against the Regent’s ministers as could be conceived. For here was their deliberate opinion as to the value of the evidence on which they later brought the Queen to trial. It shows, indeed, how flexible were their principles. In fact, the effect of this remonstrance was complete, and the Regent, for the moment baffled, accepted their opinion.

Lord Hutchinson, however, pressed the Government to close with Mr. Brougham’s offer, assuring them that he would not have made it unless certain to carry it out, but the matter was dropped; and we may imagine the Regent was in no humor to accept. This, too, may have been caused by a sudden threat of the Princess to Lord Liverpool that she would come to England. From this she was dissuaded. But if ever a woman was driven to action by harsh and wantonly stupid treatment, it was this unfortunate lady. For now there began a series of petty slights and insults at foreign courts, all prompted by the English ministers of the Prince. At Vienna, Paris, Rome, she encountered this form of insult, as though she was some pretender or impostor, all being obsequiously eager to gratify the Regent. She had completed all her restless peregrinations, having made a very important and interesting tour, and seen a

great deal of the world. A slight matter will show the spirit of the proceedings adopted towards her—a charge that she was seen to enter places of Catholic worship and kneel down.

But the arrival of both parties at the throne made a most important change. As was natural with one of the King's character, the possession of power suggested immediate deliverance from the yoke which he chafed against; and almost at once, before he escaped his critical illness, the old frenzy seized on him. He was for divorcing his Queen at once, and ten days had scarcely passed from his father's death, before he was again embroiled with his ministers on this thorny subject. Apart from his own dislike, there was the feeling that she had been elevated with him, and the instinct that her power for annoyance and battle had increased. As Princess she might be ignored; but her new situation as Queen of England promised difficulties and embarrassments of the most painful kind. Whether recognized or not, she was sure to be found intolerable.

The strange frantic mode in which the King, after a fortnight, pressed this matter, introduces us to a most characteristic episode. His *âme damnée* in this matter, Leach, was despatched to the Chancellor to operate on the Cabinet with threats of the King's retirement to Hanover—not likely to have any effect upon them—and hints of dismissal, perhaps more potent; and it was urged that the King's state of health, agitation of mind, and the like, all required that his wishes should be carried out. Their views, however, could not have given him satisfaction,\* and were embodied in a minute of Cabinet dated February 10. This most important document again sets out the deliberate judgment of ministers, based on the Milan evidence and the "supplementary evidence," which had been got together to strengthen the first, and it was to the effect that a divorce was impracticable, chiefly on the ground of recrimination which it would open, and which could not be shut on account of the legal difficulties; and above all, for this very remarkable reason:

"This evidence [they say] would indeed establish the fact, if not rebutted or discredited; but notwithstanding the supplementary evidence which has since been obtained, your servants must beg to refer to the opinion which they gave in their minute of the 24th of July last, "that this body of testimony consists almost exclusively

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\* Letter of Lord Eldon, "Life of Lord Liverpool," p. 24, where will be found much of the information quoted in this episode.



of the evidence of foreigners, most of them not above the rank of menial servants, or that of masters and attendants in hotels, wholly unacquainted with the English language, and some of the former class standing in the questionable situation of having been dismissed or removed from her Royal Highness's service.

"Your servants are not insensible to the obstacles which may have arisen to any attempt, made according to their advice, to ascertain what was likely to be the evidence of the several English persons of both sexes who had been living in the family of the Princess of Wales. But to proceed in ignorance as to the probable effect of such testimony would, they submit, be hazardous; particularly as your servants have reason to believe that some of those persons of rank and station at present in friendly correspondence with the Princess profess an interest in all that concerns her."

Thus they again put on record their opinion of the worthlessness of the evidence on which they later founded their proceedings, and which *then*, they maintained, was convincing; and they also furnish, by anticipation, another damaging fact against themselves; for these "several English persons of both sexes," to whom they allude, actually testified in the most favorable way for her. So that, if favorable, their evidence was to be excluded; if the reverse, sought for.

Further, they held out to the King that the only feasible course was to arrange matters so that the Queen—or "Princess," as they ludicrously styled her through the document—should be prevented returning, and thus shadowed out a sort of measure which, through the leverage of the annuity, which had now lapsed, as well as of the scandals, etc., might be effectual. They would advise that she should not be admitted to "the honors of coronation," and that her name should be omitted from the Liturgy. Owning that it was indeed "a chain of difficulties," they, in conclusion, almost abjectly "implored his Majesty's indulgent construction of everything which they may appear to have said amiss."

Mr. Canning gave his adhesion, but, taking a curious distinction, declared he could not have agreed to the omission of her name from the Liturgy had any penal process been contemplated. This was no doubt intended as forewarning, and it was felt necessary to *ménager* the King in his present excited state.

He replied in a long argument not of his own composition. The

ministers rejoined, reiterating in the strongest terms the objections to the divorce and to the characters of the witnesses.

Thus crossed in his plans, the King gave way to the most intemperate behavior. We find Lord Sidmouth saying, when apologizing for not answering a letter: "If you knew how the day (the 12th) was passed, you would not be surprised at the omission. The Government is in a very strange and precarious state." Mr. Greville even heard that they had all resigned, and reports some extraordinary behavior on the part of the King—such as ordering Lord Liverpool out of the room, asking him "if he knew to whom he was speaking?" On which that nobleman replied with dignity: "Sir, I know that I am speaking to my sovereign, and I believe I am addressing him as it becomes a loyal subject to do." The King sneered at the Chancellor, saying "that his conscience always interfered except where his interest was concerned"—a speech probably true in the main. As was to be expected, this vehemence soon gave place to timidity. He apologized to the Prime Minister, and we are not surprised to find that he yielded the whole matter in dispute. The difficulty was thus composed, both parties fancying that there was little more to be done than settle the terms of the arrangement.

The "Cato Street Conspiracy"—the most incredible attempt known in modern London life, and which exceeded in daring and villany the schemes of foreign assassins like Orsini—now occupied public thought.

One single feature of the political life of this time deserves notice. It might be said that at no other period were the risks of violence and actual bloodshed so curiously associated with the careers of political men and men in high position. We have even the spectacle of three statesmen of high mark perishing by their own hands, viz., Lord Castlereagh, Sir Samuel Romilly, and Mr. Whitbread. The catalogue might be further added to by the fates of Mr. Huskisson and of Sir Robert Peel.

Ministers, like the King himself, found themselves exposed to the revengeful attack of persons suffering from a morbid sense of grievance; and the assassination of Mr. Perceval, and the later marvelous escape of Lord Palmerston, struck by a bullet, but unwounded, showed what perils were incident to high office. But the most extraordinary attempt of this kind was the desperate "Thistlewood Conspiracy." It became known in London one morning that a band of some fifteen or twenty desperate men had planned the assassination of the whole ministry, seizing the happy occasion

when they were gathered at dinner at the Foreign Secretary's, securing admittance through the pretext of delivering a letter to the servant. The details were worked out in thorough fashion. Lord Harrowby had invited nearly the whole ministry to dine at his house in Grosvenor Square, due notice of which had found its way into the papers. Thistlewood and his band—which included butchers, shoemakers, and others—who had been arranging a general plan of assassination, seized on this favorable opportunity. They had been holding meetings in a stable loft, in Cato Street, Paddington, and had there gathered a store of guns, swords, hand grenades, with a stock of ammunition; and the plan agreed upon was that one of the band, about nine o'clock, should knock at Lord Harrowby's door with a letter, and when presenting it, should rush into the dining-room and massacre the ministers. The town was then to be fired. Some courageous police arrested these desperate men when armed and about to execute their scheme, and an affray followed in which one of the officers was killed. The scene at the execution had a sort of dramatic interest as much from the sympathy exhibited by the crowd, who raised a shout when the doomed men appeared on the scaffold, as from the strange remark of Thistlewood to his neighbor: "We shall soon know the grand secret!" A reporter, with an enterprise worthy of later times, forced himself close to the leading criminal, and addressed him: "Mr. Thistlewood, if you have any remarks to make I shall be happy to take them down and convey them to the public." The reply was a look of extraordinarily mixed contempt.\*

This sympathy of the people—also displayed with more significant indecency at the funeral of the unhappy Lord Castlereagh, when dead cats were flung at the remains and other indignities attended them—was another universal feature of the time. We have seen how the Regent was periodically attended in his progresses by hootings and yells, and even the venerable Queen was mobbed and spat upon. This was owing to the system of repres-

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\* Many years after these events, when Mr. W. Curran was with Lord Anglesey at Beauesert, the latter showed his guest a strange walking-stick, which, on pressing various springs, shot forth a sword at the extremity, with two cutting weapons also at right angles; while a third piece of mechanism in the handle produced a dagger and pistol. This formidable, but embarrassing, weapon had been designed by the Duke of York after the Thistlewood conspiracy, and he had some fifty or sixty made of the pattern, for presentation to the ministers and other leading personages.



sion instituted by Lord Sidmouth—with the six Acts and other engines of oppression, and above all to a hateful system of spies and informers. One Edwards, an image maker, whose introduction to the Government Mr. Charles Knight gives an account of in his pleasing “Autobiography,” with Oliver and others, had done useful service in these transactions.

This had the effect not merely of alarming the King, but rousing his effusive sensibilities for one of his ministers, Lord Sidmouth,\* whose severities of administration had his sympathies. He was by this time at Brighton, whence a series of encouraging despatches almost daily reached the ministers, with high praise of the “zeal and vigilance you have displayed, and which were now unfolding themselves in the detection of crimes which have brought our land to the condition heretofore reserved only for revolutionary France.”

THE KING TO SIR W. KNIGHTON.

“Carlton House, Friday night, or rather Saturday morning,  
“May 12-13, 1820.

“My DEAR KNIGHTON,

“Let me entreat of you, if you possibly can, to call upon me to-morrow morning, if your health will in any way admit of it, at latest by eleven o'clock. I am so overburthened that I must absolutely see you.

“Always most affectionately yours,

“G. R.

“P.S.—B—— tells me that he has obeyed my orders in writing to you to the same effect; but I cannot, notwithstanding, resist writing this short line myself.”

We must turn to the new Queen of England, whom the late King's death found at Leghorn, Mr. Brougham having despatched Sicard, her steward, with the news. She had been staying at Marseilles. She had thought of going on to Paris; but a significant hint having been conveyed to her from the ambassador, that the capital would be made disagreeable to her, she proceeded instead

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† “The King's remark,” writes Sir Benjamin Bloomfield, “on your letter of this morning, was, ‘He is the Duke of Wellington upon home service’”—a compliment which strikes the very amusing Dean Pellew as “peculiarly felicitous.”

to Rome, where, in answer to her request, a guard of honor was posted at her door, but withdrawn suddenly. She made a protest against this treatment, on which Cardinal Consalvi replied that the Pope would not accede to it, on the ground that "at Rome it was not the custom thus to honor royal personages travelling incognito, and that he had had no official announcement from the English Court of her having become Queen." This was, of course, but a thinly-veiled pretext, the truth being that the Hanoverian minister, Reding, had made the strongest remonstrances, and used pressure which it was impossible to resist. This proceeding could scarcely have affected her subsequent behavior; and it was no doubt the news that her name had been struck out of the Liturgy—a first step, as she fancied, towards deposing her—that drove her into asserting her rights. But first she wrote to Lord Liverpool from Rome, on March 16th, a characteristic appeal which began: "The Queen of this Relams wishes to be informed through the medium of Lord Liverpool, First Minister to the King of this Relams, for which reason or motife the Queen's name has been left out of the Liturgy."

Here, then, was the speedy fruit of their first blunder; for this "leaving her name out of the Liturgy" was a trivial, unmeaning act, dealing with a matter of form and routine which committed none of the parties.\*

The poor lady had hard work to get away from Rome. The French ambassador declined to *viser* her passport, and the English consul, "with trembling hand, much afraid of lossing his place, at last was obliged to give me a pas-port;" while she considered the Cardinal's behavior "violent and impertinent" in directing the post-masters to find horses for "*Princess Caroline of England*."

She accordingly set out on her journey home, reaching Geneva about May 15th. She sent home a demand for Buckingham House, or in case of refusal, some mansion near Dover. Sicard, the faithful courier, had been despatched home with letters to Mr. Brougham, inviting him to come to Geneva; but was sent back to her by the ambassador at Paris with letters to her, he himself forwarding hers by his own messenger. She was roused up in the middle of the night by his arrival, and then sent off a new courier with complaints of this extraordinary proceeding, and a fresh summons to

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\* It might be urged, the more need she had of the nation's prayers if she were as vile as it was imputed she was. It might be said, too, that she was still included in the prayers for "all the Royal Family," or, as it was touched so finely by one of her counsel, in the prayer for the fatherless and persecuted.

Mr. Brougham to come and meet her at some French port, as more convenient. She was in a fever of excitement, and at once set out on her journey. She was agreeably surprised at Montbard by the arrival of Alderman Wood and Lady Anne Hamilton—the last one of her most faithful and disinterested adherents. The progress of the party along the French posting was not without the grotesqueness which seemed to attend the poor lady's proceedings. The train consisted of five carriages. A calash, in which sat Alderman Wood and Count Vasaii, led the way. The yellow English posting-chariot, with the royal arms and "C. P. W." on the panels followed, containing the Queen, Lady Anne Hamilton, and "a fine little female child, about three years old, whom her Majesty, in conformity with her benevolent practices on former occasion, has adopted." Then came three others, containing Mr. William Austin, "Mr. Wood, junior," and servants. There were various accidents and annoyances; her leaders falling, the post-masters showing a disinclination to supply horses, one hiding himself. On another occasion plough-horses had to be impressed and ridden for the stage by the carters.

At last she reached St. Omer, where she halted till the courier should return with news of Mr. Brougham, also sending on couriers to London with demands for a royal yacht to take her over.

This Alderman Wood, who now appears on the scene, has been described as a linen-draper with whom the Queen had dealt; but this seems an invidious mode of describing a person who had been Lord Mayor of London, and was now a member of Parliament. He was no doubt a "City man," with a certain forwardness, and perhaps vulgarity; but he certainly devoted himself to her cause with zeal and loyalty, while the credit of the son, Sir W. Page Wood, might be brought in aid of the respectability of the father.

While she was thus hurrying home, her adviser and agent, Mr. Brougham, had been engaged—unknown to her—in a singular and equivocal negotiation. He was sent for by Lord Liverpool immediately after his heated struggle with the King; and it was suggested that terms might now be made. They were willing to treat. Mr. Brougham, who certainly had no instructions, gave up the Liturgy point; and on the question of her having law officers, he declared that by appointing *him* a King's counsel he might thus be prevented assuming those functions! Lord Hutchinson, formerly a friend of the King's, was now joined in the negotiations, and to him Mr. Brougham revealed the anger and jealousy which the departure of



Alderman Wood had roused in him. He styled him "ass and alderman, whom they call Thistle Wood," and suggested that the Carlton House newspapers should open on him a shower of squibs and ridicule, on the score of his having a job to do."\*

As the Queen was now drawing nearer to England, the King intervened, and desired that both should go over and meet her, while Lord Liverpool furnished Mr. Brougham with a memorandum of the Government terms—which were an allowance of £50,000 a year, provided neither the title nor prerogatives of a Queen were assumed, save that of appointing law officers. The King also showed his eagerness that the two envoys should set out at once; and all was in train when, on the day before his departure, Brougham suddenly informed Lord Liverpool that he reserved the right of *giving her advice*—apparently the opposite of that which he was undertaking to give—should he find that her situation required it. And on the day they left London, Lord Liverpool must have been confounded at receiving a notice to the effect that his (Brougham's) situation was a most delicate one, and that whatever might be his feelings, it might be that he would have actually to advise her to come to England! It was plain that he wished to have two courses open to him, and Lord Liverpool ought to have at once withdrawn the commission from so doubtful an agent. What confusion arose out of his proceeding will be seen.

On June 2nd the party landed at Calais. The little town was in a fever of excitement, the English holding meetings at the Silver Lion (Hogarth's inn). They reached St. Omer the following day, where Mr. Brougham was at once received by her. He spent two hours with her, and a courier at once set out to bear Mr. Brougham's views to Lord Liverpool. That nobleman then saw how he had been duped. Mr. Brougham informed him that the Queen was determined to proceed to England, and plainly said he thought her justified in doing so from the treatment she had received on her travels. He declared the only way of stopping her was to give her that title of Queen which he had come out specially to ask her to forego!

"From this your lordship will perceive that I have not ventured even to hint at the renunciation proposed by your lordship; indeed, I never deemed that at all within the possibility of the case, and I

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\* There is a letter of Mr. Brougham, in which he speaks opprobriously of this "d——d woman" coming back to plague them all!

am now certain that the bare mention of the thing would have been followed within five minutes by an order of post-horses to go to Calais. Lord Hutchinson, however, though he has been prevailed on to defer this proposition, means soon to make it. Your lordship may further perceive from this letter that my own opinion is now decided, both as to what can be accomplished and what I ought to advise. In the peculiarly delicate situation in which I stand, I must be as explicit as possible with your lordship, and therefore, relying on your secrecy, I shall state it. If it be only her Majesty's intention to go once to England for a few weeks, I am decidedly against any such plan, because I see nothing but mischief in such a proceeding. But in order to enable me to turn her aside from it, I must add that I see most plainly the necessity of your lordship giving either Lord Hutchinson or myself the assurance above alluded to; and, as a day's delay can only bring Lord Hutchinson's application to the same effect, I think the risk of her Majesty's setting out before the answer to it arrives may be lessened by my writing this letter."

It will be seen he made no mention of the handsome bribe of £50,000 a year which he was empowered to offer, and which might have had its effect. After, indeed, suppressing the character in which he had come, he with consummate art shifted the whole to the shoulders of Lord Hutchinson, informing her that "he had reason to believe that nobleman had brought over a proposition from the King," and requiring him to produce it. The other declared—for he was not allowed to see her—that he bore none; but that he would try and gather it from what Lord Liverpool had said to him; he was able to repeat the terms of Brougham's commission, with the addition, which he apologized humbly for mentioning, that the instant she landed, Government would proceed against her. Mr. Brougham—now become the Queen's agent in the matter—was commanded to decline these terms. This was at five o'clock. She instantly quitted the room, and Mr. Brougham saw her, to his surprise, driving out of the courtyard. (He forgot, however, that in his own letter he declared for her that she would only wait till five.) She set off at full speed for Calais. He sent couriers after her with letters imploring her to be cautious, but adding that he did not advise her to accept the proposition made, unless she was allowed to retain her title as Queen, with due acknowledgment from all agents abroad, etc.; in short, everything opposed to what he had under-

taken to urge. To the minister he sent off despatches "most secret," repeating the same thing, declaring that "the spirit which had guided him all through was merely to save annoyance," and talking of "the duty he owed to his client," and concluding with a declaration of sorrow for the failure of his negotiation, and of his readiness to lend his aid again, if it were renewed.

No wonder Lord Liverpool considered he had been tricked. In the recriminations that followed, he maintained that Brougham "substantially approved" the memorandum intrusted to him, and that he, and he alone, was the bearer and negotiator.\*

"It is a curious circumstance, and contributed not a little to excite the Queen's suspicions of Brougham at the time, that Lord Hutchinson's letter was in the handwriting of Brougham's brother, who had accompanied them, acting as secretary to his brother. On giving it to the Queen, Brougham told her it was an inadmissible proposition, and that she could not accept it. The moment the Queen read it she expressed the greatest indignation, and requested Brougham's opinion, who said that he certainly did not advise her Majesty to accept those conditions, at the same time her Majesty best knew her own situation, and he entreated her to consider what propositions she might accept. The Queen then said she would go immediately to England." Thus Mr. G. Bennett.

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\* See the "queries and answers," dated the 10th of June, "Life of Lord Liverpool," vol. iii. p. 59. Lord Hutchinson's naïve bewilderment at the part he had been made to play is well shown in his communication to Lord Liverpool: "I learnt, to my great surprise, from Mr. Brougham, but not until late last night, that he had made a communication to your lordship through Mr. Fonblanque, dated the 3rd inst. When Mr. Brougham left me yesterday morning at eleven o'clock to go to the Queen, he did not appear to be at all aware that her Majesty meant to act in the precipitate manner she had done. His first letter (marked No. 1) therefore came upon me quite unexpectedly. I did not exactly comprehend the meaning of it. I thought his object was that I should write something that might pacify the mind of the Queen for the moment, and enable us both to gain time. I was induced to make my last proposition by a private hint from Mr. Brougham; she did not receive it until she had left St. Omer, but it was forwarded to her to Calais, and I understand that she received it when she was on board the packet ready to sail for England. I am now to observe to you that in the whole of this negotiation, Mr. Brougham, as far as my judgment enables me to go, does not appear to have possessed the smallest degree of power, weight, or authority over the mind of the Queen. To speak to you in confidence, I think that her violence and determination subdued him, and that he failed in making the slightest impression upon her. He may be, and I dare say has been, most sincere; but as for influence, if it did ever exist, there certainly was no appearance of it on the present occasion."



We hurry after the excited Queen posting along the high road to Calais, which she reached that night, and then went on board the packet. This precipitation was owing to the fear that the means might be found to detain her. She had dismissed her strange suite of Italians, including the whiskered Bergami, and was now to trust herself to English service. The alderman was busy sending off despatches by special boat, to prepare his wife for the august visitor who had agreed to accept their hospitality at South Audley Street. The English consul sent off a courier with the alarming news.

She did not start till the following morning, reaching Dover about noon, where she was exhilarated by the honor of a royal salute—quite unexpected—thundering out from the castle. The commandant, having no instructions to the contrary, felt himself bound to follow the usual course. The whole town lined the shores, and though the tide did not allow the vessel to enter the harbor, the intrepid lady insisted on entering a small boat and getting ashore. Now began those extraordinary ovations and progresses which were to mark her course and delight her soul. Amid roars and acclamations she walked through Snargate Street, arrayed in the broad hat and pelisse which were to be so familiar to the public. Wright's Hotel had the honor of receiving her, and from this house she departed in the evening, the crowd drawing her carriage. At Canterbury there were torches lit, fresh shouting, and addresses. She stayed the night, and next day proceeded by Gravesend to London; the singular feature being, that as she drew near the metropolis, her progress became a vast cavalcade, from the number of mounted persons who joined her. She did not reach town till seven o'clock, when the tremendous acclamations as she passed over Westminster Bridge conveyed to the House of Commons and his Majesty's ministers the news of her arrival. She passed by Charing Cross to South Audley Street—the streets almost impassable, every window filled with eager faces and waving handkerchiefs. In short, scenes that were to be repeated *ad nauseam* for the next few months.

To the genuine heroine this sort of exhibition is odious. Mr. Grenville, who rode out to Greenwich to meet her, describes the scene. Carriages, carts, and horsemen followed, preceded, and surrounded her coach all the way. The alderman was seated in the place of honor, while the Duke of Hamilton's sister "sat backwards." This undignified proceeding caused the King to express himself with oaths and other unbecoming language. As she passed White's Club, she turned and smiled to the members in the window

Arrived at Audley Street, she appeared on the balcony, to the delight of the surging mob, who celebrated her arrival by breaking the windows of obnoxious persons, such as Lords Sidmouth and Castlereagh, as well as Lady Hertford's in Manchester Square, filling the air even with yells of "To Carlton House!" where soldiers had to be posted. Citizens in her neighborhood were required to illuminate. This was but the inauguration of a period of confusion and disorder, which lasted till the trial was over. But on news of her coming the ministers had made up their minds. Not an instant was lost in taking action.

The following day the much-talked of "green bag," a portentous receptacle supposed to be filled with horrifying evidence of culpable behavior, was solemnly carried down to Parliament, and the question whether it was to be opened, and its unsavory contents emptied, was to exercise the Houses for some time. A message from the King invited the House of Lords to consider those papers with all "serious attention." A Secret Committee was named. To the House of Commons the Queen addressed her message, skilfully drawn up, in which she declared that she had been induced to return, in consequence of the measures pursued against her honor and peace by secret agents abroad, to defend her character. She added solemnly that she was ready to meet her accusers openly, and protested against any "secret tribunal," and their examination of documents "privately prepared by adversaries, a proceeding unknown to the laws of the land." The insulting measures taken against her should only have been attempted after trial and conviction.

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Brougham vehemently stood forward in the capacity of her champion, and vindicated his own recent proceedings. The impression on all sides, and it is pleasing to find that such good sense leavened that great assembly, was that everything should be done to arrange matters, and avoid touching the portentous green bag. Mr. Wilberforce carried all with him in proposing an adjournment for the purpose of trying an accommodation. The Queen, no doubt yielding to good advice, having moved to Lady Anne Hamilton's house in Portman Square, on the evening of the 9th informed Lord Liverpool that she was willing to receive any proposal.

"It was the general opinion of ministers," says Mr. Grey-Bennett, who was well acquainted with everything connected with the Queen's case, "that she would not come to England, but accept

the terms proposed. The King, however, said he knew her better than they did, and come she would; and so it turned out, for the intelligence of her having reached Dover arrived at the very moment when the Duke of Wellington was riding in the Park with Lady Jersey, arguing the point with her and persisting that she could not come. Lord Hutchinson had been sent out by the Government to treat with her, but had no written instructions. The proposition was taken by Brougham, who consented to be the official bearer of it, though he said he should not advise her to accept it. He and Lord Hutchinson left town together in the same chaise, crossed the sea in the same packet, and arrived at St. Omer together, where they found the Queen, who had come by slow journeys from Geneva. Brougham told me he had the greatest difficulty to persuade her to cross the Alps, as he wished her to be near England to carry on the negotiation, and though he had the Government proposals in his pocket since the month of April, he kept them to be presented in person, for he knew that when she received them she would set off instantaneously to return to England, and he was in hopes to prevent that decisive step being taken on a sudden and without reflection. The Queen, on her approach towards home, had written to Lord Liverpool to request to be informed what residence had been prepared for her, and to Lord Melville to demand a yacht to bring her over. The letter to Lord Liverpool was dated Villeneuve le Roi, the 29th of May, in which she announced her intention of coming to England on Saturday, the 3rd of June. The letter to Lord Melville was written by Lady Anne Hamilton, and bears the same date. Lord Melville answered it on the 1st of June, and stated that, as the King was not in town, he could not take his commands about sending a yacht."



## CHAPTER II.

1820.

THE battle was commenced in the House of Commons; Brougham from the outset intrepidly contesting every inch of ground. It was on June 6th that his Majesty sent this message to the House of Lords, commending his Queen to be dealt with by them, the first instance of the kind since the precedent of King Henry VIII.

“[George R.]

“The King thinks it necessary, in consequence of the arrival of the Queen, to communicate to the House of Lords certain papers respecting the conduct of her Majesty since her departure from this kingdom, which he recommends to the immediate and serious attention of this House.

“The King has felt the most anxious desire to avert the necessity of disclosures and discussions, which must be as painful to his people as they can be to himself; but the step now taken by the Queen leaves him no alternative.

“The King has the fullest confidence that, in consequence of this communication, the House of Lords will adopt that course of proceeding which the justice of the case and the honor and dignity of his Majesty’s crown may require.

“GEORGE R.”

It was then that Brougham, no doubt alarmed at the prospect of her learning the truth from others, confided to her that he had brought to Calais propositions from the King. The effect of this revelation on a woman who was about making propositions herself may be conceived; and her distrust and suspicion of her advocate from that moment were excessive. She even thought of dismissing him.

It was felt, however, that before further measures were taken, something might be attempted in the way of compromise. It is to the credit of the Queen that the first offer came from her. This

seems to have been prompted by Mr. Brougham. After Mr. Canning's speech she thought he would be found most suitable, intending to send a message to him with her odd proposal, that he should arrange an interview between her and the King. He naturally said it was not to be thought of, unless, indeed, "she threw herself upon his mercy." She answered haughtily that she would never ask mercy from him; but that, like any other peeress, she was entitled to ask an audience. She then asked Mr. Brougham what mode he would recommend of approaching his Majesty.

The minister had pointed out in the debate in the House of Commons, that no renunciation of her royal prerogative or privileges was required; she was merely to abstain from using them. This declaration was acknowledged in a cordial spirit, and she seemed inclined to agree on this basis, suggesting that some one of position should be named to prescribe the place of residence and terms generally. It was this that suggested to Mr. Wilberforce the hope of arrangement, for, as he said, the claim as to the Liturgy was only urged as a recognition, and if this could be secured by other means, the end could be gained. Accordingly, the Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh met the Queen's advocates. After many discussions, the important concessions were made that "official announcement of her position" was to be given to the various Courts; she was to leave in a King's ship; an address of congratulation from both Houses to her and the King to be passed; in short, a *pont d'or* as satisfactory as could be desired. But these were declined as insufficient, and the demand still pressed that her name should be restored to the Liturgy. The matter was therefore broken off.

The excellent Wilberforce incurred much odium for his share in the transactions that followed. He was eager that she should make concessions and resign the claim "to be prayed for." He accordingly proposed that the Houses should "address" her to this effect. He thus had the air of deserting the popular side.

The secret history of this transaction is that he had received a letter from her, "bad in composition, vulgar and foolish," in which she wondered how "a religious man" could propose such a thing! Brougham remonstrated with her on this foolish step, and she owned to him that she "had got into a scrape." He then engaged to soothe Wilberforce and get him to do something. She then wrote a letter, and in clear terms threw herself upon the House, engaging to comply with their desires. And it is infinitely to his honor that, when the matter fell through, and he was pursued with obloquy for trying

to make her compromise her cause, he should never have vindicated himself by producing this authorization.

Accordingly, on June 22nd, the motion was proposed and carried, with the approbation of ministers. Four delegated members waited on her, having to run the gauntlet of an incensed mob, who were expecting them in front of her residence. The Queen received them "sternly and haughtily," but declined to comply, on the ground that whether she would accept any proposed measure or not was to be decided by her own feelings and conscience.

Mr. Brougham tells that he had no part in this refusal, and that he had not even seen her reply, which was drawn up by Lushington or her solicitor. Indeed, he adds that he had assured Mr. Wilberforce "she will accede, I pledge myself." He was even anxious she should do so. The deputies were received by an enormous crowd in the most opprobrious fashion, saluted with cries of "rogues, villains, hypocrites, Cantwells." They and their carriages were spat on, and they were with difficulty saved from violence. When it was known that the Queen had refused, the shouts might have been heard at Charing Cross.\*

It would almost seem that the fate of the Queen was really determined by the decision taken on this occasion. She herself was ready to adopt whatever course would be thought the most prudent. All her friends, however, including Brougham, Grey-Bennett, and others, declined to advise her, telling her that she knew her own case best, and what truth there was in the charges—a rather artful suggestion, if they thought that the agitation was to be profitable.

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\* MS. "Diary," Grey-Bennet. It seems probable that her adviser was accountable for this, though he affects to lay the blame upon her *camarilla*. But Mr. Wilberforce says that he had "every reason to believe she would have acquiesced, but for circumstances which I had rather state to you in person than by letter." "It was plain," says Mr. Brougham, "that they had nothing like full powers from the King. Nor, indeed, had we from the Queen; for, upon some alarm being given her by the meddling folks whom she saw, she complained that she was not informed of the whole of the negotiation." Acting under the influence of Lady Anne Hamilton, one of her ladies, she sent letters to the Speaker, or rather formal messages, beginning "Caroline R.," "which Lady Anne's brother, Lord Archibald (our stanch supporter) and myself were never aware of till an hour before they were [to be] read by the Speaker." His behavior was inconsistent with this theory. There was, however, a disturbing element, of which account must be taken, namely, the King's determination to concede nothing that would favor a solution. The Chancellor declared that he was determined to get other ministers, if the present ones would not aid him in getting rid of his Queen.



Alderman Wood was seen in the House of Commons going about and canvassing for opinions.\* Had there been one thoroughly disinterested capable adviser, he would have certainly influenced her, and the disastrous issue might have been avoided.

The excitement of "the mob," as it was fashionable to call the lower classes of her supporters, grew to be a nuisance, and became a serious trouble to those who did not share their feelings. The Chancellor, changing horses on his way to the country, was saluted with yells of "Long live the Queen!" and was in other ways marked out for annoyance. When a suitable house was being selected for the Queen—for the Government had agreed to find her one—her friends with some malice pitched on one in Hamilton Place, next door to the Chancellor's. He appealed, almost in an agony, to Lord Liverpool, and declared that if the project was persisted in he would give up, not merely his house, but his office. When they, of course, declined to purchase this mansion, the Queen's friends, still bent on harassing him, set a subscription afoot to secure it; and the Chancellor could see no other way to save himself from this persecution than to buy it himself. He disposed of it, however, again without loss. More serious ground for apprehension was in the behavior of a battalion of the Guards—the 3rd—which at this unfortunate moment became mutinous. The Queen's friends insisted that this was owing to their sympathies with her; while the royal party attributed it to the harsh orders of the Duke of Gloucester, their colonel, who had harassed them with new severe regulations, the roll being called four times a day. This made them mutinous. They were ordered out of town next day to Portsmouth.

"But," says Mr. Grey-Bennett, "the story soon got wind, and in the evening some thousands of persons assembled opposite to the barracks in the King's Mews, Charing Cross, shouting 'Queen forever!' and calling to the soldiers to do the same. The people made every coachman and footman of the carriages passing by take off their hats to the barracks in honor of the soldiers; and there was evidently a very bad feeling among them. I mixed in the crowd coming up from the House of Commons, and heard many unpleasant observations. The Life Guards at last came, and the people dispersed; but I believe one or two people were wounded. The 3rd Guards on the march to Portsmouth behaved in a most disorderly manner. My neighbor, Sir Thomas Williams, told me that some

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\* MS. "Diary," Grey-Bennett.

were quartered at Collen, near his house, and that he went towards the village in the evening, and heard them shouting 'Queen forever!' and I have been told the same took place at Kingston, where they drank the health of all the popular leaders in the alehouses where they were billeted. As usual, all this was denied by the Government and the officers; but it is true, and no doubt a strong feeling of compassion for the Queen existed in the minds of the soldiery. Even the 10th Hussars, the King's Own Regiment, showed it, and a person of credit told me he walked into the Toy Tavern, Hampton Court, where the regiment was quartered, and passing by the tap saw twelve or fourteen soldiers sitting in it, where, one of them taking up a pot of porter said, 'Come, lads, the Queen!' when they all rose and drank her health." \*

No wonder that the witty Luttrell declared that "the extinguisher was taking fire."

It must be said that whatever hesitation Mr. Brougham had shown, he from this moment threw himself heart and soul into her cause, conducting it in the most intrepid as well as masterly manner, showing tact, resource, and courage and ability of the most extraordinary kind. Nor did his client owe less to the calmer virtues of his coadjutor Denman, whose character and talents were no less valuable. The episodes that followed were of the most stirring character. There was seen her advocate warning and even threatening the House of Lords, and yet with infinite adroitness keeping within due bounds.†

The Chancellor indeed contrived ingeniously to obstruct the popu-

\* "The Commander-in-Chief," wrote the Duke of Wellington, 'has felt great uneasiness respecting the Coldstream Guards, and was afraid of again being surprised by a mutiny.' He also heard 'of the cry of disaffection of "The Queen" being raised on the march.' He did not know whether there was foundation for this; but Mr. Greville was assured by Lord Worcester that he heard the soldiers utter it."—"Despat. Cor. and Mem.," i. 127; Greville, i. 30.

† Brougham, however, all through made a distinction between the Queen and the woman, and he wisely never identified himself with the *camarilla*. We find him cautioning the ministers, through Mr. Arbuthnot, as to the payment of witness, counsel, etc., which he said should be done by responsible persons, who should see that the proper parties received it. He hinted that she was being "plundered by Wood and others," who he was afraid would get hold of this Government allowance. He entreated that this communication should not transpire. No wonder Mr. Arbuthnot remarked upon "the extraordinary footing he must be on with his client."—"Life of Lord Liverpool," iii. 93.

lar cause as much as he could. For when the Queen sent to him to say she would come in person to present her petition, he answered that she must apply to the House for leave. When she asked him to give this message to the House, he answered that the House only received messages from the King. Then she asked him to present her petition, which he declined. "I am resolved not to be employed in any way by this lady," he wrote. "They must get another Chancellor," he added, "if he should be required to do work of that kind." But he put this yet more strongly. Those near him, when he was being harassed by Brougham's fierce attacks, heard him muttering that he "would be damned if he would act as Chancellor if such things were permitted."

One of the most interesting incidents in this exciting episode was the behavior of Mr. Canning, which offered a pleasing instance of constancy and loyalty. It was a surprise to hear one of the prosecuting ministry standing forth in praise of the accused, though "with great ingenuity he let out all the private communications made by Brougham in the preceding summer, and pushed the argument very hard. A most remarkable passage in his speech was his protesting he would not be an accuser of the Queen, and that his respect and affection remained undiminished, and that she was the grace and ornament of every society. As may be imagined, these expressions created the greatest astonishment in the House, and I never saw Castlereagh so agitated. It is said that he complained loudly of it, declaring that he considered Canning to be a partner to all their proceedings."

In private also he expressed the same opinions: "Brougham has had his game, too. . . . He dreaded compromise. He thought he saw how it might be effected. He barred that course by offering mediation. He thus got the thing into his own hands, and, having got it there, he let it languish till success was hopeless."\*

Though he spoke on the ministerial side he gave her the highest and warmest praise: "There was no society in Europe," he said, "of which she would not be the grace, life, and ornament. The honorable gentleman," said Mr. Canning, "called upon the Government to come forward frankly, and at once, as her Majesty's accusers. I for one," continued he, "will never, so help me God, place myself in the situation of her accuser." He concluded with declaring that he should take no further share in the deliberations on the

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\* Grey-Bennett, "Diary."



subject. This announcement he proceeded to put into practice forthwith.\*

It was not surprising that this chivalrous man should feel his position untenable, and when Mr. Wilberforce's compromise was rejected he waited on the King and placed himself at his disposal. The following is the account of the interview sent to a friend, the real names being originally disguised as "Marcus," "Mars," "The Magdalen," etc. He explained that while he approved of all the steps up to the present, he could not join in any further proceedings owing to the old intimacy and the confidence she had placed in him. He submitted whether it was then desirable that he should remain in the ministry; though he did not offer his resignation.

"The King expressed his strong sense of the manly proceeding of Mr. Canning on this occasion, and his especial satisfaction at his having come at once to him with this communication, instead of conveying it through a third person. He acquiesced with per-

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\* "Let any one put this question to himself," he wrote from abroad, "Do you think we could get the Duke of York off, as we did in 1809, after such a bill as this will be, when it ceases to be a bill of divorce, had been enacted?" I would defy you to do so; and, after all, without the clause of divorce, of what value is the bill, supposing it passed into a law, to the King? Would he have given sixpence for it originally in that state? Not he. But having tasted the sweets of discussion, he may be now willing to compromise for getting anything through, so as not to appear to come out of court, as in fact he does, completely defeated. But this is precisely the mortification from which we, his servants, ought to have saved him. We ought to have said from the beginning: "Sir, divorce is impossible." "What, if she comes, if she braves, if she insults?" etc. "Yes, Sir, in any case, divorce is impossible. Other things may be tried, other expedients may be resorted to; but divorce, we tell you again, is impossible. It can never be." These were sagacious warnings.

"Had we stuck to this, and this, I say, was our opinion, in February (mine always, now more than it was then—not more than it is now), depend upon it he would have discarded Leach, and played us fair. But, there were conferences as well as minutes, and I suspect the unwritten counteracted the written communications. And see the fruits!—a Government brought into contempt and detestation; a kingdom thrown into such ferment and convulsion, as no other kingdom or government ever recovered from without a revolution; but I hope we shall.

"I would have pledged my life to settle the whole matter last summer, or at any time before the fatal measure of the Liturgy. I would have undertaken it even after, though with diminished confidence of success. But the Government was not prepared to pursue their own course by any means but those which were indicated to them; and these indications came from a quarter which wished for extremities, as the way of getting at what they are now enjoying!"

fect cordiality and good humor in the adoption by him of the line of proceeding which he had announced with respect to the Queen's affairs, said it was what he had expected, but plainly intimated at the same time his impression that Mr. Canning had not told all his reasons for declining to take a share in the hostile proceedings against the Queen. With respect to the question of retirement, as it affected the general interest of the King's service, the latter declared that it was full of difficulty, and that he should wish to have a few hours for the consideration of it before he returned a final answer to Mr. Canning's communication. After a conversation of more than an hour in the most friendly tone, they shook hands at parting, and the King again assured him of his entire approval of his conduct; that whatever might be the King's decision upon this matter, whether to adopt his advice with respect to his retirement or not, he should never cease to feel the sincerest regard for Mr. Canning. He said further, that if ever he should hear (as he probably might) reflections thrown out against him for stopping short after having gone so far in the proceedings against the Queen, he should uniformly declare that Mr. Canning had acted in the most manly, and honorable, and gentlemanlike manner.

“The next day he was informed that he must remain and follow what course he pleased as to the Queen; and further, might assign the King's pleasure as the reason for his remaining. This showed what favor he enjoyed. In a fortnight he was addressing the most earnest remonstrances to Lord Liverpool, over whom he exercised extraordinary influence against the divorce. His arguments seem unanswerable, the main one being that the consequence of such a clause would alarm every one, and shipwreck the bill. All through the proceedings he gave warning in this sense, appealing with justice to their own Cabinet addresses to the King, in which this very step was deprecated with forcible arguments. But his strongest point was his appeal to the Duke of York's case. For if the divorce were dropped, he argued, it became a question of private morality unworthy the investigation of the House; the very argument so vehemently pressed against the Opposition when it was the interest of the Court that the Duke's ‘green bag’ should not be opened. Again and again he prophesied, ‘The bill will not pass,’ and he advised withdrawing it frankly in the Upper House—a course which Lord Liverpool later was to adopt. He felt, however, the awkwardness of his situation, and withdrew from the scene, remaining abroad till the matter terminated.”

On the amiable Denman, who seems to have viewed the whole through an atmosphere of romance, the Queen and her trials had left an impression of deep pity and sympathy.

He was looking on when she entered London on that eventful day. Her equipage, he says, was mean and miserable. On the box of one carriage was a man with a turban, in the others Italians, "with enormous moustachios"—a rather unusual spectacle, and always considered "outlandish." There was scarcely a well-dressed person in the crowd, while among the few on horseback he recognized a sheriff's broker, and his own "bankrupt cousin." A touch of character that a dramatist would relish was to be noted in the remarks made by husband and wife of each other on this occasion. The King said indignantly, "That beast Wood sat by the Queen's side!" This being reported to the Queen, she said, "That was very kind of him!" "She pertinaciously," says Denman, "cherished the hope of a reconciliation, and related with pride a compliment twenty years old, paid her by the Prince, when speaking handsomely of a bride, he had declared, 'she was just like the Princess of Wales.' She might well treasure up these meagre testimonials: they had been few. She looked at me," he goes on, "with uncommon earnestness, and said, 'I know the man. Well, mark what I say, we shall be good friends before we die.' Her bearing," he says, "as she appeared on the balcony was most noble and attractive, firm and graceful, with a fixed courage in her eye. She kept repeating again and again, 'If he wished me to stay abroad, why not leave me in peace? So here I am.'"

Almost to the last, however, the Queen had a rooted distrust of her advocate, Brougham, and suspected he had acted a double part. She made the significant declaration, "Had he come over to me at Geneva, I had been spared all this." And on the very eve of the trial she thought seriously of dismissing him. It does, indeed, seem that while Denman was the advocate of her cause, Brougham merely considered himself as "holding a brief," as it were, "instructed by an attorney." Even when he left her on her arrival, she said, "He is afraid."

In the interval between the debates in the Houses and the trial, the Queen removed to Brandenburgh House, not long before the residence of a rather eccentric lady, the Margravine of Anspach—Lady Craven—whose matrimonial relations had also been of a disturbed character. This was a large villa at Hammersmith, on the edge of the Thames, and hither she removed in the first week of



August. The owner could scarcely have congratulated himself on his new tenant, for from that hour the house was almost daily invaded by large mobs in charge of addresses, who spread themselves over the flowers, coming up to the windows, and freely entering the drawing-rooms and other portions of the premises. These testimonials of attachment were sent from all parts of the kingdom, and the list is certainly an extraordinary one; but there was a sad loss of dignity incurred from the familiarity of the proceedings, and the proletarian character of this sort of popularity. The poor lady, however, never flagged in the resolute energy of her part, receiving all comers with unfailing enthusiasm, and welcoming all "the greasy rogues" that arrived "in their thousands."

Quiet retirement with an air of suffering would have been far more politic. As it was, all this afforded an opening which those opposed to her were not slow to turn to account, and a newspaper which had been recently established—the *John Bull*,\* whose chief

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\* So successful was this journal that the editor was receiving £2000 a year. Its personality may be gathered from this specimen—"The Visit of Mrs. Muggins to Brandenburgh House."

Have you been to Brandenburgh, heigh, ma'am, ho, ma'am?

Have you been to Brandenburgh, ho?—

Oh yes, I have been, ma'am, to visit the Queen, ma'am,

With the rest of the gallantee show, show—

With the rest of the gallantee show.

And who were the company, heigh, ma'am, ho, ma'am?

Who were the company, ho?—

We happened to drop in with gemmen from Wapping,

And ladies from Blowbladder Row, row—

Ladies from Blowbladder Row.

What saw you at Brandenburgh, heigh, ma'am, ho, ma'am?

What saw you at Brandenburgh, ho?—

We saw a great dame, with a face red as flame,

And a character spotless as snow, snow—

A character spotless as snow.

And who were attending her, heigh, ma'am, ho, ma'am?

Who were attending her, ho?—

Lord Hood for a man—for a maid Lady Anne,

And Alderman Wood for a beau, beau—

Alderman Wood for a beau, etc.

Lord Byron wrote an epigram. The fire never slackened an instant; wit, or coarse *persiflage*, was poured upon her: as when the braziers of London presented their address, declaring that they would "find more brass than they carried." And it was stated that these bitter and unscrupulous attacks had



*raison d'être* was to expose her failings—was now rendering, under the clever direction of Theodore Hook, most valuable aid to Government.

The incidents of this extraordinary trial were, as it may be conceived, full of a dramatic interest; and conspicuous above all were the singular courage and resolution displayed by the chief personage concerned. Next to her, all interest was drawn by the matchless exertions of Brougham, whose conduct of the case and masterly exposure of the witnesses were beyond all praise.\*

The interval between this proceeding and the trial was filled up with processions, shoutings, etc., which her Majesty heartily encouraged. On the other side, the witnesses—the Italian herd—were sent for, and arrived. Public curiosity was much exercised by the preparations for their reception. There was something revolting in seeing the large space next Westminster Bridge being built in and barricaded, so that there could be no approach save from the river. The houses of the officers of the House of Lords were devoted to their accommodation, while the place was regularly victualled, furniture being secretly introduced; walls were run up to prevent them being seen as they took exercise; and gunboats on the river and a military force on the land side strictly guarded them: † while the royal cooks were installed. By the 12th several boatloads of witnesses were landed at the stairs, and the whole band was finally mustered by the 14th of August. “About this building, in which they were immured from August until November,” says Lord Albemarle in his agreeable recollections, “the London mob would hover like a cat round the cage of a canary.” The Italians, however, were not distressed at their confinement; enjoying the good fare provided for them, and amusing themselves with their national dances.

When the day of the trial drew near, the Queen came to town, having at last selected a house by Lady Francis's in St. James's

the effect intended, viz., of frightening away any of the higher and more respectable classes who were inclined to support the Queen.

\* That unclean band he, with delightful irony, described to the House. He apologized for “seeking” to elude a bill “supported by so respectable a body of witnesses as those assembled in Cotton Garden. Judging from their exterior,” said he, “they must be like those persons with whom your lordships are in the habit of associating. They must doubtless be seized in fee-simple of those decent habiliments—persons who would regale themselves at their own expense, live in separate apartments, have full powers of locomotion, and require no other escort than their attendant *lacquais de place*.”

† Lord Albemarle, “Fifty Years of my Life,” ii. 123.

Square, adjoining Lord Castlereagh's, who was too intrepid a man to be affected, as was the Lord Chancellor, by such a neighbor.\*

On the morning of August 17th, the day when the trial really began, and the Queen was to attend, the whole of London was in a ferment, and Westminster a network of barricades. Enormous bodies of soldiers and police were at every corner, while the whole space between St. James's Square and the Houses of Parliament was crammed with people from six o'clock in the morning.

The peers began to arrive betimes, while the Chancellor came at the singularly early hour of eight. Every window and housetop was covered with spectators. The Duke of York arrived on horseback, the Duke of Wellington being hissed and groaned at.† The

\* The bill was as follows:

"An Act, entitled 'An Act for depriving Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, Queen of Great Britain, of and from the style and title of Queen of these realms, and of and from the rights, prerogatives, and immunities now belonging to her as Queen Consort.'

"Whereas in the year 1814, her Majesty Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, then Princess of Wales, but now Queen of England, being at the Court of Milan, engaged in her service one Bartholomo Pergami, otherwise Bartholomo Bergami, a foreigner of low situation in life, and afterwards the most unbecoming and indecent familiarities took place between her Royal Highness and the said Bartholomo; and her Royal Highness not only advanced him to a high situation in her household, but received also many of his relatives into her service in inferior and other situations, and bestowed on him, the said Bartholomo, various marks of distinction and favor, and took upon herself to confer upon him the Order of Knighthood, and pretended to institute an Order of Knighthood, without the authority of your Majesty, and conducted herself both in public and in private in various places, with indecent and offensive familiarities and freedom towards the said Bartholomo, and carried on with him a disgraceful, licentious, and adulterous intercourse, to the great scandal of your Majesty's royal family, and to the dishonor of the kingdom, and manifested a most scandalous, disgraceful, and vicious conduct towards the said Bartholomo. We, therefore, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, humbly pray your Majesty that it may be enacted, and be it therefore enacted, that from and after the passing of this Act, the said Caroline Amelia Elizabeth be wholly deprived of and from the style and title of Queen of these realms, and of and from the rights, prerogatives, privileges, and immunities now belonging to her as Queen Consort, and that she shall and may be, from and after the passing of this Act, forever displaced from, and be utterly incapable of, exercising or enjoying the same, and that the said marriage between his Majesty the King and the Queen be, and the same is hereby wholly dissolved and annulled, to all intents and purposes."

† The Duke, however, was getting pretty well accustomed to the attentions of the mob, and thoroughly despised the manifestation either of applause or dislike. He would ride to and from the House, where he took a prominent



Duke of Sussex was received rapturously. The roar of voices all along the route gave notice of the procession, for such it was, which was to be the daily programme for some time to come, which swelled into shouts as the carriage, drawn by six horses, with servants in the royal liveries of scarlet and gold with purple velvet caps and facings, came into view. Behind followed other carriages, containing Sir William Gell and Mr. Keppel Craven, who, though they might have left her service in some disgust at her conduct, were chivalrous enough to return to it, to show their belief in her innocence of more serious charges. This to an impartial mind would not be without weight. Along the route the soldiers on duty were posted, and the multitude watched those stationed at Carlton House with feverish anxiety, to see whether they would present arms. They did so, to the delight and even rapture of the mob, who shook hands with them, while some of the women embraced them. The cries were all of the same affectionate character. "God bless your Majesty!" "We'll give our blood for you!" "The Queen or death!" "May you overcome your enemies!" Men were seen carrying green bags at the end of long poles. At Westminster Lord Albemarle, who was present, graphically describes the scene, and the appearance of the chief actress.

"Denman was addressing the House on the morning of the 18th, when a confused sound of drums, trumpets, and human voices announced the approach of the Queen. Beams a foot square had been thrown across the street between St. Margaret's Church and the Court of King's Bench; but this barrier her Majesty's admirers dashed through with as much ease as if they had been formed of reeds, and accompanied her Majesty to the entrance of the House. The peers rose as the Queen entered, and remained standing until she took her seat in a crimson and gilt chair, immediately in front of her counsel. Her appearance was anything but prepossessing. She wore a black dress with a high ruff, an unbecoming gypsy hat with a huge bow in front, the whole surmounted with a plume of ostrich-

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part against the Queen. As the people would press on his horse, shouting out to his face, "No foul play, my lord! The Queen forever!" he would answer in his own characteristic style, "Yes, yes, yes." One of the stories ran, that he added good-humoredly, "And may all your wives be like her." Long after the fickle crowd had forgotten the services of Waterloo, and broken his windows, he was attended home by a mob, shouting in uproarious applause, and cheering him all the way. But as he entered he pointed significantly to his windows, then decorated with the iron shutters, never opened till the day of his death. A finely contemptuous rebuke.

feathers. Nature had given her light hair, blue eyes, a fair complexion, and a good-humored expression of countenance; but these characteristics were marred by painted eyebrows, and by a black wig with a profusion of curls, which overshadowed her cheeks, and gave a bold, defiant air to her features.\*

Almost the most dramatic incident was the appearance of the notorious "Majocchi," of *Non mi ricordo* memory. When he came forward this strange incident occurred. "The Queen," says one who witnessed the scene, "stood up close to him and threw her veil completely back, held her body very backward, and placed both her arms in her sides. In this position she stared furiously at him. For some seconds there was a dead silence, and she screamed out 'Theodore!' in the most frantic manner, and rushed violently out of the House. I think she is insane, for her manner to-day chilled my blood."† This seems to point to what was so often said by her family and others, that there was some madness below all her eccentricities. On the evidence of this Majocchi and that of Dumont, both discharged servants—the latter her *femme de chambre*—rested the chief charges, which, as is well known, related to her behavior to Bergami, a man whom, from being her courier, she had made her chamberlain. Her proceedings in this connection raised extraordinary presumptions of guilt; yet it could be argued that the instance most insisted on, that of having her courier's and her own bed placed in a tent on the deck of a vessel, showed from the publicity of the proceedings an insane recklessness as to public opinion.

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\* The trial began on August 17th, and by September 7th the Attorney-General, the examination and cross-examination of the witnesses for the Crown being concluded, proceeded to comment on the evidence. The House adjourned to October 3rd, to give time for the defence being prepared. On the 5th Mr. Brougham's speech was concluded. On November 2nd, the debate on the second reading began, which lasted until the 6th, when there was a majority for the bill of twenty-eight; and on the third reading it was passed by a majority of nine, when it was withdrawn.

† Some declared that she said "Traditore!" And the graphic sketch of the present Lord Albemarle's father, written on the day of the occurrence, was no doubt the true version. "Some consider it proof of conscious guilt, forgetting that the Queen knew well that he was to be examined; others, an indignant protest at seeing her servant dressed up and turned into a gentleman on the next day." "I never," says her admiring counsel, Denman, "saw a human being so interesting. Her face was pale, her eyelids a little sunken, her eyes fixed on the ground, with no expression of alarm or consciousness, but with an appearance of decent distress at being made the subject of such revolting calumnies." This demeanor, however, would naturally have been the result of a reaction after the outburst of the preceding day.

On the part of the prosecution, it was insinuated that all her English suite had left her within a few months. This included Mr. St. Leger, Sir W. Gell, Mr. Craven, and Lady Charlotte Lindsay. Satisfactory reasons were given by all these persons for their retirement. On the other hand, there was a long roll of Italian testimony coming from persons of the highest rank in her favor—secured, indeed, too late for the trial.\*

The re-entry into her service, when the trial came on, of Sir W. Gell and Mr. Keppel Craven, also of Lord and Lady Llandaff, was certainly evidence in her favor. But then it was urged, against their testimony in the witness-box, that they had been with her but a few months, and previous to her extravagance. There can be no doubt that Bergami was of a good family. His father was a physician, in possession of a good property, lands, and houses, which had got involved and had to be sold, on which his son enlisted in an hussar regiment. It is remarkable, too, that his whole family—mother, brothers, sisters, cousins, to the number of eight or nine—were established in this strange woman's service.

But what taints the whole proceeding was the mode—almost unavoidable under the circumstances—in which the evidence was secured. When it was known that all who could tell anything or find out anything would be taken to England, paid for their time and services; that the Hanoverian minister, Baron Ompteda, had eagerly taken on himself the duty of “ferreting out” evidence; that there was an Italian lawyer, Vimercati, employed to visit all “likely” persons, employing Italians to bring forward the diffident or reluctant; when it was known, in short, that the “King of England” desired aid, who could doubt that a premium was set on falsehood and exaggeration?

But still the course of her admitted proceedings—her extraordinary ill-regulated defiance of public opinion, her reckless patronage of those she liked, her taste for associating with the lowest, and her instinctive repulsion to those who were respectable and decorous—all this, carried on in a distant land, warranted the evil opinion held of her, and made her accountable for it. The public, not having time or inclination to appraise nice distinctions, for its own convenience holds a particular sort of conduct to be significant of evil,

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\* The most complete view of the investigation will be found in Wilks's “Memoirs,” where a fair analysis of the charges with reference to the evidence by which it is supported, and the reply, are set out.



throwing the onus of disproof on those who exhibit such behavior. Much of this was owing to the consciousness that she was surrounded by spies, proved by the fact that at Baden an official of the Court was engaged in taking notes of her proceedings, which at the trial, by direction of the Grand Duke, he declined to produce. This seemed mysterious, and the conclusion was that their record would have damaged the prosecutor's case. But Miss Wynne, the agreeable diarist, was told by Lord Redesdale that at Baden, when a *partie de chasse* had been made for her, she appeared "with a half pumpkin on her head," to the amazement of the Grand Duke. She explained that it was the coolest sort of *coiffure*! If the spy-diarist had this fact upon his notes, it is needless to say that it would have shown she was scarcely accountable for her actions.

The intrepid Brougham, as we have said, confronted this hired miscellany, though with an interpreter interposed. One of his *coups* was masterly. He learned by the merest accident that Rastelli, one of the King's witnesses, had been allowed to go away, and instantly turned it to profit, by desiring to have him recalled to clear up some point. It will be seen what could be made of this. For the tribunal he was addressing he made no secret of his contempt, crushing interruptions with a fierce sardonic tone, that made the offender appeal for protection to the House. The very interpreter he would address with studious politeness as "Marquis"—he had been a teacher—affecting to put him on a level with the noble persons round him. It was thought a great hardship that he had been compelled to declare whether he would call witnesses before being allowed to open his case—as he desired to conduct his case in his own way, to make his speech so as to neutralize the admirable one made by the comparatively obscure Williams, who had admirably summed up the evidence for the prosecution. The Attorney-General was considered to have made but a weak display. The Chancellor, however, had insisted on his announcing the course he had decided on. By the adjournment for three weeks, the startling evidence had come to circulate, without antidote and uncontradicted. Mr. Greville's comments express happily enough the view of an ordinary observer of the day.

"There is no one more violent than Lord Lauderdale,\* and

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\* In the course of the trial, in order to show that the Queen had associated in Italy with ladies of good character, it was stated that a Countess T— frequented her society at Florence. On cross-examination it came out that the Countess spoke a provincial dialect, anything but the purest Tuscan, whence

neither the Attorney-General nor the Solicitor-General can act with greater zeal than he does in support of the bill. Lord Liverpool is a model of fairness, impartiality, and candor. The Chancellor is equally impartial, and as he decides personally all disputes on legal points which are referred to the House, his fairness has been conspicuous in having generally decided in favor of the Queen's counsel."

The struggle being vital, no one was to be spared, and the strokes at the King were of the most unsparing personality. In his splendid speech—the peroration of which he had written again and again—Mr. S. Percival suggested to him the happy *à propos*, asking who was the secret instigator—the airy, unsubstantial being who was behind—he wished to encounter—

This shape—

If shape it could be called—that shape had none

Distinguishable in member, joint or limb. What seemed its head

The likeness of a kingly crown had on.

This Pythian dart—piercing where the King was most sensitive—was never forgiven, though his Majesty long after said that Brougham had only done his duty. But Denman carried this license of quotation beyond decent limits. Dr. Parr, who had ardently taken up the Queen's case, had bidden Denman look into Bayle's Dictionary for suitable classical allusions, under such headings as Julia, Judith—and the name of Octavia, the wife of Nero, at once flashed upon the counsel, and, as he tells us, he determined to make her his heroine, of course elaborating the parallel. In the classical story is given a retort by the "honest chambermaid" not fit for ears polite, which he determined to use, meaning to apply it to Majocchi. No one can doubt Denman's truth; but the public most naturally applied the gross insinuation to the King, who was, further, dubbed Nero in the newspapers—his palace "Nero's Hotel." This, as will be seen, was also never forgiven, or, rather, cherished with undying rancor. The Duke of Clarence, to whom he made the well-

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it may be implied that she was a vulgar person, and Lord Lauderdale especially pointed out this inference, speaking himself in very broad Scotch. Upon which Lord —, a member of the Opposition, said to the witness, "Have the goodness to state whether Countess T— spoke Italian with as broad an accent as the noble Earl who has just sat down speaks with his native tongue." The late Sir Henry Holland was present when this occurred, and used to relate the anecdote.

known apostrophe, "Come forth, thou slanderer," was magnanimous enough to dismiss it from his recollection.\*

The ingenious device by which the Queen's friends actually supported the divorce clause, knowing that it was odious to the orthodox, in spite of the effort of the Government to withdraw it, was successful. It is amusing to find that though "the bishops'" consciences were exercised, they obeyed the instincts of party rather than of conscience, and supported the bill, divorce and all. By these tactics the majority on the third reading sank to nine, on which the Prime Minister announced that he would withdraw the measure. At this moment of triumph a supporter of the Queen's met her "coming out alone from her waiting-room, preceded by an usher. She had been there unknown to me. I stopped involuntarily; I could not indeed proceed, for she had a dazed look, more tragical than consternation. She passed me; the usher pushed open the folding doors of the great staircase, she began to descend, and I followed instinctively, two or three steps behind her. She was evidently all shuddering, and she took hold of the banister, pausing for a moment. Oh! that sudden clutch with which she caught the railing! It was as if her hand had been a skinless heart. Four or five persons came in from below before she reached the bottom of the stairs. I think Alderman Wood was one of them; but I was in indescribable confusion. The great globe itself was shaking under me. I rushed past, and out into the hastily assembling crowd. The pressure was as in the valley of Jehoshaphat that shall be. I knew not where I was, but in a moment a shouting in the balcony above, on which a number of gentlemen from the interior of the House were gathering, roused me. The multitude then began to cheer, but at first there was a kind of stupor: but the sympathy, however, soon became general, and, winged by the voice, soon spread up the street; every one instantly, between Charing Cross and Whitehall, turned and came rushing down, filling Old and New Palace Yards,

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\* Not less unfortunate was he in other allusions—as in his finale, when he talked of repentance, and bade her "go and sin no more," an awkward point, which gave rise to the pleasant epigram—

Gracious lady we implore  
That you will go and sin no more;  
Or, if the effort be too great,  
Go away at any rate.

The likening her to "unsunned snow" caused merriment.



as if a deluge were unsluiced. The generous exultation of the people was beyond all description."

Brougham and Denman drew her into a room to sign a petition to the House to be heard by counsel. Then it was that the woman, victorious and triumphant, as she wrote her name, "Caroline," added "*Regina*," in spite of them!

## CHAPTER III.

1821.

ONE of the immediate steps following on the conclusion of the trial, was the retirement of Mr. Canning. The reasons given showed his chivalry and delicacy. These he set out in a letter to the King.

“When, in the month of June, I presumed humbly to represent to your Majesty the impossibility of my taking any part in the proceedings against the Queen, and in consequence laid at your Majesty’s feet the tender of my resignation, your Majesty had the goodness and condescension to command me to continue in your service, abstaining from any share in those proceedings. And your Majesty was farther pleased to grant me full authority to plead your Majesty’s express commands for so continuing in office.

“That authority I have not abused. And I have persevered in obedience to your Majesty’s commands (the generosity of which I can never sufficiently acknowledge) until a state of things has arisen to which they cannot be considered as applying.

“The proceeding in the House of Commons, which was then in contemplation when your Majesty’s commands were laid upon me, was one which would have been conducted (as that in the House of Lords) apart from all other matters. The absenting myself from that separate proceeding would have required no other explanation than that which your Majesty had so indulgently authorized me to furnish; nor need such partial absence from the House of Commons have created any embarrassment in the general conduct of parliamentary business.

“But the discussions respecting the Queen, which may now be expected in the House of Commons, will be so much intermixed with the general business of the session, that a minister could not absent himself from them without appearing virtually to abandon the parliamentary duties of his station. On the other hand, to be present, as a minister, taking no part in the discussions, must pro-

duce not only the most painful embarrassment to himself, but the greatest perplexity to his colleagues, and the utmost disadvantage to the conduct of your Majesty's affairs."

#### THE KING TO MR. CANNING.

"Carlton House, Dec. 13th, 1820.

"The King receives with regret, but not with surprise, Mr. Canning's letter, tendering his resignation.

"The King feels, as he should do, the loss of a servant, whose great talents rendered him so very useful to the Government and the country."

In January, 1821, the ministry determined to make an allowance to the Queen. When the King read his speech, and mentioned the provision to be made for the Queen, he laid great emphasis on the word "you," as if he would be no party to it. He looked, too, very black, and was in no way in a good humor. In going down to and returning from the House of Peers, he was civilly treated. Many cries of "Queen, Queen," were heard; some few people applauded; but the general feeling was one of contempt and indifference: the greater part of the spectators not taking off their hats.\*

On the 1st of February, after the presentation of petitions in reference to the Queen had taken from four to five hours, a message from the Queen was read to the effect that she declined any provision so long as her name was excluded from the Liturgy. This she was persuaded into sending by Mr. Brougham, though she was disinclined to take his advice, saying, "she ought not to refuse the only act of kindness and consideration which the King had shown his subjects since his accession." The debates† that followed were

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\* Grey-Bennett's "Diary," from which the passages in inverted commas that follow are taken.

† An amusing story is recorded by the same diarist. In one of these debates "Mr. Horace Twiss replied—a lawyer-like artificial speech, got up with care, but singularly absurd; good language in general, but foolish throughout. Macintosh told me that Dr. Holland informed him that as he was going down Searle Street, where Twiss lives, he saw a crowd of persons standing under the window of his lodgings, and joining them, he found they were listening to some one haranguing to himself in the room above. While he stood there he heard: 'Mr. Speaker,—The Bill of Pains and Penalties—' In this way Mr. Twiss prepared his speech,"



of the most exciting kind. We hear of Brougham being called to order for alluding to the House as persons who "presumed to think themselves administrators," declaring his perfect faith in her innocence, and invoking maledictions on himself if he were not speaking the truth—"tearing opponents limb from limb." It was determined to appeal for a subscription to be set on foot by her party in lieu of an allowance. But the great Whig lords either objected to the proposal or took it up very coldly, and it flagged from the outset. After various ineffectual attempts to kindle enthusiasm, the changeable woman began to think that she would accept the provision from the public purse.

"I dined," said Mr. Grey-Bennett, "on Saturday the 17th inst., with the Queen at Brandenburgh House. The party consisted of the Duke of Bedford, Lord Grey, Lord Nugent, my brother Ossulston-Lambton and Lady Louisa Brougham, Mr. Lushington, Alderman Wood, Sir R. Fergusson, Mr. Denman, Lord A. Hamilton, Madame Oldi, Madame Fabrici, Major Antaldi, and two or three other Italian gentlemen. The dinner was good and agreeable, the Queen very civil and free, and evidently more at her ease and more tranquil within than she was when I dined there before Christmas. She, as usual, by her natural gait of a bad manner, with a short, fat, clumpy, ill-dressed figure, and by endeavoring to look tall and young, contrived by several strange and curious movements to be the very reverse of a queen; but no one who studied the manner, such as it was, but must have been convinced how easily an unparadonable interpretation might be given, and yet how unjust and ill-founded such construction might be."

The King carried out his *rôle* of indifference not unskilfully at levees. "Many petitions were presented to him about the Queen; he was very civil to some persons and rude to others. Lord Grey he received in a very marked and good-humored manner. He said to the Duke of Bedford: 'How do you do, my lord? I hope the Duchess is well.' At the last levee he had only said, as the Duke passed by: 'How does your grace do?' The Duke of Leinster presented several petitions about the Queen. The King took the first, and, with a sneer, said, 'Et cætera, et cætera, et cætera, et cætera.' Lord Darlington, not being able to wait for the levee (Lady Darlington being ill in the north), wrote to Bloomfield to present the city of Durham petition at Brighton. Bloomfield replied that the King made it a rule to do no business at Brighton, and that for many years the King and Lord Darlington had not been upon such

terms as to warrant his asking to be received privately. Lord Darlington upon this waited upon Lord Sidmouth, who read the correspondence, and, saying nothing, only begged Lord Darlington not to leave town, but to wait upon him on the next day. Some short time before the hour fixed Lord Darlington received a note postponing the visit to the following morning. When he came to the Home Office Lord Sidmouth said: 'Your lordship must have observed my astonishment at the letter you did me the honor to show me a few days back. Accordingly, the moment I got home, I sent a special messenger down to Brighton with a letter to the King, praying him to reconsider his resolution. I have this day received an answer, and his Majesty will receive your lordship to-morrow morning.' This is amusing, and of a piece with a speech of Lord Sidmouth's to the Archbishop of York during the Queen's trial. 'My lord,' he said, 'the King will ruin us all; he hangs like a dead weight about us.' Lord Darlington went down to Brighton, had his audience, and presented his petitions. On receiving them the King said: 'My lord, you have done your duty, and I have done mine,' and bowed him out of the room."

"The Queen wrote a letter," goes on Mr. Grey-Bennett, "a few days back, to Lord Liverpool, accepting the £50,000 a year, and returning thanks to the King for it. This letter she wrote of her own accord, consulting no one, not even Alderman Wood, who, aware of her intention, and wishing to throw an impediment in the way, took off in his pocket Lord Liverpool's letter to her, announcing the parliamentary grant, and the King's consent to the bill. He told me he had advised her to consult Denman as to the terms of the letter (Brougham being out of town on the circuit), but she did no such thing. The ministers are very triumphant at this act, and the letter is very unworthy of her, the expressions being by far too humble, and the tone not at all that of defiance, which it was the duty she owed to herself at all times to take. They and their friends now say, 'She will go abroad immediately, and that she has given up Brougham,' etc., etc., etc. She has, to my mind, done another foolish thing, and when she acts of herself she seldom does a wise one."

She then made another foolish demand to be admitted to the Drawing Room, and being refused, declared that she would go, but was dissuaded by her friends. Yet there was something almost pathetic in the position of the unfortunate, who, it was plain, was

not indisposed to peace and reconciliation, but was urged forward by the faction.

"I went in the morning," says the diarist, "to take up an address from the people of Manchester to the Queen, signed by 9,000 persons. We found there Lord Fitzwilliam, Lord Milton, and Mr. William Russell, Sir William Rowley, Sir G. Anson, Mr. Pym, Mr. Whitbread, and many others of the House of Commons, all with addresses. Lady Anne Hamilton said to me: 'This, indeed, is a Queen's levee.' Brougham came home with Lambton and myself, and showed us the communication of the Queen refusing the money; he said that with great difficulty he had persuaded her to sign it, and showed us a letter from her to him on the preceding Sunday, in which she said, 'that she thought she ought not to refuse the only act of kindness and consideration which the King had shown his subjects since his accession to the throne.' Brougham, however, persevered and convinced her she had nothing left but to sign the paper, and that the country would stand by her."

Returning now to his Majesty, we find him engrossed in preparations for a scheme that kindled his utmost enthusiasm. He had resolved to be crowned. The circumstances were more embarrassing now than they would have been the preceding year; but he was eager to attempt it.



## CHAPTER IV.

1821.

THE magnificent ceremonial of the coronation of George IV. is described by those who witnessed it as one of the most dazzling pageants that could be conceived. It was the last, and probably will be the last, that was carried out on such a scale and with due attention to the old and chivalric theatrical elements of the ceremony. With such a monarch it was a show that was indeed after his own heart and his special tastes. In the preceding year a day had been fixed, and the "Court of Claims" had begun to sit, when tidings arrived of the Queen being on her way home. This disagreeable news threw all into confusion, and it was determined to put the ceremonial off. The following year it was determined to proceed afresh, even though the Queen was likely to give some trouble. The most costly preparations were set on foot. The "Court of Claims," for adjudging on the persons who were entitled to be present, again sat. Fancy dresses and jewels were ordered. Westminster Abbey and Westminster Hall rang to the sounds of workmen.

The singular correspondence that follows, relative to the unhappy lady's claim to share in the proceedings, will be found interesting if not amusing.

## THE QUEEN TO LORD LIVERPOOL.

"Brandenbrough House, 3th of March, 1821.

"The Queen having been informed through the midium of Lord Liverpool, namely, that Parleмент had voted a Provision for the Queen, and that the sum agreed to by the two Houses of Parleмент would be ready for the immediate use of the Queen, she find herself under the necessity of accepting it, with a sense of gratitude towards the King, having been proposed by his majesty himself at the opening of Parleмент; and the Queen is only anxious to show to the King that She wishesse to Received from Him, and not from

a mere Party Spirit. The Queen at the same time thinks herself authorized to look upon this measure as the first act of Justice of his majesty toward's the Queen. She also add that she most entertains the flattering expectation that the same sentiments of Justice which has prevailed in her favor will also effect upon the Heart of the King, by plaicing her name in the Liturgi as Queen, as such having been the Rights and custom of Her Predecessors. The Queen can never forget what difficulties, and a great deal of troubles She has undergone on that account upon the Continent by having her Name been omitted in the Liturgi, and in consequence She deed not Received the Honor which where due to the Queen, as the Consort to the King of England.

“Justice is the basis of happiness for King's, and the good judgment of His Majesty will point it out to him the Methods by which he will accelerate the wish of his People, and the satisfaction of the Queen on this subject, and the Queen has not the least doubt but that the King will, taking into his consideration the Queen's situation, and to act accordinly with that generosity which Characterizes a great Mind. Under such circumstances the Queen submit herself intierly to his majesty's dicesion.

“CAROLINE R.”

#### MINUTE OF CABINET.

“March 19th, 1821.

“It is not probable that, after receiving the proposed answer, the Queen should make any attempt to come to Court on Thursday.

“It appears to be proper, however, to be prepared for such an event, in case it should occur. The King's confidential servants are unanimously and decidedly of opinion that in such case no attempt should be made to obstruct the Queen on her way to Buckingham House. Such obstruction could not be made without the risk of creating general confusion in the metropolis, and of shedding quantities of blood.

“It is proposed therefore that if the Queen should arrive at Buckingham House she should be immediately shown into a room on the ground-floor, and that the Lord Chamberlain, Vice-Chamberlain, or some other officer of his Majesty's household, should be sent to her to receive her petition.

“If she should decline delivering it into any hands but the King's, the King should not be advised to permit her to come up to

the drawing-room, but should himself go down to the room where the Queen is, attended by such of his household and his ministers as may be there, and receive the petition.

"It is conceived that there can be no difficulty, by previous arrangements such as those which have been recently adopted, to prevent the Queen from coming up the stairs, without incurring any of the inconveniences which must arise from a conflict in the streets or in the park."

THE PETITION OF CAROLINE, QUEEN CONSORT, TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

"Brandenbough House, March 21st, 1821.

"Her Majesty seeks to lay before the King this representation of the grievance to which she has been subjected by the continued omission of her name in the Liturgy. The privilege of being prayed for by name in the Church service has been enjoyed by her predecessors Queens Consorts of England from the time of the Reformation, and has been ever highly esteemed as a mark of honor and dignity.

"Her Majesty has always been impressed with the strongest feelings of regret that the King should have yielded to any advice by which she should be excluded, and thereby degraded in the estimation both of his Majesty's subjects and of foreign nations. All further proceedings against her Majesty being now finally abandoned, the Queen solicits your Majesty as an act of justice and grace to permit her the enjoyment of that privilege now so long withheld.

"The Queen with reluctance makes this her appeal to your Majesty, and earnestly prays that this, her only request, may be granted.

CAROLINE R."

THE KING TO LORD LIVERPOOL.

"Carlton House, Wednesday, March 21st, 1821.

"The King has the pleasure to return to Lord Liverpool the Queen's note and petition, and has no doubt that his lordship will return a proper answer to each.

"The King congratulates Lord Liverpool upon the prospect of his being relieved from a disagreeable duty to-morrow."



## THE QUEEN TO LORD LIVERPOOL.

"29th of April.

"The Queen, after having been a considerable time of receiving a answer from Lord Liverpool, in consequence of the last conversation that passed between his Lordship and Doctor Lushington:

"Her majesty feels herself under the necessity to establish herself in England, and communicates to Lord Liverpool that the Queen intends to be present at the Coronation, and requests him to present the inclosed letter to his majesty.

"CAROLINE R."

## THE SAME.

"Brandenbough House, Sunday, 29th of April, 1821.

"The Queen from circumstances being obliged to remain in England, she requests the King will be pleased to command those Ladies of the first Rank his majesty may think the most proper in this Realms, to attend the Queen on the day of the Coronation, of which her majesty is informed is now fixed, and also to name such Ladies which will be required to bear Her majesty's Train on that day.

"The Queen being particularly anxious to submit to the good Taste of his majesty, most earnestly entreat the King to inform the Queen in what Dresse the King wishes the Queen to appear in, on that day, at the Coronation.

"CAROLINE R."

## LORD LIVERPOOL TO THE KING.

"Fife House, 30th April, 1821.

"Lord Liverpool has the honor to send your Majesty a letter addressed to your Majesty by the Queen, and likewise a copy of a letter from the Queen to Lord Liverpool.

"The communication from Dr. Lushington to which the Queen refers took place somewhat more than a fortnight since."

## THE KING TO LORD LIVERPOOL.

"[Most private.]

"Brighton, May 1st, 1821.

"The King has just received the box from Lord Liverpool, containing the copy of a letter from the Queen to Lord Liverpool, and

Lord Liverpool's account of a conversation which took place a short time since between Lord Liverpool and Dr. Lushington, referred to in the Queen's letter to Lord Liverpool, and a letter from the Queen addressed to the King.

"The King highly approves of the line and of the tone taken by Lord Liverpool in his conversation with Dr. Lushington. The King, however, entertains considerable doubts whether some decided notice should not be taken of the 'threat' (as Lord Liverpool justly terms it) held out by the Queen in her letter to Lord Liverpool, 'of her intention of being present at the coronation.' Had such an intimation reached Lord Liverpool merely in the shape of an idle report or of a fabrication, such as almost every day produces, the King would then entirely concur with Lord Liverpool's opinion that it would not justify any direct notice being taken of it.

"The matter here, however, stands widely different, as the Queen has decidedly and pointedly specified to Lord Liverpool that it is her intention to obtrude herself at the King's coronation. If, therefore, the subject were suffered to pass over in utter silence after this express and positive declaration on the part of the Queen, officially communicated by her under her own hand to Lord Liverpool as the King's first minister, the Queen, on the one hand, might have some sort of color to assume that it had never been formally notified to her, as it is now the king's intention that it shall be, that she should never be suffered by the King, under any circumstances, to appear at that most solemn ceremony, the law having placed the entire control upon that head in the hands and at the pleasure of the King: while, on the other hand, she might attribute such silence to an unworthy timidity on the part of the King and of his Government, as well as invidiously pretend that her intimation upon this point had not only not been treated with common civility, but had been contemptuously disregarded.

"Lord Liverpool will observe that the King returns unopened the letter addressed by the Queen to the King. This is only in conformity to a resolution adopted more than twenty years ago, and since invariably adhered to by the King (but which must have escaped Lord Liverpool's recollection) that the King would never again receive or open any letter or paper addressed to him personally by the Queen.

"The King will only further suggest to Lord Liverpool the propriety of postponing any reply or communication whatsoever upon this subject to the Queen until after the Court at Buckingham

House on Thursday next. From what so recently occurred with respect to the last drawing-room, the King thinks that Lord Liverpool will clearly perceive the wisdom of this precaution."

#### LORD LIVERPOOL TO THE QUEEN.

"Fife House, May 4th, 1821.

"Lord Liverpool has the honor to inform the Queen that, as it has been his majesty's invariable determination for some years to receive no communication from the Queen except through his Government, the King directed Lord Liverpool to open the Queen's letter; and, Lord Liverpool having laid the substance of it before his majesty, the King has commanded Lord Liverpool to say in answer that it is his Majesty's prerogative to regulate the ceremonial of his coronation in such manner as he may think fit; that the Queen can form no part of that ceremonial, except in consequence of a distinct authority from the King, and that it is not his majesty's intention under the present circumstances to give any such authority.

"Lord Liverpool thinks it must be unnecessary, in consequence of this communication, to notice the other points in the Queen's letter, but he will further add that the King has dispensed with the attendance of all ladies upon his coronation."

#### THE QUEEN TO LORD LIVERPOOL.

"Brandenbough House, Saturday, May 5th.

"The Queen is much surprised at Lord Liverpool's answer, and assures the Earl that her majesty is determined to attend at the coronation; the Queen considering it as one of her rights and privileges, which her majesty is resolved ever to maintain."

#### LORD LIVERPOOL TO THE KING.

"Fife House, May 5th, 1821.

"Lord Liverpool has the honor to send your majesty the answer which he has received from the Queen. Lord Liverpool humbly submits that the correspondence would better end here, at least for the present. The threat is an empty threat, which the Queen has evidently not the power of carrying into execution, and must appear to have been made solely with a view to extorting money.

"Lord Liverpool will request your majesty to be pleased to re-



turn the Queen's letter. Lord Liverpool has directed a copy to be prepared for your majesty of the whole correspondence."

"Fife House, May 7th, 1821.

"Lord Liverpool has received the King's commands, in consequence of the last communication of the Queen to Lord Liverpool of the 5th inst., to inform the Queen that his majesty having determined that the Queen shall form no part of the ceremonial of his coronation, it is therefore the royal pleasure that the Queen shall not attend the said ceremony."

The Queen persisting in her demand to be crowned, she was at last referred to the Privy Council, when the question was argued by her counsel. A curious array of precedents showed that most of the queens had not been crowned with their husbands, and some not at all. The King therefore, having the discretion, declined to sanction her being crowned with him.

The eagerness to be present was extraordinary, which a dispute that arose between the Chamberlain and other high functionaries, as to who were entitled to give away seats in Westminster Hall, tended to increase. The whole area between the Abbey and the Hall was filled with grand-stands and galleries. The Dean and Chapter farmed out the side aisle of the Abbey—as it was their privilege—to a speculator, to be fitted up with boxes, which he let at an enormous price. Special envoys came from all the Courts. Every peer was given five tickets, all the great functionaries had a certain number, but the Chamberlain and High Steward had the distribution of three and four thousand apiece respectively.

On the eve of the ceremonial the King came to stay at the Speaker's, while at one in the morning the guests began to arrive. At that hour, indeed, all the streets were crowded and blocked with carriages. Some slept in the stands: the Guards were under arms all the night. At ten o'clock his Majesty appeared, and a procession was formed in Westminster Hall. He entered at ten o'clock, wearing his magnificent robes, said to have cost £25,000. The cost of the jewels for the coronation was enormous, and the amount was swelled by the addition of costly ornaments which his Majesty obtained for one of his favorites, which it was attempted to include in the estimate. This was discovered by Sir Benjamin Bloomfield, and exposed, which entailed his fall and banishment. The King's herbwoman, attended by six maids, led the way. Dignitaries, lay and ecclesiastical, followed. English, Irish, and Scotch lords, bear-

ing the standards of their respective countries. The Knights of the Bath, in blue and silver, succeeded; and it was noted that of all the brilliant figures Lord Londonderry, the only one who wore the full robes of the Garter, was the most striking and imposing. There was but one noble surviving who had walked at the coronation of George III.—the Duke of Gordon—but he was too infirm to attend. The King was dreadfully exhausted, the heat adding to his fatigue, and it was thought he would have fainted. The splendid scene that waited him at the Abbey restored him. The weight of his cloak, though the train was borne by seven supporters, added to his distress. Then the religious rites, of great length, began—the anointing, a sermon, the taking the Sacrament, when the Archbishop prayed that “he might observe the commandments of God.” \*

In the evening followed the grand banquet in Westminster Hall, a more magnificent scene still. A sort of scene-painter’s Gothic archway, with folding gates, had been erected at the bottom, through which the Duke of Wellington and Lord Anglesey and others rode up to do service. The excitement rose to its height when the well-known spectacle of the challenge was performed. Young Dymoke, the hereditary champion, in full armor, rode in—his horse was furnished from a circus—and three different times flung down his gauntlet, while the challenge was proclaimed by a herald. The King drank to him from a gold cup, and he drank to the King, receiving the goblet “as his fee.” He retired backwards.† It is a pity that this good old ceremony has been abolished. It was related as a prodigy of culinary organization, that 240 tureens of soup, 7000 lb. of beef, 20,000 lb. of mutton, etc., were served; but in our time the ordinary professional caterer would smile at such an insignificant call on his exertions.‡

This great day thus passed over with infinite success for all concerned, save the unhappy Queen, who was persuaded to attempt the profitless venture of forcing herself on the ceremonies. At an early hour she set off in her coach and six, attended by Lord Hood, who, as we shall see, was to figure later in the King’s interest. After

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\* When the King returned from St. Edward’s Chapel, where some of the rites had taken place, he found the Abbey almost deserted by the tired peers and peeresses, “but he moved about with great good-humor,” and spoke to those he knew.

† The hero of a hundred fights had also to back his steed, which was found embarrassing to Lord Hood, whose horse was not well bitted.

‡ There were 100 dozens of champagne, 200 of claret, and 350,000 of port and sherry. Three thousand persons were entertained in adjoining rooms.

having passed in, on a ticket, not her own, and been refused admittance at various entrances, the following scene took place on her first attempt. A number of soldiers drew across her path, and she was asked for her ticket. Lord Hood said: "Don't you know your Queen? She needs no ticket." The official said he had his orders, which were, to admit no one without a ticket. Lord Hood then produced his ticket, and the man said, according to the report, that she might enter upon that. She hesitated, then declined.\* What would have occurred had she obtained permission—whether she would have advanced and taken her place beside her consort, on which some unseemly scene would have followed—it would be difficult to say; but it was agreed by friends and enemies that it was an undignified and fruitless proceeding, as she attempted it; and that, if attempted at all, it should have been carried through with daring and resolution. As she retreated baffled, scornful jeers from the crowd—whose sympathies are often forfeited by defeat or repulse—followed her.

From this time all her proceedings were marked with worse than the old recklessness. On that evening she wrote to the Duke of Norfolk, demanding in consequence "of the insult of that morning," to be crowned by herself within a week; as the preparations being ready, it would save expense to the nation! A few nights later, Denman went to see her, and found her with a large party, dancing, laughing, and romping, "but he saw that her spirits were frightfully overstrained." Indeed, her friends held that she had received her death-blow in that mortification. But this may be fairly doubted, as her nerves were not of such delicate texture.

This magnificent celebration being happily concluded, to his great glory, the King was now free to consider other schemes—and notably to cultivate his favorite passion for building. We may review the state of affairs to which his mania for rebuilding or altering his two palaces of Windsor and Buckingham House had brought him. The year before his death the account stood thus:

	Original Estimate.	Cost.	Excess.
Windsor Castle, building.....	£150,000	£325,000	£175,000
State Apartments .....	(Unknown)		
Furniture, etc.....	£150,000	£167,000	£17,000
Lands .....		£58,000	
Total.....	£300,000	£550,000	£250,000

\* This part of the story seems improbable, as it is likely the tickets were personal and not transferable.



Thus here was an unwarranted debt of £250,000 incurred. We turn to Buckingham House, and find that the estimate was £270,000, the actual cost £482,000—an excess of £212,000—making nearly half a million together. But even this was not all. The net revenue of the Woods and Forests, reaching a surplus of £70,000 a year, had been allotted to pay for the building as it went on; but it was found out that this ready-money had been seized on and devoted to other building purposes, leaving but a balance of £4000 a year for the palaces.\* How these unlawful plunderings were tolerated is inconceivable. An advance out of moneys owing by the French Government was then made, equally unjustifiable, and amounting to £250,000. On the other hand, it must be mentioned that it was calculated that the rents of the new Carlton House Terrace would sell for £70,000. Nash, his favorite architect, had been concerned in all his plans for the Pavilion and the new Regent quarter. These proceedings show that it was not so unprecedented a thing for ministers to allow the King to help himself to “odds and ends” of the public moneys as Mr. Herries, in his *Memoir of his father*, would make out. It is impossible that the Secretary to the Treasury should not have at least known of these practices. The result, however, was to raze, not St. James’ Palace,† but Carlton House, and to take Buckingham House in hand for restoration, or rather rebuilding. Accordingly, in 1825, it was handed over to the builders and architect, and at the King’s death was left an unfinished pile. The King took his favorite mode of planning piecemeal and altering bit by bit, to which his favorite was obliged to adapt his plans and suggestions. It should, however, be stated that the Duke of Montrose assured Lord Colchester that a calculation had been made of the repairs necessary for Carlton House, and also for those of Buckingham House, and that there was but little difference between them.

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\* It had been thus spent:

On account of York House.....	£57,000
Finishing Windsor.....	19,450
Ditto, New Carlton House.....	11,073
Ditto, Downing Street.....	3,017
Redemption of Land Tax, Carlton House.....	22,022
Alterations, St. James’s Park.....	6,000
	<hr/> £118,562

† “*Life of Lord Liverpool*,” v. p. 420. This proposal, already referred to, probably concerns the grounds round St. James’s Palace gardens, etc., and does not, as Mr. Young thinks, imply that the palace was to be razed. The strict meaning, however, seems to convey that the palace was to be levelled.

"Other alterations of an architectural sort are also proceeding in London," wrote Lord Colchester later. "The King's new palace, on the site of Buckingham House, is covered in; the Duke of York's, on the site of his former house, is sold in its unfinished state to Lord Stafford for £80,000; and he gives £30,000 more to Lord Gower to finish it for his residence. Carlton House has nearly disappeared; and the new terrace of houses towards the Mall is rising rapidly; the grass part of St. James's Park is to be laid out in shrubberies like Regent's Park. New gateways, colonnaded, are already built at Hyde Park Corner, leading on one side into the King's garden by Constitution Hill, and on the other side by the Duke of Wellington's house, into Hyde Park. A new bridge of five arches has been thrown across the Serpentine, at the end nearest to Kensington Gardens; and a new carriage drive has been made round the whole of the Park north of the Serpentine, which makes a most desirable addition to the airing ground for carriages and equestrians."

To the Londoner few objects are more familiar than the Marble Arch, the Oxford Street entrance to the Park. This monument, suggested by his Majesty and copied from that of Constantine at Rome, stood within living memory in front of Buckingham Palace. It has no doubt puzzled the spectator what could have been the intention in erecting this rather bald and costly gateway; but, it seems, it was designed to commemorate the glories of his Majesty, much as the great French monarch erected *flamboyant* memorials of himself, *à la gloire de Louis XIV.* On the summit was to have been an equestrian statue of the King by Chantrey; on each side bas-reliefs recording Trafalgar and Waterloo. The Duke's bust was to have been displayed on the pedestal of the equestrian statue, "between Europe and Asia," while on various other portions were to have been shown the King "approving the plan of the campaign," the King "rewarding the Duke of Wellington after Waterloo." Statues of the inferior officers were to have been disposed about the monument. The cost would have been enormous, and the King was prudent enough to set the plan aside.\*

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\* Two enormous blocks of Carrara marble, which had been ordered by Napoleon for the purpose of making some commemoration of his victories, had been presented to his Majesty by the Duke of Tuscany. It was determined to fashion out of them an enormous Waterloo vase, twenty feet high, and the talents of Westmacott, the sculptor, were employed for the purpose; but the King requiring that his figure should be conspicuous among the group of victors, this idea was also abandoned.

At this time Mr. Canning began to reappear upon the scene; and it was to be expected that such an intellect as his was, even when he affected by resignation to efface himself, should let its force be felt. Lord Liverpool, over whom he exercised an extraordinary influence, seemed to look for the first opportunity to get his aid once more; and when Lord Sidmouth, in June, 1821, proposed retiring, and there was to be a redistribution of offices, he suggested to the King "that the first offer must be made to Mr. Canning, whom he proposed to place at the Admiralty." The King, however, who liked nursing his resentments and giving effect to them, as a mode of adding to his importance, declined to make any change. This led to a regular discussion, in which the point was pressed on the King, much to his annoyance. As he (Lord Liverpool) had just lost his wife, the Cabinet took the matter in hand. In a conversation with Lord Sidmouth, his Majesty explained that "he did not mean to proscribe Mr. Canning altogether, nor to express his determination to exclude him forever from the Cabinet; he only begged not to have him pressed on him at present, not being prepared, on the sudden, to give him that full confidence which a Cabinet minister had a right to expect; that he had nothing like enmity to Mr. Canning; that, on the contrary, if Mr. Canning should attend the levee, he would receive him with the greatest civility; and that, if Mr. Canning had other objects, he would gladly promote them."

That he had resentment was only too certain; and he later declared that "he had made a vow" never to admit him. Mr. Canning's secretary tells us that the cause of this dislike was, not his share in opposition to the prosecution of the Queen, but the conduct of his supporters in the House of Lords, who, though followers of the Government, had thought it right to adopt his course. The King, however, attributed it to his instigation.

Lord Liverpool, however, in his bereavement, urged the point, and to his friends commented bitterly on the unworthy pretexts urged. It was proscription, he said. The objection was "one of personal pique and resentment." "But you must know," he wrote to a friend, "what has been passing behind the scenes." This feeling on the part of the King "has been the cause of all our past errors." He even charged him with a secret scheme for destroying the Government when the opportunity offered. If the King persisted, "he must look out for another minister." The King, ever fertile in resources, then affected to be eager to have Lord Sidmouth with him on his journey to Ireland, which would postpone the issue, and



Mr. Canning himself begged that he might not be pressed; on which Lord Liverpool gave way for the present, declaring however that the question was only adjourned.

There was a bitterness in this discussion which the question itself does not account for, and which was really owing to a matter of a private character which had inflamed the King to an extraordinary degree. It was indeed to add to his long roll of personal feelings, and was the cause of rooted dislike which from this hour he bore to the Prime Minister. A young clergyman named Sumner had been selected as tutor by Lord Conyngham for his two sons, and had taken them abroad to Geneva. The father, it seems, had promised that an annuity or a benefice was to be the reward of his services.\* In 1820 this pupil, Lord Francis Conyngham, had been appointed Master of the Robes and First Groom of the Chamber to the King, whose devotion to the family was now beginning to declare itself. The pupil had often sounded his praises to his Majesty, who took as great a delight in new faces and persons that were likely to please him, as a sultan does in favorites. His Majesty expressed a wish to see him, and he was sent for to Brighton, dined at the Pavilion, and "had a conversation of three hours' standing."

The courtiers, we are told, looked grave, but, with nice forecast, told him his fortune was made. The following year, in April, 1821, a canonry at Windsor fell vacant, and the King at once named the new favorite, a young man of thirty years old and a mere curate, for the canon's office. But Lord Liverpool boldly and decidedly declined to adopt this recommendation, and told the King that it "would be most injurious to his interests and give great umbrage to the Church." He added, however, that to help his Majesty out of the difficulty, he was willing to recommend the clergyman for a benefice and advance him afterwards.

#### THE KING TO LORD LIVERPOOL.

"Brighton, April 13th, 1821.

"It is with considerable regret that the King has received Lord Liverpool's letter of yesterday, and the more as the King feels that

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\* This arrangement naturally roused some speculation, and it was often repeated that this was only the reward for a more substantial service than merely education, in the shape of having saved his eldest charge from an improvident marriage with a young Swiss girl, by marrying her himself. This, however, it is only fair to state, has been distinctly denied by his family; and it must be said that the clergyman proved an excellent divine and bishop, with whose career so shrewd a stroke was scarcely consistent.

ever since the appointment of Lord Liverpool as his First Minister he has not merely shown an uniform desire not to thwart any views of Lord Liverpool or of his friends in the disposal of the patronage of the Crown; but, on the contrary, to oblige Lord Liverpool, and to give every support in his power to an Administration created by himself, the King has yielded every personal feeling.

“In illustration of which the King need only draw Lord Liverpool’s attention to two very recent events, amongst numberless others; namely—the removal of Lord Fife (a measure certainly painful to the King’s private feelings), and the disregard of the King’s desire (conveyed to Lord Liverpool through Sir Benjamin Bloomfield) ‘that Mr. B. Paget should succeed to the office of Receiver-General.’ Notwithstanding which, the appointment of another individual (however eligible) took place without further reference to the King.

“Under so extraordinary a proceeding did the King withhold his signature to the warrant of appointment? or did the King call upon Lord Liverpool to forfeit his promise or his word? The King might also add the instance in which he sacrificed the most painful personal feelings and opinions to the advice and earnest desire of Lord Liverpool ‘that the King should not accept the resignation of Mr. Canning, but suffer him to remain in his councils,’ in spite of the very unwarrantable conduct of that gentleman (as a member of the Cabinet) in his place in Parliament.

“The question of this nomination to the vacant canonry of Windsor does not rest upon the selection which the King has made for that appointment, nor does the King doubt the sincerity of Lord Liverpool’s desire to make a suitable provision in lieu of that destined by the King for Mr. Sumner; but there are principles paramount to all other considerations which will ever guide the King in his course through life. Lord Liverpool, in his desire to relieve the King from any embarrassment which the present case may occasion, appears solely to have directed his view to the policy or impolicy of this nomination, and wholly to have disregarded that vital point of the transaction which involves the good faith and honor of his sovereign.

“The King, therefore, sees no reason to alter his determination of appointing Mr. Sumner to the vacant canonry of Windsor; and, however willing the King might be to give up his own opinions to Lord Liverpool’s wishes, it is no longer a question of the propriety of this little appointment (as the King has already stated), but whether the King’s word is to be held sacred or is to be of no avail.

“The King acquainted Lord Liverpool that the appointment was given by himself alone, unsolicited by —, or at the instance of any private friend of the King’s or of Mr. Sumner’s. His merit and his character were his only recommendations, and the King thinks such recommendations more calculated to do honor and to give satisfaction than to give ‘umbrage’ to the Church.”

Extraordinary offices seemed to become vacant of a sudden for the special benefit of the man whom the King was eager to honor.

Lord Liverpool, in reply, vindicated himself, but declined positively to change his resolution—a determination infinitely creditable to his firmness.

But it is amusing to read the excitement produced at the Castle by this contention. “If you had seen the King,” wrote his pupil to the candidate, “you would have given up all your own feelings and have been entirely interested in his. I never saw anything like it. He was quite in despair.” Expresses were sent to the clergyman that “he might not suffer more than could be avoided.” “There never was anything which threw such a gloom of despair upon all our faces. But, as the King most kindly quoted, when he saw my agony, ‘Nil desperandum,’ etc. You cannot conceive what he has suffered on this occasion. He is without exception the best-hearted man that ever lived.” The injured but fortunate divine was at once made King’s chaplain, and given a capital house at Windsor, and was informed that other arrangements were in progress. This took the shape of librarian at Carlton House; vicarship of St. Helen’s, Abingdon; Canon of Worcester in the following year.

But the King was “mortally wounded” by the transaction, and Lord Mount-Charles, with perfect truth, declared “he would never forget it.” For a more experienced judge, the Duke of Wellington, writing to Lord Liverpool a little later, assured him that “the King has never forgiven your opposition in the case of Sumner. This feeling has influenced every action of his life in relation to his Government from that moment; and, I believe, to more than one of us he avowed that his objection to Mr. Canning was, that his accession to the Government was peculiarly desirable to you. Nothing could be more unjust or more unfair than this feeling; and as there is not one of your colleagues who did not highly approve of what you did respecting Sumner, so there is not one of them who would not suffer with you all the consequences of that act.”

What a picture of weakness and folly! We may smile at the scene



at Windsor—the *camarilla's* “agony,” the agitated King, and the whole worked up by the courtiers and flatterers into a tempest. The lucky divine was consoled by being made librarian at Carlton House, Vicar of St. Helen's, Abingdon, Canon of Worcester in the succeeding year, Chaplain in Ordinary, Clerk of the Closet, and three years later was offered the bishopric of Jamaica. But here he hesitated, and consulted the excellent Knighton as to its being acceptable to his Majesty, owning, however, that he would “be heartless and profligate” to overlook such objections as to the health of his little children, etc. However, he went down to see the King, who declared he would leave him “unbiassed.” The King indeed said he was advancing in years, and did not now easily attach himself to new faces: he must now expect many and frequent illnesses, “when it was a satisfaction to him to know that I was at hand, that I suited him, that he had other views for me.” In short, he felt it a duty to comply with the King's wishes. “I hope,” wrote Mr. Sumner to his lady, “you know and think how the King deserves to be loved. He could not talk of the possibility of my leaving England, without shedding tears. He behaved most beautifully. In the meantime, I am quite sure it is better, spiritually speaking, to have been ready and desirous to go; temporally speaking, it may be better for me to stay.”

And so it was to prove with singular rapidity. The following year a stall at Canterbury was offered by Lord Liverpool, who nicely suggested that “it would in no way interfere with any further promotion;” on which his Majesty suggested that “he should be the next bishop,” which Sir W. Knighton declared was done by the King in the most agreeable way. “So now, my dear friend,” writes the physician, “you may begin to do everything as if you were at this moment a bishop. Be so good as to get rid of your shirt-frill and your trousers. It is the King's wish you should immediately take your doctor's degree.”

Next year he became Bishop of Llandaff. But this was a poor Welsh thing, so the year after the fortunate divine received the following from his patron:

#### THE KING TO THE BISHOP OF LLANDAFF.

“Royal Lodge, November 18, 1827.

“MY DEAR BISHOP,

“The very moment I was informed of the death of the Bishop of Winchester, I nominated you his successor. In doing this I

have not only consulted what is most agreeable to my own feelings, but what my conscience tells me will be most beneficial to the see of Winchester, and also for the good of the Church in general.

“Yours sincerely,

“G. R.”

The following year his brother became Bishop of Chester.

When the King returned from Hanover, a new plan for disposing of Mr. Canning released the King from the prospect of having his services forced upon him. There was a plan of sending him as Governor-General to India. Lord Hastings had signified his wish—in an informal way, as it proved—to be released from that office, and the directors were willing to offer it to Mr. Canning. The King, to use his father's expression, had “jumped” at this solution. He was so eager indeed, that when it was found that Lord Hastings's resignation was a sort of vicarious one, and full of difficulties to act upon, the King pressed it, and insisted it should be handed to the directors. In his eagerness he had even declared that otherwise he should have found no objection to receiving Mr. Canning among his ministers. It, however, came to nothing, as the resignation was found to be inoperative. Meanwhile the offices had been filled up by recruits from the Grenville section of the Opposition, all pro-Catholics, and the King might congratulate himself on his adroit management. As Canning wrote bitterly, he was in the position of having declined India, which was not vacant, “and there has been no other proposal made to me since this failure.” This, it will be seen, was the first of many such struggles in which the ministers were to be engaged.

The power and fertility of resource shown by the King in resisting what was objectionable to him would have commanded admiration, if displayed on worthier occasions and directed by a probability of success; but it was his fate to choose occasions where his case was weak, and he usually only succeeded in protracting his surrender. He mistook the signs of the crisis, and either resisted where he should have yielded, or yielded where he might have resisted.

Yet he had told the Irish that instead of opposing the union they should have “made terms.” His tactics, when he found Mr. Canning was about to be forced upon him, were ingenious, if not crafty. The secret of his new dislike to the minister was, as Canning informed his secretary, a belief that he, while withdrawing himself from the prosecution of his Queen, had secretly urged his friends in the House of Lords to strenuous opposition. When the King

learned that the East Indian directors were anxious to appoint Mr. Canning Governor-General, with rather suspicious ardor he became an eager supporter of the plan. Mr. Canning himself relates the incident: "In June last there was a contest between Liverpool and the King, for and against my readmission into office. I then begged not to be pressed upon the King. On his Majesty's return from Ireland, he expressly forbade Liverpool to open the subject, and it was adjourned till the return from Hanover. Soon after the King's departure for Hanover the chairman of the Court of Directors communicated to me a letter from Lord Hastings, implying in the clearest manner his (Lord Hastings's) wish to hear that a successor to him had been appointed. I consented to be named—subject, of course, to the King's being prepared to approve the nomination." Mr. Canning goes on to say that not many days after this communication Colonel Doyle, Lord Hastings's most confidential friend, came to say that the resignation was a misapprehension, and that he knew Lord Hastings had no intention of resigning. And presently it was discovered that such vicarious resignation would be informal and have no effect. "Here was an end of the vacancy, which, however, had been announced to the King. The King had jumped at the solution of difficulties which was opened to him by the appointment to India. His Majesty undertook to do anything in his power to make Lord Hastings's resignation easy to him; and he determined, on his return to England, to see Colonel Doyle himself, and to learn whether the resignation so sent to him (as has been described) might not now be made available. I understand his Majesty to have said at the same time that, if he could not succeed in opening India, he would waive his objection to the arrangement proposed in June. In this state things were when I saw Lord Liverpool after the King's return from Hanover." He concluded by declaring that the failure, I presume, everybody will attribute (as I do in my own mind) not to the ill-disposition of the Government, but to the unaltered resentment of the King." His Majesty had, however, to yield, and Mr. Canning became Foreign Secretary.

## THE KING TO LORD ELDON.

"Carlton Palace, Saturday night, July 7th, 1821.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I must thank you for your affectionate letter,\* which is very acceptable to my feelings: God grant that you may long live to enjoy

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\* Acknowledgment for his earldom.



the honors so justly due to your eminent talents and distinguished services. I shall hope to see you early in the morning, as I have much to say to you.

Always, my dear Friend,

"Very affectionately yours,

"G. R."

THE SAME.

"Thursday evening, 6 o'clock, July 26th, 1821.

"MY DEAR CHANCELLOR,

"I delay not a moment thanking you for your affectionate note. I have known you, and with truth I do add that I have loved and esteemed you as a friend, much too long for a moment to entertain a thought that you would not have presented yourself both at the levee yesterday, as well as the Drawing Room this day, if it had been morally possible for you to have done so. If there be any blame, it rests with me, for not having sent to inquire after you, but which I desire you will not impute to forgetfulness on my side, but to the constant worry and hurly-burly I have been perpetually kept in for the last fortnight.

"I remain, my dear Lord,

"Always your most affectionate Friend,

"G. R.

"P.S.—I shall rejoice, if you are able to come to me, to see you on Sunday as usual."

THE SAME.

"Brighton, Dec. 26th, 1821.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"You flattered me that when you had relaxation from business you would make me a short visit. It strikes me that next Monday and Tuesday are the two most probable days to afford you such an opportunity; therefore, if this should be so, and unless you have formed any pleasanter scheme for yourself, pray come to me then. I believe it will be necessary for you to swear in one or two of my state servants, the most of whom you will find assembled here; therefore pray be properly prepared. I hope it is not necessary for me to add how truly happy I should be, if our dear and good friend Lord Stowell would accompany you. A hearty welcome, good

and warm beds, turkey and chine, and last, though not least in love, liver and crow, are the order of the day.

“Ever, my dear Lord,

“Most sincerely yours,

“G. R.

“P.S.—N.B. No Church preferment will be requested on the present occasion.”

Excited by the plaudits that attended him during this brilliant show, the King now conceived the plan of travelling through the various portions of his dominions. His flatterers had, no doubt, persuaded him that he was now popular, and that this proceeding of showing himself to his people would further stimulate their loyalty. In this and the following year, he made progresses through Ireland, Scotland, and Hanover, which, taken with the coronation and his failing health, must have been very fatiguing to his Majesty.

The news that the King was coming to Ireland caused unbounded excitement in that portion of his dominions, of which evidence is found in the fact that the religious parties agreed to hold a truce for the occasion, the Lord Mayor sending a message to Lord Fingal to announce that “King William’s statue should not be dressed” on the usual occasion. All united in the joyful preparations. Sir Benjamin Bloomfield, who had been despatched as *avant-courier*, was fêted at a public dinner of all factions, at which he struck the key-note of the general rapturous strain which was to characterize future proceedings, declaring that “no sooner was the crown on his master’s head than he had determined to visit Ireland.” Lord Sidmouth, the Secretary of State, though starting later, arrived at Phoenix Park a little in advance, where was Mr. C. Grant, the Irish Secretary, who was entertaining Lord Londonderry and the ministers in attendance on the King. His Majesty started from Carlton House on July 31st, 1821, “at twenty minutes before twelve,” and at half-past five arrived at Portsmouth, where he instantly went on board his own “yatch,” as it was spelled then, the Royal George. But a most tedious and disagreeable journey was before him, and not until a fortnight was he able to set foot on Irish soil. On reaching Holyhead, news that the Queen was almost *in extremis* reached him, and the King determined to go to his friend Lord Anglesey—“Paget”—whose place was close by, and wait for news.

## THE KING TO SIR W. KNIGHTON.

“Off Holyhead, August 10th, 1821.

“DEAREST FRIEND,

“As I know you like brevity in writing, I shall endeavor to be as concise as possible, and shall try to convey to you all the matter possible in the smallest compass.

“I must first thank you for your kind letters, the last of which I have now just received. You need not be under any apprehension that every regard to decorum and decency will not be strictly observed.

“I have now been at anchor in this harbor ever since Monday night at half-past eleven, when we received the first intimation of the Queen's indisposition.

“On Tuesday at noon, as I had heard nothing from my friend Lord Sidmouth, who had passed over to the other coast some hours before, we took up our anchorage here. We had reason to know he had heard the report before he left Holyhead; and it was determined, as the best medium-line that could be adopted until I could hear from him, that I should proceed for twelve hours to Lord Anglesey's.

“Accordingly I wrote to Lord Sidmouth and Bloomfield, to acquaint them with the communication I had received respecting the Queen, to account for the delay in my not proceeding to Ireland, and desiring Lord Sidmouth's advice as to what I had best do, and that he would make all the arrangements which might be necessary under existing circumstances.

“I returned from Plasnewydd to my yacht here about four o'clock on the next day (Wednesday), and found Lord Sidmouth just disembarked and ready to receive me. He stayed about two hours with me on board, and then again took his passage in the steam-boat, having arranged with me, that if the accounts from London of the Queen the next day should represent her to be in an improved state, that then we should set sail as quickly as possible, and land at Dunleary, and make my public *entrée* at Dublin on that day (Friday); although he had already taken measures for a private entry if matters should be worse, as it was utterly impossible for me under any circumstances not to proceed now to Ireland, where public notice would be given that I should observe the strictest privacy for some days, until we were acquainted either with the Queen's recovery or her demise, and till after the body should be interred.



Lord Londonderry fortunately arrived the next morning after Lord Sidmouth left me—that is to say, yesterday (Thursday), before seven o'clock in the morning—and has remained with me, and will continue to do so till I have set my foot on the Irish shore. He approved of all the arrangements I had made with Lord Sidmouth as the best possible, and with every view I had taken of the whole circumstance: and it is now determined that either in the course of the day, or as soon as possible as the wind and weather will permit (but which at present does not appear very encouraging), we are to set sail, either in the yacht alone or by steam, to Ireland; to make Howth (about five miles from Dublin), and to proceed without any sort of show or display to Phoenix Park, without entering or passing through Dublin at all. My arrival there will then be publicly announced, and that the strictest privacy for a few days will be observed, as far as proper decency and decorum may require; and that after that the day will be announced when I shall make my public *entrée*, and when all public ceremonies and rejoicings will commence.

“Continue, I conjure you, from time to time, and constantly if you can, to let me hear from you, be it only that ‘all is well;’ for even this is a security and comfort to me that you cannot imagine; it is utterly impossible for me to tell you how uncomfortable and how miserable I always feel when I have you not immediately at my elbow. You may, then, judge what I do now at this moment feel, and what I have gone through without you near me during all these recent perplexities and difficulties. You are too well acquainted with the warmth of my feelings towards you to render it necessary for me to add a syllable more upon that head, dear and best of friends, except that I am always

“Most affectionately yours,

“G. R.”

Here the unexpected news of the Queen's death reached him, and Lord Sidmouth, fearful of some unbecoming step being taken, hurried over to Holyhead to press on his Majesty the necessity of a decent retirement, for at least a short space.\* Nothing could be more unfortunate; but it was curious that her illness seems to have

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\* It seems to have been an anxious business, as the Secretary wrote to Mr. Hobhouse that “he would not trouble him with a detail of difficulties and vexations he had to deal with; but he endeavored to reconcile himself to the service in which he was engaged,” etc.

commenced on the very day that the King set off, on which evening she went to the theatre to see Mr. Kean's performance. The unhappy lady's sorrows had come to a close, and within a few days her remains were being transported back to that Brunswick which it was a pity she ever quitted.

On the following Sunday, the 12th of August, crowds were looking out to the sea at where Kingstown now rises, and Sir Benjamin was observed to be hurrying to the point of old Dunleary Harbor, then newly opened, at present a colliers' shelter. Presently "the Lightning steam-packet, Capt. Skinner," was seen to approach, and the anxious crowds rushing forward recognized the familiar, portly figure. "A quarter before three," says a loyal rapturous account, "they descried by glasses a steam-vessel, which, from the circumstance mentioned, excited strong sensations; about twenty minutes after a second steam-vessel seemed to approach in the same course: no doubt remained but that his Majesty or some word from him would arrive in a short time. Within a few minutes of four the steam-packet closed in with Ireland's Eye, and immediately the royal carriage, which had taken Sir Benjamin Bloomfield down, was seen driving rapidly to the pier-head. At half-past four the Lightning steam-packet came to the projection in the west point of the pier. A breathless suspension of two minutes succeeded, the anxious hearts of the spectators beating high. At length some person, recognizing his Majesty on board, cried, 'The King!' when all enthusiastically exclaimed, 'The King! the King! God bless him!' Cheers echoed and re-echoed, which his Majesty, on hearing, stood forward and warmly returned, taking off his cap and winding it several times over his head. He was dressed in a blue frock, blue pantaloons, Hessian boots, a black cravat, white silk gloves, and a foraging cap with gold lace. His Majesty was a little browned from the weather. With him were Lords Londonderry, Thomond, Mount-Charles, Francis Conyngham, and Mr. Freeling, Secretary to the Post Office. A small ship-ladder covered with carpeting was fixed to facilitate his landing. Some of his suite preceded his Majesty. When he reached the top of the ladder, which he did with great agility and without assistance, the pressure was so great that he was much incommoded. This could not be avoided; as almost every person present stood on the small tongue of land which projects from the pier, through them no convenient passage could be opened without forcing some persons into the water. His Majesty bore the inconvenience with much good-humor,

perceiving the cause. On seeing the Earl of Kingston, his Majesty exclaimed, 'Kingston, Kingston, you black-whiskered, good-natured fellow, I am happy to see you in this friendly country.' Having recognized Dennis Bowes Daily, he cordially shook hands with him, who in the very act was deprived of a watch valued at sixty guineas and a pocketbook. Sir Benjamin Bloomfield having opened the door of the carriage, his Majesty stepped in; the cheers of all rent the air. Having turned round, and extending forth both his hands, he said with great emotion, 'God bless you all; I thank you from my heart.' Seemingly exhausted, he threw himself back again, and on the cheers being repeated, taking off his cap, bowed again and again. The cavalcade then drove straight to the lodge at the Phoenix, a distance of about eight or nine miles. On reaching the entrance to the demesne, some halted outside, fearing that proceeding further would be an intrusion. His Majesty, perceiving the delicacy, put out his hand and exclaimed, 'Come on, my friends.' Some of those who entered, having walked on the grass, were reprimanded by others for so doing. 'Oh,' said his Majesty, good-humoredly, 'don't mind the grass; let them walk where they please.' Having alighted from his carriage at the hall of the lodge, he addressed those round him, about a hundred in number, in the following words: 'In addressing you I conceive I am addressing the nobility, gentry, and yeomen of Ireland. This is one of the happiest moments of my life. I feel pleased, being the first of my family that set foot on Irish ground. Early in my life I loved Ireland—my heart was always with them. I rejoice at being amongst my faithful Irish friends. I always considered them such, and this day proves to me I am beloved by them. Circumstances of a delicate nature, to which it is needless to advert, have precluded me from visiting you sooner. I have had a fatiguing voyage. If I do not express myself as warmly as I ought, I beg you will not attribute it to want of affection. I am obliged to you for the kindness you evinced towards me this day; rank, station, and honor are nothing; to feel that I live in the hearts of my Irish subjects is to me the most exalted happiness. I assure you, my dear friends, I have an Irish heart, and will this night give a proof of my affection towards you, as I am sure you will towards me, by drinking your health in a bumper of whisky-punch.' "

Such was this amazing harangue, which produced a singular impression. The only *désagrément* was the arrival of the irrepressible Sir William Curtis, who seemed in this as in the Scotch visit to



compete with the King for public attention. It was found that with his yacht he had taken up the best "berth" in Dunleary Harbor, from which he was promptly removed.

Then set in a tumult of excited demonstrations, to which the impulsive King lent himself, declaring "that he had never felt himself a King till that time," as well as the no less excited crowd: both acted and reacted on one another to an extraordinary degree.

By the 17th, which time, it was thought, had exhausted the tribute due to bereavement, he entered Dublin in state. The procession was brilliant with banners, music, and show: his Majesty, seated in an open barouche drawn by eight horses, repeatedly pointing to an enormous shamrock displayed in his hat. In the midst of the shouts, he declared to Sir B. Bloomfield "he might be proud of his country: they are a noble people." At the Castle windows, as he looked on the acclaiming multitudes, he was observed to shed tears. Then followed illuminations, reviews, visit to the theatre, ball at the Mansion House, where a number of gentlemen improvized new a body-guard, devising a uniform for the occasion, showing they knew one of their sovereign's weaknesses. "A silk doublet of coronation blue reached half way down the thigh, white casimere breeches, white silk stockings with blue rosettes at the knees and shoe-ties formed the lower part of the dress, round the waist a pink silk sash, from which hung a rich dress sword and sword-knot, round the neck a white ruff, under which lay a broad pink ribbon, from which hung a coronation medal. The hat was blue, with the leaf turned up before with a large plume of blue and white ostrich-feathers. The weapon was a battle-axe, with a spear-head of burnished silver. As the King passed they shouldered their axes, and the lines had an imposing effect."

A magnificent circular ball-room of great size, still used for the Lord Mayor's balls, had been erected. After a handsome entertainment, the King retired, when speeches were made by Lord Londonderry and others, an alderman being so far carried away by his feelings as to give, "The glorious, immortal, and pious memory," which had nearly shipwrecked all. The King was infinitely displeased, but the matter was arranged. Then followed a visit to Slane, Lord Conyngham's place; an entertainment given by Trinity College, set off by music and such loyal tunes as "Rule Britannia." "They had scarcely commenced the first line of that inspiring anthem, when the royal countenance glowed with peculiar animation. At the words, 'the charter of the land,' his Majesty, slowly raising

his right arm, and looking impressively at the assemblage of persons, seemed to renew, in the only manner in which the Constitution would admit, the solemn compact that had been so recently entered into between the King and his people. During the chorus of each stanza the monarch's feelings uniformly assumed a higher tone, moving his hand, and keeping time with the orchestra, until the choir came to that part which prophetically declares that 'Britons never shall be slaves,' when, in the glorious fervor of his wishes for the happiness of the inhabitants of the realm, he vigorously struck the table at every word." This was characteristic, and indeed all his behavior through these pageants deserved the praise of being truly natural, though scarcely dignified. He generally wore a field-marshal's uniform. At the Rotunda ball, we are told, "our fair countrywomen and gallant beaux were so much overawed with the presence of Majesty, that they completely bungled their evolutions, which did not escape his penetration, for he was pleased to observe 'that in whatever else the Irish can distinguish themselves, they had no pretensions to dancing.'

"I will here mention an anecdote, which is one of the many instances of his Majesty's condescension. One of the attendants happened to go into the room where his Majesty was, at the Curragh, to look for Earl Talbot's hat, when the man incautiously took up the King's and was going away with it; his Majesty perceiving him, good-humoredly called out, 'Stop! stop! my friend, that is my hat; you must not take it.' \*

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\* A little sketch is given of his conversation in his more moderate humor, and the favorable impression he left. It is certain, says Mr. Wallace, that he left upon the minds of persons very competent to judge, who then conversed with him for the first time, flattering impressions both of his capacity and demeanor. "Among those invited to meet him were two individuals holding office in Ireland, who had agreed in being strenuous opponents of the union, but now entertained adverse opinions on the Catholic claims. One of these, a person equally and eminently distinguished by his eloquence, wit, and personal character, sat at dinner opposite the King. Lady Conyngham whispered something in the royal ear. There was nothing extraordinary in this: but their eyes were directed to the opposite guest, who appeared somewhat disturbed by the seeming scrutiny. The King relieved him by saying: 'Bushe, you would hardly guess that Lady Conyngham has been repeating to me a passage from one of your speeches against the union. My early opinion was, that yours and Mr. Saurin's' (referring to the other functionary present) 'opposition to the measure was well founded; and since I have seen this glorious people, and the effects produced by it, that opinion is confirmed; but,' he added, as if correcting himself, 'I am sure you will agree with me in

"Before his Majesty left the race-course at the Curragh, he presented a superb whip to the Duke of Leinster, and, on handing it, turned round to Capt. Browne, the ranger. 'Mr. Browne,' said his Majesty, 'I intend this whip to be presented to the owner of the best horse in Ireland, weight for age, and I wish you to fix the weight and draw up an article according to which it is to be run for; and in addition to this whip, which is to be run for every year, I give a stake of one hundred guineas annually, as I wish to encourage the breed of strong horses in this country. You will take care to make the weights very heavy, and that no horse younger than four years old will be permitted to run for it.'"

After a visit to Powerscourt, in the county of Wicklow, he laid his hand on Lord Fingal's shoulder, saying: "To-morrow you shall see my letter. I think it will please." An allusion to a sort of proclamation of liberal treatment for the Catholics. He also paid a visit to Slane, Lord Conyngham's castle.

Finally, on Monday, September 3rd, the King embarked amid the most rapturous demonstrations and some eccentric displays. "At the edge of the shore, his Majesty declared, in answer to an address, and much affected: 'Gentlemen, I approached your shores with pleasure; I now quit them with regret. May God Almighty bless you all until we again meet.' Mr. O'Connell, with a deputa-

opinion that, now the measure is passed, you should both feel it your duty to oppose any attempt to repeal it with as much zeal as you originally opposed its taking place.' Both bowed assent; and the King continued: 'But you all committed a great mistake: you should have made terms, as the Scotch did; and you could have got any terms.' He then referred, with perfect familiarity, to the stipulations of the Scotch union. Mr. Saurin, the anti-Catholic functionary, said: 'And the Scotch further stipulated for the establishment of their national religion.' 'You are right,' said the King; 'they secured that point also; but—no, no' (again hastily checking himself), 'you must give no weight to what I have just said. It should not be supposed that I entertain an opinion from which inferences might be drawn that would lead to disappointment.' Mr. Saurin obviously meant that the Irish Parliament, at the union, should have stipulated for Protestant ascendancy; but the King appeared to understand the Catholic by the national religion of Ireland, the emancipation of which should have been made a condition.

"Despatches were received in the course of the evening, announcing the riots at the funeral procession of the Queen; and he expressed, without the slightest reserve, in somewhat contemptuous terms, his dissatisfaction at the want of arrangement and energy on the part of the ministers. He then adverted to the firmness with which his father had acted in the riots of 1780; and spoke of him in a tone of solemn reverence, with the reality or well-acted appearances of strong emotion."



tion of ten others, on his knees presented to his Majesty a laurel crown. His name was announced by Lord Sidmouth. The King took particular notice of this distinguished personage, shook him cordially by the hand, and accepted the tribute. Mr. O'Connell was loudly cheered as he retired. Before his Majesty descended the royal slip, appearing much affected, he addressed those around him: 'My friends! when I arrived in this beautiful country, my heart overflowed with joy; it is now depressed with sincere sorrow. I never felt sensations of more delight than since I came to Ireland; I cannot expect to feel any superior nor many equal, till I have the happiness of seeing you again. Whenever an opportunity offers wherein I can serve Ireland, I shall seize on it with eagerness. I am a man of few words. Short adieux are best. God bless you, my friends—God bless you all.' His Majesty then descending the sloping avenue that led to the barge, with great activity jumped into it. Four gentlemen (two of them in riding dresses, with spurs on) laid hold of the rudder and clung to it. Three fell into the water and swam to the shore, among whom was Sir Richard Steele, of Kilmainham memory. Another, more persevering than the rest, stuck to the rudder until his Majesty, apprehensive for his safety, ordered him to be conveyed on board a barge in attendance, and thanked him for his zeal." His Majesty at last got on board, but had the mortification of being detained four days in the harbor, owing to contrary winds. Not till Friday was the squadron able to put to sea. The voyage, however, was to be most disastrous. The King thus graphically tells the story of his sufferings and hair-breadth escapes to his confidant:

## THE KING TO SIR W. KNIGHTON.

"DEAREST FRIEND,

"I am sure that you will be quite surprised, after the long letter which I hope you received safe from me by this evening's post, dated from hence the day before yesterday, at receiving another from me, and also from the same place, but which I hope will be the last; for I have now determined, by whatever inconvenience it may be attended, upon proceeding directly by land for London, and we finally start at five o'clock to-morrow, and hope to be with you before four o'clock on Saturday at Carlton House.

"There is no time for a florid description. We sailed again yesterday morning between four and five o'clock, with a most promis-

ing breeze in our favor, to make the Land's End. About two or three in the evening the wind shifted immediately in our teeth; a violent hurricane and tempest suddenly arose; the most dreadful possible of nights and of scenes ensued, the sea breaking everywhere over the ship. We lost the tiller, and the vessel was for some minutes down on her beam-ends; and nothing, I believe, but the undaunted presence of mind, perseverance, and courage of Paget preserved us from a watery grave. The oldest and most experienced of our sailors were petrified and paralyzed: you may judge somewhat, then, of what was the state of most of the passengers: every one almost flew up in their shirts upon deck in terrors that are not to be described.

“Most affectionately yours,

“G. R.”

“Royal George Yacht, Milford Haven, Sept. 10th, 1821.

“MY DEAR FRIEND,

“So many unexpected circumstances have taken place since I wrote to you, that I scarce know where I am to take up matters to put you *au fait* of everything in all quarters. It is rather a difficult task to undertake, particularly as I know you are not partial to long letters. I will, however, endeavor to do my best, and be as concise as possible.

“My last letter told you I was to embark (as I did) that day at Dunleary. We made since that two efforts to stand out on our homeward voyage, but were driven back by change of wind. However, on Friday last we stood out suddenly upon a change of wind in our favor, and persevered; but we encountered a most formidable tempest for nearly forty-eight hours, such as has been hardly known by the most veteran sailor, and, with the blessing of God, arrived safe in this port about eleven o'clock in the forenoon of yesterday. Not to be prolix, but in order to give you some little idea of our state, most of our fleet were separated, except the Royal Sovereign yacht, the Liffey frigate, and ourselves. The Grecian sloop of war, reckoned one of the best schooners in the service, sprung her mast, and was obliged entirely to part company from us in distress, and to make for the very first anchorage she could, where it is hoped she is long before this in safety, though as yet no intelligence of her has been received.

“Most even of our crew and company were deadly sick, but the very worst of all was my poor self; and I am now for the first time,

since we are again at anchor in smooth water, risen from my bed, and not without considerable exertion and inconvenience to myself. I have suffered so much solely for the purpose of writing to you; for I too gratefully feel the warmth of your affectionate heart towards me at all times, not only not to neglect you, but to prove to you that you are always present to my mind; and I felt quite sure, that if any part of our history of the last week should reach you, that the short note which Francis wrote you yesterday would not in the least answer the purpose of quieting your affectionate anxieties and cares about me. When Francis wrote, it was in the utmost haste to save the post, which leaves here before three in the afternoon, that you might know something decidedly of us, and we had then thoughts of pursuing our return overland, as he acquainted you; but, upon thorough consideration, we found this scheme next to impracticable—what from the very mountainous and bad state of the roads through this part of South Wales, the scarcity of horses, the dreadful length of the stages, and, after all, the formidable length of the journey itself to London (being above two hundred and seventy-two miles), and this, too, unattended with any sort of comfort or accommodation on the road, at any rate until we reached Gloucester. Upon the best calculation, therefore, we could not have reached our destination at earliest till Thursday night. We have therefore determined, all matters considered, to summon up resignation and patience to our aid, to wait the first steady and favorable wind, and which is now very promising, that will carry us round the Land's End in about eight hours; after which we shall make Portsmouth at the very latest twelve hours afterwards, let the wind be then almost whatever it may.

“In addition to this, I must also say that it was quite out of the question my being able, for two or three days at least, to encounter so tedious a journey by land; I am so completely shattered and torn to pieces by the effects and sickness of an eight-and-forty hours' tempest. Up to this moment, then, you are acquainted with everything upon which it is in my power to give you any information by letter. The veriest minutiae of the details of what has passed since we met, you shall have from me when we meet. Now, then, God bless you!

Ever yours, etc.,

“G. R.”

The following is the diary of the voyage: “On the 8th. Saturday, the wind being unfavorable, the fleet could not proceed, and



was obliged to lay to at sea during the night. On the 9th the squadron reached Milford Haven at twelve o'clock. On the 11th the royal squadron sailed from Milford. The gale being strong and contrary, the fleet encountered many dangers incident to boisterous weather. On the 12th it returned to Milford Haven, and his Majesty, after suffering much fatigue during his protracted voyage, determined to land. Milford was illuminated on the 13th, at half-past five. The King landed and commenced his journey to London. He slept at the Priory, the seat of the Marquis of Camden, that night. On the 14th, at 4 a.m., he set out again on his journey, and breakfasted at Monmouth with the Duke of Beaufort. His Majesty slept that night at Chapel House, Oxfordshire. On the 15th his Majesty arrived at his palace in Pall Mall, at seven o'clock in the evening, attended by Lord Graves, after an absence of forty days, twenty-two of which he spent in Ireland."

Such was this eventful progress, the disappointment at the result being of course in proportion to the rapturous delight exhibited. The display was virtually insincere on both sides, the *épanchement de cœur* evoked being unwarranted. Lord Byron gave vent to his contempt and bitterness at the whole proceeding in the well-known lines, "The Irish Avatar," in which he grossly ridiculed the person and the tastes of the King:

#### THE IRISH AVATAR.

Ere the daughter of Brunswick is cold in her grave,  
And her ashes still float to her home o'er the tide,  
Lo! George the triumphant speeds over the wave,  
To the long-cherished isle—which he loved like his bride.

But he comes! The Messiah of Royalty comes!  
Like a goodly Leviathan roll'd from the waves!  
Then receive him as best such an advent becomes,  
With a legion of cooks and an army of slaves. . . .

Is it madness or meanness which clings to thee now?  
Were he God—as he is but the commonest clay,  
With scarce fewer wrinkles than sins on his brow—  
Such servile devotion might shame him away. . . .

Spread, spread for Vitellius the royal repast,  
Till the gluttonous despot be stuffed to the gorge,  
And the roar of his drunkards proclaim him at last,  
The Fourth of the fools and oppressors called "George."

The wildest hopes were naturally excited, and a passage in his letter to the Lord Lieutenant, ambiguously expressed, seems to

have been construed as a promise of immediate relief for the Catholics. "All classes and descriptions of his Irish subjects have made the deepest impression on his mind, and he looks forward to the period when he shall revisit them with the strongest feeling of satisfaction. His Majesty trusts that, in the meantime, not only the spirit of loyal union, which now so generally exists, will remain unabated and unimpaired, and that every cause of irritation may be avoided and discountenanced, mutual forbearance and good-will observed and encouraged, and a security be thus afforded for the continuance of that comfort amongst themselves, which is not less essential to his Majesty's happiness than to their own, and which it has been the chief object of his Majesty, during his residence in this country, to cherish and promote." This was no more than a benevolent desire for peace among the opposing factions.

A great deal, however, was built on his studiously courteous reception of the Catholics, who were received in the closet, which caused consternation among many of the old "true blue" order. The impression made on the Duke of Montrose is worth recording. "It is not a little remarkable," he writes to Lord Eldon; "also, the command over themselves which the whole nation have had, from the highest to the lowest. At the theatre, though full of enthusiasm, they had a quietness and a desire to conduct themselves with propriety I never saw before. I have seen no drunkenness, no unregulated marks of affection and loyalty in the city; elsewhere, indeed, they have pressed upon the King to see and to touch him, a little inconveniently, and mixed perhaps with some superstition, as if some good would happen to them in some way or other from having touched the King or his clothes. The manner in which his Majesty has been received has had a great effect on his Majesty's feelings, and requires great tact not to hurry his Majesty into expressions which discretion may lament, or into comparisons more open perhaps than politic; also, perhaps, into grounds of expectation and hope which can hardly be realized." There was sound sense in these forecasts. Within a short time there was disgust on the one side at unfulfilled hope, and on the other a sense that his bourgeois familiarities and graciousness had been ill-repaid.

## CHAPTER V.

1821.

IN his absence occurred the death of the unfortunate Queen, whose troubled career was no doubt hurried to a close owing to the recent mortification she had encountered. It had been almost settled that she was to undertake a sort of tour in Scotland—it may be presumed a counter-move to the Irish expedition of her consort. There was, Sir Henry Holland says, a strange sort of irrational bravery in her nature, which made her disregard all common precautions, not merely as to public opinion, but even where personal risk was concerned. An acute internal inflammation had gone on for a couple of days without any attempt at checking it. She went, as we have seen, to the theatre; and it was on an accidental visit of her physician, Dr. Holland, that the first notice was taken of the malady. Bulletins were now regularly issued, but by the end of the week recovery was found to be hopeless. Her faithful friends gathered round her dying bed; Lord and Lady Hood (who, however, were quitting her service, the poor lady having selected a new favorite, the Rev. Mr. Wood, a son of the alderman), Lady Anne Hamilton, Mr. Wilde, Dr. Lushington, and the two counsel, Brougham and Denman—the former quitting the sickbed of his child to come to her. Mr. Denman describes what he saw with much true feeling. She lay on a sofa, a handkerchief round her head, her face flushed, her eyes bright, while she gave instructions for her will. From the first she had but little hope, and indeed was eager to quit the world that had been so troubled for her; and Lord Hood assured Mr. Denman that the speech reported in the newspapers was often on her lips: “I shall quit life without regret.” She was constant and cheerful throughout, even heroic, without being theatrical. On the Tuesday she grew suddenly worse, and towards evening an access of fever coming on, mortification having set in, she with much vehemence of manner and excitement denounced the conspiracies and persecution that had attended her, but presently became calm. Seeing Dr. Holland beside her, she said with



a smile: "Well, my dear doctor, what do you think now?" She took leave of her friends, thanking them for their kindness, and in a not undignified fashion passed away about ten o'clock on the night of August 7, 1821. By her will and codicils what fortune she possessed was left to her *protégé* Austin, with remembrances to various friends and dependants. Some debts—indeed £15,000 for her house—she commended to the care of the Government. She desired that she should be interred at Brunswick, and that the inscription, "Here lies Caroline of Brunswick, the injured Queen of England," be put on her coffin. If we can trust the profuse accounts of her conversations, one of her last acts was to declare her forgiveness of Dumont's calumnies. Mr. Wilde, afterward Lord Chancellor, was with her to the last, and told Mr. Denman that in her delirium the name of Bergami was never mentioned.\*

The excitement and grief at Hammersmith during these events was prodigious—expresses passing and repassing, the people crowding at the gates to learn the news. The whole kingdom was profoundly moved. Lord Castlereagh's blunt opinion was, that it was "to be regarded as the greatest of all possible deliverances for his Majesty and the country." But though this might be so, her interment was to bring his Majesty the most serious trouble and inconvenience.

It was evident that the funeral would be seized on as an opportunity for a public demonstration, which the Government were naturally eager to check. They resolved, therefore, while paying her the honors of a "lying in state," guards of honor, etc., that the body should not be taken through the City proper, but be brought round by devious and private ways. But the various partisans of the Queen, female as well as male, were determined that some capital should be made out of the display. A foolish correspondence was published between the Prime Minister and Lady Hood, the latter demanding that the funeral should be put off till she got her mourning ready—that there should be no guards, but the people should be trusted. On the day of the funeral—which was on the day week of her death—the unseemly proceedings began by a wrangle between the executors and the undertakers. Dr. Lushington made formal protest, urging the indecent haste shown, the

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\* Some Methodists were singing hymns on the river opposite her house, and, as they raised their voices, a violent gust of wind burst open the door of her room. At that moment she expired.

forcing into the procession a guard. "Touch the body at your peril!" exclaimed the eminent counsel. "You will not use violence?" replied the undertaker, who also had to endure much abuse of the strongest from Mr. Wilde. Both he and the undertaker declared they would use force to carry out their views, but wiser counsels prevailed, and the procession set out at about eight o'clock. It must be said that, under the circumstances, the affair was conducted handsomely. A hearse emblazoned with escutcheons and drawn by eight horses, heralds, twelve mourning coaches, and six squadrons of troopers, made a handsome show. But there was a deluge of rain that never ceased. The arrangements, no doubt due to the dull Lord Sidmouth—were from the starting-point carried out with a mixture of obstinacy and weakness that led to disastrous results. It had been determined that at Kensington the procession should turn off the main-road, ascending the steep Church Street, and so gain the Bayswater Road. But on arriving at this point, it was found that an enormous barricade of overturned wagons, etc., had been formed, which was literally impassable. The procession halted, while messengers were despatched for instructions to the Prime Minister. Towards eleven there arrived a Bow Street magistrate at the head of a troop of Life Guards, and who decided that it was impossible to force the obstruction. Amid yells of triumph from the mob, the word was given to move on to the gate next to Knightsbridge Barracks, where it was proposed to cross the Park. Here it became evident that the passionate excitement of the mob would lead to mischief, for they clung to the gates and refused to let them be opened. Again the authorities had to yield, and the crowd, flying on before, were found to have formed a fresh obstruction at Park Lane, where the next passage upwards was to be attempted. The officers in command, as well as the magistrate, had received the most imperative instructions not to go through the City, and were determined, or rather were obliged, to carry them out at all costs. The only resource appeared to be to open the Park gates and make for the gate where the Marble Arch now stands. Thus foiled, the crowd made for the gate, which they closed, and threw up a barricade in the direction of the Edgeware Road, along which the procession was to be taken. The railings were torn down and converted into pikes; the soldiers were attacked furiously with brickbats and stones, and, showing much good temper, were at last obliged to fire, killing two persons and wounding several others. On this the mob fell back sullenly, but, as will be seen, were not

beaten. For his share in this transaction, Sir Robert Wilson, having remonstrated with the officers in command in unbecoming language, was dismissed from the army. No doubt this was a severe step, but not more than was warranted by his behavior. Even after the collision, Lord Liverpool, who directed all the proceedings, sent repeated instructions to the magistrate to carry out the original programme, which the military all through persisted could have been done, but after the bloodshed at the Park, those in charge did not wish to risk another collision. The reason they were so eager not to pass through the City, was the foolish idea that the body would be seized and detained there in consequence of the executors' protest against the "indecent haste" exhibited. It is curious to find that they were also afraid the Lord Mayor would not admit the military. The procession, having made its way to Tottenham Court Road, had succeeded thus far in carrying out their programme—though indeed it was a strange funeral progress, marked at every step by violence, ill-will, stones, and bloodshed. Here there was found another enormous barricade. Attempts were made to turn the obstacle, but the result was that the procession was driven down to Drury Lane, and presently forced to enter the City at Temple Bar. The people having thus gained the victory, the body was taken triumphantly through the City, being met by the Lord Mayor and authorities.

It took a couple of days to get to Harwich, where on the embarkation there was a fresh unbecoming scene, though not an actual disturbance. At Colchester an altercation took place in the church as to screwing on the plate with the inscription, "Injured Queen of England," which the undertaker objected to, but which Dr. Lushington insisted on. The entrance into Harwich is described by the Queen's friends as offering a most degrading spectacle: "The undertaker leading on a lame horse, ten of his assistants following in pairs—a miserable spectacle, both as to cattle and dress: some with shoes, some with gaiters, some in spurs, others not." Unfortunately there is always something mean even in the most pretentious of these ceremonials—nothing is more degrading than the "behind the scenes" of these things. But it does not appear that the rites that attended the hapless Caroline to her grave were worse than others. The coffin was put on board a man-of-war, but it was then seen that another plate and inscription had been substituted. On the 24th of August it reached Brunswick, and was there interred with due state and ceremony at nightfall.



The whole obstructive attitude of the executors was indeed unreasonable, and justified Lord Sidmouth in describing it as factious. Their particular grievance was the "indecent haste" with which within a week the obsequies were pressed on, and the mode in which the direction was assumed by Government. But the case of the Government was unanswerable. The time, within three days, had actually been fixed by the Queen herself in her will. The Government was defraying all expenses, and the King, as her husband, had the undoubted right of making what arrangements he thought fit. Even all these were to be subservient to the public peace. That the charges of wishing to perform the ceremonies meanly and of wishing to give her maimed rites were unfounded, is shown by the order of the programme.

The Government was much troubled by these untoward events. It is amusing to find Lord Sidmouth, who was attending the King in Dublin, advising "that the tables should be turned, and we must become the accusers of the complainants, instead of suffering the complainants to be the accusers." Otherwise he is convinced "the Government will suffer severely in estimation and character." The police magistrate was dismissed. A contrast was the behavior of Lord Liverpool, who wrote eagerly to Dublin to propose a general mourning, which he said would gracefully wind up the unhappy business. But the King would not agree to this. He was displeased, too, at the body not being embarked in the river, but the Admiralty had objected. Lord Liverpool again pressed that the mourning should be general, and pronounced three weeks too short; but the King declined to alter his resolution.

## CHAPTER VI.

1821—1822.

IN this year also the King set off to visit Hanover. Sir William Knighton attended his Majesty, and wrote to his own family reports of his progress. They got to Brussels on Thursday the 28th of September. "The Duke of Wellington and Lords Londonderry and Clancarty were in waiting to receive us. In about half an hour after our arrival the King of the Netherlands, the Prince of Orange, and Prince Frederick paid their respects to his Majesty. We were all introduced. We then sat down to dinner, amounting to twenty-eight persons. I had one of my bad headaches; but I am now quite well. The truth is, I have so much to do I am almost worked to death. Sir B. precedes us. My King, God bless him! never gives me a moment. The pen is never out of my hand by day, and it is his wish that I sleep in his dressing-room at night; so that he has access to me at all hours. You will not, therefore, be surprised that you do not get long letters from me."

On Monday the 1st of October he writes: "This has been a busy and an interesting day. Early this morning we quitted Brussels for this place. We reached the little village of Waterloo about twelve o'clock, accompanied by Prince Frederick of Holland, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Clancarty, and a number of persons of minor distinction. The King went into the little church of the village, examined all the tablets of inscription upon the walls, then visited the willow-tree under which was buried the shattered limb of Lord Anglesey, and seemed greatly impressed with all around him. The day was very unfavorable—it rained torrents; but, notwithstanding this, the King went to the plain of Waterloo, accompanied by the duke, and examined every part of the various positions." This seems to have left a vivid impression on the King's mind. He often used to describe the ground and the battle, as it had been explained to him, and after libations of his favorite liqueurs, would delude himself that he had actively taken part in

the operations of the glorious day.\* At Dusseldorf "the whole garrison marched out by torchlight to serenade the King on his arrival. The effect was beautiful: I never heard such bands. The style in which they played 'God save the King' was enough to electrify one. I get but little sleep. I am, however (thanks be to the Almighty!), quite well. You may judge what I have to do. Sir B. is at Hanover, or nearly so, by this time. Our suite consists of nearly forty horses, besides the escort; and all this moves without the slightest confusion. I have now two large Prussian grenadiers at my bedroom door."

On Saturday the 6th of October they were at Osnaburg, where he was received with great rejoicings, illuminations, reviews, and even tears. Sir William tells us it was some sixty years since the loyal Hanoverians had seen their King. On the 10th he made his grand entry into Hanover on horseback. Then followed levees and drawing-rooms. There were battues and other festivities, a hasty coronation, but the natural result of these pleasures soon declared itself.

"Here I am, full of anxiety and wretchedness," writes the Court physician on the 4th of October. "The King has got a most severe and uncomfortable fit of the gout. This attack commenced two days since. I still entertain hopes that I shall be so far able to get it under that we may begin our journey on Thursday week. This will be two days later than I expected; but still I hope to save this by the route we intend to take. I have had an anxious time of it, I can assure you; but I do not regret it."

He soon got better, and Monday the 29th was able to set off for home. At Gottingen there was a tournament, and an address from the University of so feeling a character that "the King burst into tears." At a civic ball, however, he was in great spirits, dancing a polonaise with the wife of Herr Von Schimmelpennick and waltzing with the burgomaster's daughters. Notwithstanding, Mr. Fremantle reported that his Majesty returned "bored with the Germans and disgusted with his Hanoverians, and that his fit of the gout was but a pretext to get rid of them."

It was noted that since his dangerous voyage from Ireland, his Majesty had shown signs of a new-born religious feeling. On his way to London from Milford after the storm he had met Lord and

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\* On one occasion, boasting that he had led his own regiment down a great hill, he earnestly appealed to the Duke of Wellington as to his recollections of the feat. The reply was: "Very steep, your Majesty."



Lady Harcourt. He got out of his carriage and sat with them in theirs, on the public highway, recounting all his perils at sea. The lady, as she told her friends, was quite edified at his pious acknowledgments of his escape, and there was quite a change to be noticed in his conduct. His physician, too, writing on the German expedition, notes various occasions on which service was performed. Connected with this feeling is an amusingly scrupulous letter on the appointment of an Irish Archbishop:

## THE KING TO LORD LIVERPOOL.

“[Most secret and confidential.]

“Carlton House, Thursday night, 12.30, May 16th, 1822.

“DEAR LORD LIVERPOOL,

“I have been thinking very seriously on the subject relative to the Primate of Ireland, and I cannot make up my mind that either you or the Lord Lieutenant are right in the conclusion which you both seem disposed to come to as to the individual to be exalted to that sacred station.

“I am too far advanced in life not to give subjects of this description the most serious and attentive consideration. It is, alas! but too true that policy is too often obliged to interfere with our best intentions; but I do think, where the head of the Church is concerned, especially at such a moment, we ought alone to be influenced by religious duty. Do not be surprised at this scrupulous language, for I am quite sincere. I think that you would do well to inquire of the Archbishop of Canterbury if no English bishop on the bench can be found fitting and suitable for such an important trust; and if not, if no dignitary of the Church in this country can be selected for that purpose (for you will remember that Dr. Howley was most justly at once made Bishop of London); let us have piety and learning if possible. Besides, I do not like, I cannot reconcile myself to have the primacy of Ireland filled by an Irishman, for let us not forget the particular circumstances in which we are at present placed. I have no confidence in Lord Wellesley's opinion upon this subject. I shall say no more, but I desire you to give this your deliberate consideration.

“Believe me your sincere friend,

“G. R.”

It is to be also noted that effusive declarations of the Irish voyage now often suggested themselves as requiring some fulfilment, and it

was significant that Sir M. Tierney went about declaring that it was an injustice to the King that the claims of the Catholics should be refused. The King was also out of humor with his ministers as to baronetcies, and on his desire to make Lord Conyngham Master of the Horse, the ministry objected, on which "a violent quarrel" took place.

The King, who had visited Ireland and Hanover, now felt that he must confer a similar honor on an important portion of his dominions. Indeed, the Scotch had already expressed some jealous dissatisfaction at the preference given to another portion of the kingdom, and the Sovereign—who was now, and not unnaturally, beginning to fancy himself the "idol of his people"—was eager to receive fresh instalments of the welcoming acclamations of his subjects. A visit to Edinburgh was therefore settled upon.

That nation, with a more wealthy middle class, and a more magnificent nobility, far exceeded the Irish in the splendor of their preparations for his reception. The whole kingdom became alive with preparations, for which some antique remnants of chivalric customs, newly kindled by the enthusiasm of Walter Scott, were admirably adapted, in the view of scenic effect. The preparations were of the most elaborate character—new roads were made, old and ugly buildings thrown down, painting and decorations set on foot, while for the Lord Provost a magnificent equipage or coach, with six horses, was got ready; costumes and fancy uniforms, imaginatively accepted as connected with old days of chivalry, were devised; Celtic guards, etc.; while Sir Walter Scott wrote ballads to kindle the enthusiasm.\*

His Majesty embarked at Gravesend on Saturday, August 10th,

\* CARLE, NOW THE KING'S COME!

BY SIR WALTER SCOTT, BART.

*Being new Words to an auld Spring.*

The news has flown frae mouth to mouth,  
The North for ance has bang'd the South;  
The Deil a Scotman's die o' drouth,  
Carle, now the King's come!

CHORUS.

Carle, now the King's come!  
Carle, now the King's come!  
Thou shalt dance, and I will sing,  
Carle, now the King's come!

And so on for nearly forty stanzas.

1822, amid tumultuous exclamations of joy and loyalty. The royal yachts, the Lord Mayor's barge, and a fleet of attendant boats, were all moored off the hospital, and formed a scene of extraordinary brilliancy and color. The Royal George and the Royal Sovereign were to take him down the river, while a squadron of war-vessels awaited him at the open sea.\*

The King embarking, as was latterly his wont, with a benediction—"God bless you all!"—retired to his cabin to change his dress, and presently appeared on the deck in full naval uniform, and "wearing a cocked hat." His yacht was taken in tow by a steam-tug, and he set off amid extraordinary excitement. Not till Wednesday did the vessels reach Leith.† As soon as it was descried all Edinburgh poured out to line the hills and try and get a glimpse of the visitor; but the King determined not to land until the following morning. Visitors however arrived, among them Sir W. Scott, whom he greeted with, "The man in Scotland I most wished to see. Let him come up." As on the Irish visit, whisky celebrated the arrival, and his Majesty called for some prime Glenlivet, in which he made Sir Walter pledge him.‡ The latter was the bearer of a

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\* The modest accommodation of a royal yacht in those days offers a contrast to what is required now. "The quarter-deck of this royal yacht scarcely exceeded in decoration that of one of our crack frigates. The King's dining-cabin is a room about twenty-three feet wide and full seventeen feet deep. A door, opposite to that by which we had entered, conducted us through a passage about three feet and a half wide and seven feet and a half long, to the King's state-cabin, or drawing-room, which we supposed to be about twenty feet wide and fifteen or sixteen deep. To the left of the passage, entered by a door from the state-cabin, was the King's bedchamber, measuring about thirteen feet one way and the length of the passage the other. The ceiling was about six feet and a half from the deck, and the royal apartments, though richly and tastefully fitted up, did not appear to contain a single superfluous piece of furniture. In the two bookcases of the state-cabin were several standard works. The Royal George, we understand, measures three hundred and thirty tons, and was built in 1817, at Deptford dockyard, from a design by Sir Henry Peake, one of the surveyors of the navy. The King's trip to Ireland last year, it seems, afforded indubitable proofs of the superiority of her construction. In the two days' gale which his majesty experienced on his return, the yacht shipped scarcely any water; while the attendant frigates were 'plunging bows and bowsprits under.'"

† One of the *avant-couriers* was the inevitable Sir William Curtis, in his yacht, Die jongs Vrow Rebecca Maria.

‡ The enthusiastic poet, who was in a sort of rapture the whole time, begged for the glass, and put it in his pocket; but on his return found his brother-poet Crabbe waiting, and in his excitement forgot the precious relic, and sat down upon it, crushing it to pieces.



badge or decoration, made to the order of the ladies of Edinburgh, and which he promised to wear. A bottle of wine was graciously thrown into another vessel, in which his Majesty's health was drunk: a guinea was offered for the empty bottle, and refused. Two noblemen begged to be allowed to keep the glasses which the King had handed to them.

Sir William Knighton gives this little account of the scene: "Yesterday was the day of our arrival. The weather continued wet, stormy, and uncomfortable during the whole night at Leith Roads; the yacht at anchor had an uncomfortable motion. I saw, for the first time, Walter Scott, who came on board immediately on our coming to anchor. He has no trace in his countenance of such superior genius and softness of mind as the beauty of his writings displays; but the moment he speaks you discover a correctness of understanding and a display of intellect marked by the utmost accuracy of thought. Speaking of the incessant rain, he said in his Scotch phraseology, 'All I can say is, I am perfectly ashamed of it.' The King then desired him to take a glass of cherry brandy, which he graciously handed to him himself. Walter Scott, when he had drunk it, craved a great favor from his Majesty, that he might be permitted to put the glass in his pocket to keep it as a relic, to his feelings above all value. The King's landing yesterday was most impressive and magnificent. By all accounts, more than a million of people had collected together on the occasion."

On the following day the King entered Edinburgh, being met by a magnificent procession, in which all the old offices of honor were represented, and to set off which picturesque, if fanciful, dresses were devised. There was the Lord Lyon with a crown on, White Rod, Celtic guards, while his Majesty himself appeared in his admiral's uniform. "He was heard to declare that the Scotch were a nation of gentlemen." At the close of the proceedings he arrived at Holyrood, where the old regalia of Scotland were offered by the "Knight Marischal;" then a pair of "barbed arrows" were presented on behalf of the "Royal Archers," who had dresses for the occasion. The day was finished at Dalkeith Palace, where the young Duke of Buccleuch—then about sixteen years old—received the King, who, however, brought his own cooks and household.

Then followed levees and drawing-rooms of extraordinary magnificence. His Majesty appeared in a suit of Stuart tartan, though he was not a little annoyed at the *gaucherie* of his admirer, Sir W. Curtis, who was arrayed in a suit of the same material and clan, and

from his bulk seemed a sort of parody of his august patron. At the drawing-room the King appeared as a field-marshal. Then followed a performance at the theatre of "Rob Roy," and a banquet, at which he was observed to partake of turtle and grouse soups, stewed carp, and venison, in the first course, and in the second, of grouse and apricot tart. He drank moselle, champagne, and claret.

He made a characteristic speech, in the delivery of which "the voice of his Majesty was evidently affected by his feelings. There was a blandness in it, a pathos, which, more than even the words, spoke to the heart of every one present. Throughout his Majesty's utterance was most distinct; but, as he proceeded, there was an increase of energy; and, in concluding, he placed his hand upon his heart, and expressed himself with powerful emphasis." During the loyal songs, he not only beat time to the chorus, but "accompanied it with his voice." A more edifying spectacle was his visit to church of a Sunday morning. It was noted that "he lifted a psalm-book, and stood during the reading." \*

The music and dancing seemed to give him great enjoyment, which he signified by "looking up at the band and snapping his fingers." The celebrated Gow orchestra, which performed at Almack's, was here, and his Majesty used pleasantly to despatch his young host on errands to the *chef d'orchestre*, "with the benevolent view of disengaging him from the more arduous duties of the table. 'Come, Buccleuch,' said his Majesty, slapping him on the shoulder, 'you are the youngest man in the company, and must make yourself useful.' A glass of liqueur having been offered to the young duke immediately after dinner, the King observed it, and said with a gracious smile, 'No! no! it is too strong for his grace to drink.' After dinner his Majesty rose from his seat, and, advancing close to the band, graciously condescended to address Mr. Gow for the space of several minutes. Among other flattering remarks, he observed:

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\* "The spectacle of a monarch proceeding to humble himself in adoration before the King of kings could scarcely fail with a rational people to act as an example—as an incentive to devotion, rather than as the signal of clamorous rejoicing. When the royal carriage was near to the Cross, a few boys took off their hats, as if about to cheer his Majesty; but some old men dissuasively held up their hands, and the most prompt obedience was yielded to the signal. This circumstance was much noticed by the King, who turned round, seemingly pleased, and made some observation respecting it to his attendants. Indeed, we have reason to believe that there was no part of the behavior of his Scottish subjects which was more admired by his majesty than their conduct on this solemn occasion."

‘From my earliest years I have always been fond of Scottish music, and have often listened to it with pleasure, but have never had so great a treat as this evening. I am happy to see the representative of Neil Gow in this place; and long may he live to delight his friends!’ Gow was quite confounded with such a marked proof of the royal regard—his heart swelled, and his lips faltered; but, sensible that some acknowledgment was due, which, if not courteous, ought at least to be emphatic, he made an effort to ejaculate the words, ‘God Almighty bless your Majesty!’ which fell upon the royal ear in indistinct murmurs. When the King had withdrawn, Gow in some degree recovered his composure, and was heard to utter, ‘I’m perfectly contented to die now!’”

On the 29th of August the King took his departure. His last words on quitting Dalkeith being his favorite benediction, “God bless you all!”\*

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\* One of those fantastic exhibitions which he delighted in and encouraged, attended his departure. “In Ireland last year he was visited by a poor diminutive Irish cripple of the name of O’Brien, who came from the south coast in a miniature cutter of his own constructing, not more than four feet in length, and in which (his legs and the greater part of his body being curiously stowed under the deck) he encountered rather a stormy sea in coasting along into Dublin Bay. He got safely alongside the royal yacht, however, and appeared in his tiny bark before his majesty, who, pleased with the novel effort of the dwarfish and adventurous sailor, gave orders that ten sovereigns, with a plentiful supply of provisions, should be presented to him. The completion of this spirited expedition justly entitled the obscure navigator to preferment, and he was promoted by the sailors to the rank of commodore, by which title he has been familiarly distinguished ever since. On the occasion of his Majesty’s recent visit to Scotland, O’Brien deemed it proper to repeat his demonstrations of loyalty and attachment; and for this purpose he shipped himself and his craft to Scotland, but it was upset and lost, and the King kindly ordered a new one for him.”



## CHAPTER VII

1822-1824.

BUT while he was engaged in his junketing to Scotland a very serious event had occurred. This was the death of Lord Londonderry.\* It was curious that while he was in Ireland he should have lost his Queen, and while in Scotland his Minister. Naturally this death threatened serious annoyance for the King. He, as his ministers also, felt that Mr. Canning alone must fill the vacancy. Lord Liverpool suggested that the matter should stand over till the Scotch progress should be concluded. Lord Liverpool was probably not sorry that the occupations of a different kind to which his Majesty was pledged for the next week or two would give him time gradually to accustom his mind to the contemplation of what he himself must have seen to be so desirable as to be almost unavoidable; and therefore in his first communication proposed to postpone all discussions on the subject till the King should return to London. The King's reply approved the delay.

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\* On leaving the King, a gentleman (Sir J. Beckett) said to him carelessly: "So you purpose leaving us for the Congress?" "Purpose!" was the answer; "so you are in the conspiracy against me, to prevent me going?" The other was confounded, and knew not what to answer. But to the Duke of Wellington his behavior was more strange. He had noticed, he said, his silence and depression. "Just," he continues in his memorandum, "as he was starting for the Netherlands at four o'clock, he took me into his house to talk to me about the same story that he told to you and to Lord Liverpool; and, strange to say, he imagined from my manner at the last Cabinet, and afterwards walking home with him, that I had heard something against him, and believed it. He thought the same of the Duke of York. And he told me some strange story of a man telling him this day that his horses were waiting for him when he was coming out of Carlton House . . . as a proof that the person who had ordered up his horses thought there was so much against him that he ought to fly the country. He then rang the bell to ask about his horses." He then cried excessively. The Duke adds: "I fear he has mentioned this story to more." The Duke at once sent to Dr. Bankhead, Lord Londonderry's medical adviser, who went to him, cupped him, and succeeded in getting him down to his country place, also going himself. He tells

## THE KING TO LORD LIVERPOOL.

“[Private.]

“Royal George Yacht, Leith Roads,  
“August 15, 1822.

“DEAR LORD LIVERPOOL,

“I cannot express the painful grief which I feel at your melancholy communication; melancholy indeed, both for myself and others who knew the inestimable value of this superior and excellent person.

“The ways of Providence are so inscrutable to us poor blind creatures that, on occasions of this description, the agony of one’s mind is lost in amazement. You, my lord, will not be surprised that I should feel this. I think you have judged rightly in not coming, and I quite approve that no arrangements should be thought of till my return to town.

Your sincere friend,

“GEORGE R.

“P.S.—I write one word more, to desire that you will favor no intentions respecting the blue ribbon.”

But, as Mr. Yonge says, a couple of days afterwards he followed up his first-letter by a second, showing a curious desire to elude the proposal which he foresaw must be made to him, by getting Canning, if possible, out of the way before it could be mentioned.

## THE SAME TO THE SAME.

“[Most private.]

“Dalkeith Palace, August 17th, 1822.

“DEAR LORD LIVERPOOL,

“Notwithstanding the hurry and agitated confusion in which I am necessarily kept, yet, as you may suppose, I cannot help considering very deeply the distress and embarrassment in which

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the tragedy that followed. About seven o’clock on the Monday morning the maid called to him, saying Lord Londonderry wished to see him. He found him in his dressing-room, standing opposite the window, with his face to the ceiling. The doctor ran towards him, saying: “My dear Lord, why do you stand so?” Upon which, without turning, he answered: “Bankhead, let me fall upon your arm; it is all over.” In the agony of the moment Dr. Bankhead caught him on his arm, and, dreadful to relate, saw a short-bladed knife in his right hand, fiercely clinched, with which he had deeply divided the carotid artery. And from the sudden effusion of blood he instantly fell from Bankhead’s arms on his face upon the floor, and was instantly dead without a struggle.

my Government must be placed by the death of my esteemed and valued friend Lord Londonderry.

"The immediate object of my writing to you this letter is not to make any proposal at present with a view of supplying the lamentable void produced by the untimely death of this excellent statesman, but to desire that you will not interrupt, and on no account impede the arrangements which are already settled respecting India, as it is my decision that they should remain final and unalterable.

"I am induced to say thus much to you for the purpose of guarding you against any new negotiations with the individual in question.

Believe me, your sincere friend always,

"G. R."

MR. PEEL TO LORD LIVERPOOL.

"[Most private.]

"Edinburgh, August 20th, 1822.

"DEAR LORD LIVERPOOL,

"I think it right, at least it will be a satisfaction to my mind, to mention to you something which passed with the King yesterday.

"On going into the closet to him before the addresses were presented, he said to me, 'I will now tell you what I purposely postponed telling you until forty-eight hours after I had done it, that I have written to Lord Liverpool informing him that it is my decided intention that all the arrangements with respect to India should remain as they were settled before Lord Londonderry's death, and that there should be no delay in completing them.' The King added, 'I hope you think I have done right.' I replied that I was sensible of his kindness in not having previously mentioned his intention to write to you, and that I hoped he would excuse me if I declined giving any opinion upon the subject of his letter to you, or saying a word upon any point connected with it.

"Believe me, dear Lord Liverpool, yours most truly,

"ROBERT PEEL."

THE KING TO LORD ELTON.

"Royal George Yacht, Leith Roads,

"August 15th, ½ pt. 8 P.M., 1822.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I have this moment heard from Liverpool of the melancholy death of his and my dear friend, poor Londonderry. On



Friday was the last time I saw him: my own mind was then filled with apprehensions respecting him, and they have, alas! been but too painfully verified. My great object, my good friend, in writing to you to-night, is to tell you that I have written to Liverpool, and I do implore of you not to lend yourself to any arrangement whatever, until my return to town. This, indeed, is Lord Liverpool's own proposal; and, as you may suppose, I have joined most cordially in the proposition. It will require the most prudent foresight on my part relative to the new arrangements that must now necessarily take place. You may easily judge of the state of my mind. Ever believe me,

Your sincere Friend,

"G. R."

It will thus be seen that the King fancied that this transparent artifice, this affected eagerness that the arrangements of the late Secretary should be carried out, would escape observation.

When the King returned to town, however, a very serious struggle began, and he showed that he was determined to resist the introduction into his Cabinet of the person he so disliked. The Prime Minister, the Duke of Wellington, who was at this time ill, and the Cabinet generally, with the exception of the Chancellor, felt that there was no other course to be taken. They were, moreover, aided by the *camarilla* influence. It was lamentable to find the King invariably taking issue on matters where resistance was perfectly idle; but there are weak minds which are deluded into supposing that such a struggle in which they are worsted is a victory instead of a humiliation. He had some reliance on the Duke of Wellington, to whom he despatched Sir W. Knighton for advice and consultation; "the gentleman," the Duke says, "whom the King had been so kind as to send to him." To him he gave the most substantial and sensible reasons for submission, based on Canning's talents, and his opinions being in the main the same as those of the Government. As to the Chancellor's objections, if Canning had spoken harshly of him, so had he of Canning. As to the King's "feelings," the Duke addressed his Majesty in this bold and manly strain: "Then your Majesty's feelings. Your Majesty conceives that Mr. Canning has offended you, and that your Majesty's honor requires that you should resent this offence. If it were a case between two individuals, they should lay aside their private feelings for the good of the public. But when it came to be a point between the King and one of his subjects, then the honor of

your Majesty consists in acts of grace and mercy, and I am convinced that your Majesty's honor is most safe in extending your grace and favor to Mr. Canning."

## THE KING TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"Carlton House, September 5, 1822.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I was very glad to learn by the friend whom I sent to your bedside yesterday, that you were rather better, and I hope that I shall have your further amendment confirmed by him to-day.

"He gave me a most faithful and detailed account of your opinion and kind feelings under the painful embarrassment in which we are at present placed, and I must confess that it has produced a stronger conviction on my mind than anything that has been previously urged by others. If I could get over that which is so intimately connected with my private honor, all might be well; but how, my friend, is that to be effected? I have a perfect reliance in your dutiful affection towards me as your Sovereign; I have the most unbounded confidence in your sentiments of regard towards me as your friend; my reliance therefore in you is complete. I am, with great truth,

Your affectionate,

"G. R."

## THE SAME.

"Carlton House, September 7, 1822.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"If you are quite well enough to come out to-day, of course I shall be most anxious to see you; but let me desire of you in the strongest manner not to leave your room at any hazard.

"I have written to Lord Liverpool to say I shall defer my interview with him until I shall have had the pleasure of seeing you. My friend, whom I again send with this, will receive from you, in the interim, any new sentiments or opinions that further reflection may have induced you to form on the painful subject under consideration. I am most sensibly impressed with your dutiful and affectionate attention to my interests and happiness. Believe me, with great truth,

Your affectionate,

"G. R."

The Chancellor, whose clinging to office seemed to delude him into the most extraordinary compromises, had talked of resigning.

He now, however, found himself alone in the Cabinet in his opposition. His explanation of his situation to the Duke of Wellington is truly amusing, and it is needless to say the episode is lightly touched in Mr. Twiss's biography. "I saw the King," he writes to the Duke, "this morning (September 8), and he was inclined to tell me what he was about to tell Lord Liverpool, and to ask my advice. I stated that it was not proper for me to give advice on a thing that I did not concur in. I could not induce myself to act according to the advice you gave me this morning. In truth, I know not how any person who has seen the King in the distress in which I have seen him during this week, and has heard what has fallen from his lips during this week, could in any way further this measure." At the same time he owns that the Duke's words "had led to some improvement in my own conduct." He would like to see him again!

#### THE KING TO LORD LIVERPOOL.

"[Private.]

"Carlton House, September 8, 1822.

"DEAR LORD LIVERPOOL,

"I send you the enclosed note; by this you will see that I have sacrificed my private feelings, as you and other members of the Cabinet have represented to me that it is what you consider to be for the good of the public service. I have on every occasion, as in this instance, shown my regard and sincerity towards my Government, and I therefore look with confidence to a similar return. This is the greatest sacrifice of my opinions and feelings that I have ever made in my life.

"Believe me, your sincere Friend,

"G. R."

#### THE SAME.

"Carlton House, September 8, 1822.

"The King has given the fullest consideration to the proposition submitted by Lord Liverpool relative to the admission of Mr. Canning into the King's Government.

"The King has always been justly impressed with the value of Mr. Canning's talents, and the King had taught himself to believe that such talents might and ought to have been exercised for the benefit of his Sovereign and his country.

"When Mr. Canning thought proper to tender his resignation to



the King, and to retire from the King's councils, the King expressed to Mr. Canning his regret that the country was to be deprived of his services.

"It was at this period of time that the King had reason to view with surprise the line of conduct which Mr. Canning then, and afterwards, thought proper to adopt.

"The King forbears to enter into details; the King is aware that the brightest ornament of his crown is the power of extending grace and favor to a subject who may have incurred his displeasure.

"The King therefore permits Lord Liverpool to propose Mr. Canning's readmission into the Government, and the King desires that the communication may be made to Mr. Canning by the transmission of this note. G. R."

LORD LIVERPOOL TO THE KING.

"[Private.]

"Coombe Wood, September 8, 1822.

"Lord Liverpool has this moment had the honor of receiving your Majesty's letter, and he feels himself quite overcome with the generosity and goodness manifested by your Majesty, in the sacrifice which your Majesty has condescended to make of your personal feelings, to the consideration of what has been humbly represented to your Majesty by so many of your confidential servants, as the advantage of the public service.

"Your Majesty may most fully rely upon the deep impression which this act of confidence and kindness of your Majesty cannot fail to make upon the minds of Lord Liverpool and of all those with whom your Majesty has been graciously pleased to communicate upon this most trying occasion.

"Lord Liverpool will, in obedience to your Majesty's commands, communicate to Mr. Canning your Majesty's letter, by which your Majesty has been graciously pleased to consent to his admission into your Majesty's service."

Lord Liverpool was "quite overcome by the generosity and goodness" of his Majesty. But it is curious to find that not until three days later, and after an interview, did he communicate the King's letter to Canning;\* while the latter did not send his reply

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\* Lord Liverpool's doubts in sending the King's letter are shown in his own to Canning. He urged on him "that after the severe calamity which the King and the country have sustained, and under all circumstances of the

to his Majesty for yet two more days. The King's letter is dated September 8th, and Canning's reply the 13th. The meaning of this delay in Mr. Canning's case arose not, as Mr. Yonge supposes, from a disinclination to resign his Indian appointment, but from indignation. He took particular offence at the words "grace and favor," as did also his wife, and he wrote an angry reply to Lord Liverpool, which he intended should be shown to the King. However, Mr. Charles Ellis and Lord Grenville, on hearing of this, hurried to him, and by the most earnest arguments succeeded in dissuading him from sending the document.

#### MR. CANNING TO THE KING.

"Gloucester Lodge, September 13th, 1822.

"Mr. Canning apprehends that it might be considered as disrespectful to the King to omit taking notice of the letter from his Majesty to Lord Liverpool, which Lord Liverpool was specially directed to transmit to Mr. Canning.

"Mr. Canning therefore acknowledges, with all thankfulness and humility, the King's spontaneous signification of his Majesty's 'grace and favor,' and he is particularly grateful for his Majesty's great condescension in specifying the precise period of time at which Mr. Canning had the misfortune to 'incur his Majesty's displeasure,' as he is confident that, if he were not restrained by his Majesty's declared wish from entering into details, he could make it clear that in the transactions of that period he had not the remotest intention of giving any offence to his Majesty.

"Mr. Canning has only further to express his humble acknowledgments to his Majesty for the confidence so generously manifested in the very nature of the proposal which his Majesty has authorized Lord Liverpool to make to him, a confidence which it will be Mr. Canning's earnest and constant endeavor to deserve."

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present crisis, a sense of public duty must preclude you from making any difficulty as to taking your part in the councils of the King's Government at home at this time. I know enough of his Majesty's disposition and magnanimity to be satisfied that, however his feelings may have been wounded by some past occurrences, the causes of which have now gone by, he would never have consented to admit you, or any one, into his councils, unless he had determined to afford to the individual the fullest confidence that might be necessary for the discharge of the important duties of the high and arduous situation which he might be called upon to fill."

There is something ironical in the quotation of the words 'grace and favor,' and the affected gratitude. The King, however, does not appear to have been informed of the real reason for the delay, which he was surprised at.

## THE KING TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"Carlton House, 4 P.M., September 13th, 1822.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I am glad to find, by my friend, that you are better to-day; and I hope and trust that the indisposition is nearly over.

"Lord Liverpool has just been with me, and the affair respecting Canning may be considered as concluded. The reason given for the delay was what you kindly sent to me this morning; viz.—the sentiment expressed in my letter, which either you or I should have settled in five minutes. I was glad to find there was no other crotchet or proposition behind. This ends the last calamity. My reliance is on you, my friend; be watchful therefore. God bless you.

"Your sincere Friend,

"G. R."

It always seemed a little mysterious why the King, after so indulgently condoning Mr. Canning's behavior on the Queen's trial, should have taken offence at his conduct in the later proceedings connected with it. Mr. Greville, who is generally well informed, heard from an intimate friend of Canning's that the resentment was owing to the payments for the Milan Commission, which Lord Londonderry promised should be charged to the State, but which Canning insisted should be defrayed by the King himself. But there was another and better reason to be stated presently.

All being thus happily composed, an interview with the King followed, of which Mr. Canning says coldly: "I have reason to be contented with the King's behavior at our first interview; and I have learned from good authority that his Majesty professed to have been 'pleased and satisfied' with mine." It is amusing to hear the King's account. He told Madame de Lieven "that having consented to receive him, he behaved, as he always did, in the most gentlemanlike manner he could, and that on delivering the seals to him, he said to him that he had been advised by his ministers that his abilities and eloquence rendered him the only fit man to succeed to the vacancy which Lord Londonderry's death had made, and that



in appointing him he had only to desire that he would follow in the steps of his predecessors." There was something clever in this speech. By-and-by it will be seen how this step was for the King's good, and how this admirable foreign minister was to raise his country to a high position abroad by his fearless resolute conduct in his dealings with the representatives of other countries.

Lord Liverpool had written on the subject of sending Lord W. Bentinck to India, and on some other political steps. He received this reply:

THE KING TO LORD LIVERPOOL.

"[Private.]

"Keeper's Lodge, October 8th, 1822.

"DEAR LORD LIVERPOOL,

"I coincide completely with you in the opinion that it would be highly inadvisable that Lord William Bentinck should be the successor of Lord Hastings.

"With respect to the other suggestions you have offered me for my consideration, I must fairly acknowledge to you that I think they are all attended with more or less difficulty, and any one of them in the abstract likely, if not certain, of being followed by serious inconvenience in the result.

"I can have no hesitation in stating as my opinion, that the present Speaker would be a very proper person to go to India. As to Mr. Wynne, if he is deemed the properest person to fill the vacancy in the Chair of the House of Commons, and supposing him to attain it, I am decidedly of opinion that he and all his connections (taking into view the two very highest and most marked favors which I have conferred within the short space of two years upon the Duke of Buckingham) ought to be content; and that if they are not so in consequence, nothing that ever I can do, or my Government ever can or may do, will satisfy their immeasurable pretensions.

"With regard to the admission of the Duke of Buckingham into the Cabinet, I am certain that, independent of any other objection to which it is so palpably open, it would be one of the most unpopular measures that the Government could have recourse to; and here I must candidly state to you an opinion which I have long entertained, that my Cabinet (from a variety of circumstances) has become by far too numerous; and at the same time that I do admit, that in the present instance (were it to take place) this would not

be increasing the number of those who compose the Cabinet at present, still I think you ought well to consider, upon any vacancy occurring in several of those offices which have lately been made Cabinet situations, before you suffer them to be filled up with the like important trust being attached to them.

“Your sincere Friend,

“G. R.”

THE SAME.

“[Private.]

“Royal Lodge, Windsor Park, October 9th, 1822.

“DEAR LORD LIVERPOOL,

“I hope you will find that I have not delayed the return of the messenger very long.

“I shall certainly not object to the nomination of Lord Amherst to the station of Governor-General in India, if he be the individual that is the most desired by the Board of Directors; at the same time you cannot but be sensible, that for many reasons he could have no pretensions, and indeed in no way could he be the object of my own selection.

“Your sincere Friend,

“G. R.”

The strangely-constituted disposition of George IV. often displayed itself in his dislike to various ministers even holding the more subordinate positions, to whom he objected as being forced upon him. It being now proposed to promote Mr. Huskisson, he offered some objections; but in this showed a certain sagacity, as it would be strengthening Mr. Canning in the Cabinet, whose friend he was. Lord Liverpool, however, and the others seem to have arranged that the King was to be humored, by foregoing the plan and by yielding to his Majesty's objections; and it was agreed with Mr. Huskisson that he was *reculer pour mieux sauter*.

THE KING TO LORD LIVERPOOL.

“[Private.]

“Pavilion, Brighton, January 3, 1823.

“MY DEAR LIVERPOOL,

“I have great pleasure in acquiescing in your proposal respecting Mr. Vansittart, and in whatever way it may be agreeable to him to be raised to the peerage, I am most ready to assent to it. I beg you will have the goodness to acquaint him that I am fully

sensible of the value of his past services, and the high estimation in which I hold his private character.

“I think your selection of Mr. Robinson as Mr. Vansittart’s successor well judged, and one very likely to give great satisfaction to the country gentlemen.

“I hope Mr. Robinson will feel the tribute of affection and regard that has been paid to the memory of his and our friend poor Lord Londonderry by your selection.

“To Mr. Huskisson’s appointment I have no objection; I think that you are quite right in abridging the number in your Cabinet; but I leave it entirely to your decision if you should think the admission of Mr. Huskisson into the Cabinet for the good of the public service not to hesitate to do so, but upon this I rely with great confidence on your honest and prudent judgment. Who is to succeed Mr. Huskisson? for that you have not mentioned. I beg to offer you and Lady Liverpool \* the compliments of the season.

“Believe me, with great regard,

“Your sincere Friend,

“G. R.”

There was another who had grave misgivings as to what was going on—“Old Baggs,” the Lord Chancellor. What first seriously staggered him was this introduction of Mr. Huskisson, Mr. Canning’s friend, into the Cabinet. Lord Sidmouth, one of the last of the “True Blues,” was leaving. Lord Liverpool had “backslided.” He was almost the sole survivor of the supporters of the Constitution. “Really,” he exclaims, “this is rather too much—turning out one man and introducing another in the way all this is done, is telling the Chancellor that he should not give them the trouble of disposing of him, but should (not treated as Chancellor) cease to be a Chancellor. What makes it worse is, that the great man of all has a hundred times most solemnly declared that no connection of a certain person’s should come in. There is no believing one word anybody says; and what makes the matter still worse is, that everybody acquiesces most quietly, and waits in all humility and patience till their own turn comes. I have written to Liverpool (before this news came, and therefore not on the ground of this fact) that I have no wish to remain Chancellor; and, to say the truth, I think those

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\* In the preceding autumn Lord Liverpool had married Miss Chester, a niece of the first Lord Bagot.



who do remain, and especially that officer, stand a very good chance of being disgraced." The "great man" was of course his "dear master," with whom he was much discontented, and on whom, in letters to his family, he could be sarcastic enough. To his Majesty personally, however, he was lavish in professions of devotion.

("Probably July 21, 1823.)

"All the world here is running on Sundays to the Caledonian Chapel in Hatton Garden, where they hear a Presbyterian orator from Scotland, preaching, as some ladies term it, charming matter, though downright nonsense. To the shame of the King's ministers be it said, that many of them have gone to this schism shop with itching ears. Lauderdale told me that when Lady —— is there, the preacher never speaks of an heavenly mansion, but an heavenly pavilion. For other ears mansion is sufficient. This is a sample !"

#### THE KING TO LORD ELDON.

"August 18, 1823.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I have now to thank you for two letters: the expressions in the first bespeak so well those kind and affectionate feelings of your heart towards me, and so long known to me, as to ensure you a thorough reciprocity on my part towards yourself. With respect to the letter which I received from you this morning, I can only say that I hope you will not neglect availing yourself of the very first moment of release that you can seize from all your arduous and laborious occupations, to indulge in a little tranquillity and repose in the country, and which I pray God may be the means of very long preserving a life so very invaluable, both to me as a friend as well as to the public service.

"With sincere affection I remain always,

"G. R."

Not to be beguiled, however, Lord Eldon wrote to his venerable brother:

"The appointment of Lord Francis Conyngham in the Foreign Office has, by female influence, put Canning beyond the reach of anything to affect him, and will assuredly enable him to turn those out whom he does not wish to remain in. The King is in such thralldom that one has nobody to fall back upon. The person that

has got . . . after having in conversations, I believe, uttered nothing that was kind about Canning, was one of his voters for his Cabinet office. The devil of it is, there is no consistency in anybody. Again, upon *ne cede malis*, it is better to go out than to be turned out! which will assuredly be the case. God bless you.

“ELDON.”

In the following year (1824) came the alarming proposal to pass an Act allowing the Catholic Earl Marshal of England to perform his office, on merely taking the oath of allegiance. This was surely compromising the great principle of ascendancy and introducing “the thin edge of the wedge.” The King appears to have been rather unceremoniously treated in this matter, or gave out that he was. But the ministers could not have introduced such a measure without his sanction. He took the extraordinary course of calling the Chancellor to his aid against his ministers. Seeing that the Chancellor had given notice of a motion to put the bill off for three months, accounts for the irritable tone of the letter to his sudden adhesion. Lord Colchester had asked him whether he was going to oppose it. He replied that “he did not know that, but he thought that it ought not to proceed now.”

“Carlton House, June 23, 1824.

“The King desires to apprise the Lord Chancellor, that the King has learnt, through the medium of the newspapers, what has been passing in Parliament relative to the office of Earl Marshal of England.

“The King cannot suppose that the Lord Chancellor of England can approve of the King’s dispensing with the usual oaths attached to that, or any other high office; but if the King should be mistaken in this supposition, the King desires that the Lord Chancellor will state his reasons in writing, why the King should be expected to give his consent to such an unusual and unprecedented measure.

“G. R.”

Yet on the following evening we find the Lord Chancellor earnestly advocating the measure! On the next evening he met his Majesty at a magnificent entertainment at Apsley House. “We did not,” he says, “get there till past eight—all the turtle gone, alas! Ditto, all the fish—very splendid;—open window on my left side—got a cold thereby. In the evening hundreds came—one in fifty was as

many as I knew." The King went in great state with an escort of horse. I think that job and prorogation to-day will lay him up. . . . At dinner yesterday, 1. The King. 2. Duke of York. 3. The Lady. 4, 5. Duke and Duchess of Wellington. 6, 7. Count Lieven and Lady. 8. Prince Polignac. 9. Dutch Ambassador. 10. Chancellor. 11. Marquis Conyngham. 12. His son. 13. His daughter. 14. Liverpool. 15. Bathurst. 16. Melville. 17, 18. Lord and Lady Warwick. 19, 20. Lord and Lady Gwydir. 21. Lord Glenlyon. 22. Mr. Canning. 23. Mr. Robinson. 24. Lord Maryborough. 25. Lord Westmoreland. 26. Mr. Peel. And two more, I forget who."

In such good-humor was his Majesty, that when the Chancellor gave his dinner later, "he sent me a message by the Duke of York, that he would have dined if he had been asked. He should certainly have been asked if I had been aware that he would have condescended to permit me to send him an invitation. I have not heard, however, of his dining out since the Crown descended upon him. Perhaps it is better, great as the honor would have been, that I did not know that he would have conferred it: for as to these things, such a condescension would have excited a good deal of jealousy in some men's minds."

"Parliament's last day is over, and well over. The King went to the House, and was amazingly well received in going and returning. . . . Mamma took a view of the show in her carriage. The King espied her, and, bowing to her in going, gave her no less than three acknowledgments of the same kind in returning." But notwithstanding this, his faithful loyalty was sinking lower and yet lower.

At the prorogation it was remarked that his Majesty "looked very heavy, languid, morbid, and livid: the crown pressing heavily on his brows." He was indeed in a wretched state—his legs swelling, with all the symptoms of dropsy.

"I dined with the Duke of York," goes on the Earl, "who spoke of the conduct of the Artillery at this review in terms which it would have delighted the Dyneleys to hear. Our Sovereign Lord the King did not attend. No weather would have prevented George III. from being at the head of his troops."

"There was what is called a grand review in Hyde Park yesterday, July 11th, 1824. The Duke of York was, I hear, very popular, and prodigiously cheered. My royal master was in Carlton House, *i.e.*, within half a mile of this scene, but did not approach



it. It is astonishing what is lost by this sort of dealing, and it is grievous that the popularity which might be so easily earned and acquired at so small an expenditure of time and trouble, should not only not be secured, but a feeling of disgust and reproach be engendered towards a person with respect to whom a very different feeling must and ought to be created. . . . My royal master is amusing himself, and, I am sorry to add, amusing some others, pretty publicly, at Windsor. In the overturn there the other day, in sight of the party of ladies and gentlemen, Admiral Sir E. Nagle fell on Sir A. Barnard, and hurt him. The admiral was only distressed by his small clothes being rent in pieces. He was one of the King's choice favorites.

"At about eleven, November 15th, Sir William Knighton called upon me, ordered, as he said, to give me the King's affectionate regards; and, if all Sir William said is Gospel truth, very affectionate indeed they must be. He still remains with too much gout to come to town, but hopes to manage it by Saturday, to have the Recorder's report. . . . To-day we have Cabinet in Downing Street, and Council at Carlton House, to try if we can make a good speech for the King. But there are too many hands at work to make a good thing of it, and so you will think, I believe, when you read it.

"The King's speech was settled yesterday. in the ante-room to his bedroom, he having too much gout to come downstairs. His arm, in which part of the disorder is, was slung in a black handkerchief, and he seemed to be in a good deal of pain. I don't much admire the composition or the matter of the speech. My old master, the late King, would have said that it required to be set off by good reading. It falls to my lot to read it, and I should read it better if I liked it better." All these attestations of feeling are amusing enough.

At this time the ambitious Secretary pressed to be made a member of the Privy Council, "as a comfort to the King," and found a patron in the Duke of Wellington, who urged that as he was in such confidential relation with the King, he must know all secrets, political and personal, and yet was not sworn to secrecy. There was a nice point involved here. Lord Liverpool objected that a private secretary had no official recognition, and that no King, until his late Majesty, had one, and that was owing to his blindness. MacMahon and Bloomfield had indeed both been Privy Councillors, but "we thought it wrong, as it conferred authority and conse-

quence where there should be none. George III., than whom no one understood matters of this kind better, put his on the footing of our Under-Secretary of State." The oath seems rather a far-fetched idea, as both the position and an honorable understanding implied secrecy, as much as an oath.

It will have been noted that an important part has been taken in these transactions by this official, "the gentleman whom the King was kind enough to send" to the Duke, and who was now attaining an extraordinary influence, if not control, over the King. This was Sir William Knighton, who had this year been created Keeper of the Privy Purse on the fall of the favorite, Bloomfield.

Nothing indeed is more curious than the domination, steadily maintained all through his life, of favorites over the nature of the King; some working on his prejudices, others on his fears, others, again, on his affections. To those who reigned he got accustomed.

Sir John MacMahon was perhaps the most familiar name of all the favorites. He was "originally bred," we are told, in the family of Mr. Clements, and "his mother also resided in the same house." He obtained "a pair of colors" from Lord Moira, repaired to Bath, then the Irishman's hunting-ground, where he married, and through one of the royal Dukes obtained the *entrée* to Carlton House. Never was there so adroit or useful an auxiliary. His qualifications were remarkable. "He made," we are told, "a most graceful and elegant bow, which he regulated in due proportion to the rank and influence of those he addressed. His voice was exactly modulated so as to soothe and to please, for it exhibited those undertones which never disturb the nerves of the great and powerful. He also wrote a letter in the politest style possible; nor was he unacquainted with the arts of rendering himself useful on every possible occasion." Valuable lessons here for such as wish to rise in this profession. Render yourself "useful on every possible occasion:" far better and more secure bond than regard or faithful service.

For some thirty or forty years this gentleman kept his post, becoming "Privy Seal," "Keeper of the Privy Purse," Privy Councillor, being finally created a baronet. The amount of his influence may be conceived when he arranged that this honor should be in remainder to his brother, as he himself had no children. This brother, being a distinguished officer, was a K.C.B., while a third brother, an Irish judge as distinguished, was also created a baronet. It shows there must have been ability in the family. There was a little talk when his patron appointed him to

be paymaster of the sixteen hundred widows of the army. Mr. Raikes revealed him in a characteristic sketch. "George the Fourth," he says, "never had any friends: he selected his confidants from his minions. MacMahon was an Irishman of obsequious manners; he was a little man, his face red, covered with pimples, always dressed in the blue and buff uniform, with his hat on one side, copying the air of his master, to whom he was a prodigious foil, and ready to execute any commissions, which in those days were somewhat complicated." While a third spectator thus oddly draws him: "In person he was small, and devoid of beauty. His face, too, was seamed and scarred with the small-pox; but, as his conversation was pleasant and he possessed all the graces, any impression arising from a transient view soon wore off." But the hard living of the court soon brought decay, and Mr. Grantley Berkeley, who is still living, described the faithful personal attendant grown old, with palsied hand struggling to carry the glass of old port to his lips. In 1815 he felt that it was time to retire. The courtier of this class will be found almost always "in harness" to the last, save of course in the case of sheer helplessness from old age. He is scarcely ever dismissed, for the simple reason that it is impossible to get rid of him. It can be imagined what a blow to the old courtier was his withdrawal, and how accountable it might almost seem for his death, that followed in 1817. He left behind him, it is stated in the necrology of the day, "a large fortune, which never could possibly have been obtained from the income of his several places." The amount of his personal property was £90,000, an enormous sum, which might fairly invite the speculation just alluded to. But the old man was true to his principles to the last, and by his long practice seemed to have worked himself into a belief in the virtues of his master. There was a sort of deputy agent named Marrable, who was employed in those "confidential" matters with which his Majesty was always engrossed, and of him writes the aged equerry in his will: "To Thos. Marrable, a dear and esteemed friend, £2000, and with my last prayers for the glory and happiness of the best-hearted man in the world, the Prince Regent, I bequeath him the said Thomas Marrable, an invaluable servant." The £90,000 would have been a more acceptable bequest.

MacMahon's death caused the introduction of a new favorite, who was of more powerful calibre, and who gradually came to rule in the most despotic fashion. Appointed about the Court at the particular request of Lord Wellesley, he at once made an impression.



The Prince had met with an accident to his foot at Oatlands, and consulted Knighton, whom he pronounced to "be the best-mannered medical man he had ever seen." This excited a good deal of jealousy, and stories and remarks about the Princess of Wales were retailed to the Prince to injure him—the Prince's countenance at the levee "betraying displeasure." However, he triumphed over all, was made a baronet; but he formed an alliance with MacMahon, who made him his executor, while a skilful and proper stroke gave him the succession. Among his friend's papers he found some documents of "a singularly delicate nature," referring to Queen Caroline and the late Lady Jersey, which he took at once to the Regent, "without comment or condition." The Prince appointed him administrator of his Duchy of Cornwall, gave him his Grand Cross of the Guelph, and made him his most confidential adviser. He could not have found a more useful or more unwearied assistant. He brought all his complicated money embarrassments into perfect order, going on distant journeys to the Continent to arrange these matters. Meanwhile, however, another favorite had arisen. "Bloomfield was a handsome man," says Mr. Raikes, "and owed his introduction at Court to his musical talents; he was a lieutenant in the Artillery, and by chance quartered with his regiment at Brighton. The Prince, who was always fond of music, then gave frequent concerts at the Pavilion: some one happened to mention that a young officer of Artillery was a proficient on the violoncello; an invitation was sent, the royal amateur was pleased, the visits became more frequent, a predilection ensued, and the fortune of the young lieutenant was assured." Nothing could be done without him. But the various factions at Court undermined him, and his reign was not a long one, and the picture of his decay and fall is truly instructive. When other influences set, either from his independence, or more probably because his place was desired for one of the family, nothing more pitiable could be conceived than his situation. Every one noticed the coolness, the "snubs," and the imperturbable complacency of the victim, who for a time declined to become conscious of what was intended. Mr. Greville was among those looking on, and saw the stages of the game. He was no longer necessary to the King, who, however, was still "civil" to him. He bore this treatment in a manly way. Presently there was a tendency indeed to hustle him out of office, but this the discarded favorite would not "stand." He soon showed them he was not to be bullied, and by a determined bearing, and, as Mr. Greville says, forti-

fied by the possession of some Court secrets, soon brought them to terms, and was actually despatched as minister to Sweden. The dismissed favorite is rarely thus handsomely dealt with, as the fact of his being discarded proves that he is powerless even to make terms.

When Bloomfield fell Knighton was made Private Secretary and Keeper of the Privy Purse. It will be seen that in the later days of the reign he had outlived his favor, but he was not to be dislodged: no *camarilla* could disturb him. His office must have been in those later days of an ungrateful kind, for the King seemed to resent his tutelage, even though in his interest. To the last, however, he maintained his position. He was, indeed, of stern stuff, and held his position long after his favor had been exhausted. He ruled by the influence a strong mind has over a weak one, and soon made it appear that he was indispensable, and that it would be inconvenient to get rid of him. He had taken on him the duty or task of arranging the King's much involved affairs, and, holding all the threads, applied himself resolutely and with success to the settlement. It was no doubt to him that was owing the cancelling of the Dutch Bonds, now undischarged for so many years. With untiring energy he would set off in the depth of winter and in all weathers to Berlin and Hanover—now arranging the Duke of York's debts, now the Duke of Brunswick's. In political matters and those connected with a ministerial crisis, he would contrive with great adroitness to soothe the King's mind and lead him gradually to whatever consummation was devoutly to be wished by the parties concerned; and we find him settling with ministers what was to be suggested and what was likely to do. Three letters written in this very year give a great idea, not merely of how far he could go in carrying out his wishes, but of the mode he adopted for carrying them out, which seems to have amounted to a threat of leaving his Majesty to his own resources. The first is, for a professional courtier, singularly adroit. The independent and even haughty tone was well calculated to draw forth an apologetic answer.

" June 10, 1822.

" SIR,

"I yesterday received from Lord F. C. a message that it was your Majesty's desire to see me at the Lodge this morning.

"My first duty and impression was, of course, to obey your Majesty's most gracious commands; but circumstances have arisen, connected with your Majesty's interests, which oblige me to remain

in town, and to forego that pleasure which is always so acceptable to my feelings, namely, that of throwing myself at your Majesty's feet.

"I am so surrounded with cares on your Majesty's account, so separated from every kind of support but what I derive from my own intellectual efforts, that when I say happiness and myself are strangers, I do not mention it in the language of complaint, but only to hope that when I venture to oppose any of your Majesty's commands, your Majesty will believe it always arises from those feelings of devotion and honesty which are the true characteristics of my nature towards your Majesty.

"I am aware it often happens, humble as I am, that it alone falls on me to raise the voice of opposition towards some of your Majesty's schemes. This, I fear, must gradually tend to separate your Majesty's mind, as far as agreeableness of feeling is concerned, from me: nevertheless, I do hope that your Majesty will believe I am on every occasion influenced with the purest affection and most unsullied attachment towards your Majesty's person."

It is signed with his initials merely. The next was written a month later.

FROM THE KING.

"Carlton House, Wednesday morning, eight o'clock, July 11, 1822.

"You may easily imagine, warm and sincere as my affections are towards you, I have had but little rest since we separated last night. The feeling that I may possibly and unfortunately, in a hurried moment, when my mind and my heart were torn in fifty different ways from fifty different causes, have let an unjust or a hasty expression escape me to any one, most especially to you, whom I so truly love, and who are so invaluable to me as my friend, is to me a sensation much too painful to be endured: therefore let me implore you to come to me, be it but for a moment, the very first thing you do this morning; for I shall hate myself until I have the opportunity of expressing personally to you those pure and genuine feelings of affection which will never cease to live in my heart so long as that heart itself continues to beat. I am much too unhappy to say more, but I am ever your affectionate Friend,

"G. R."

This, for a king, was certainly apologetic. During the voyage to Scotland Knighton was in the most confidential relations with



him, occupying the cabin next his Majesty, proving himself an indispensable right-hand man, as it is called, and, as we have seen, never sparing himself, sitting up late to answer letters, and saving his Majesty as much trouble as possible. This naturally strengthened their relations. On his return, finding that it was impossible to keep the King to his engagements, as to expense, etc., which was strictly necessary for the arrangement of his affairs, he succeeded in extracting from him the following unprecedented document, which was to be his warrant for dealing with all concerned:

“Royal Lodge, October 26, 1822.

“We hereby authorize and direct Sir William Knighton, Bart., Keeper of our Privy Purse, to give notice to our several tradesmen, that they are not to receive orders, or to furnish any articles of furniture, etc., or to incur any expense whatsoever from their different trades, where such expense is to be provided for by our said privy purse, without receiving a specific order in writing for that purpose from the said Sir William Knighton, Bart., and we do also give our authority to the said Sir William Knighton, Bart., and order and direct him, during our will and pleasure, to undertake the entire management of our private affairs, with a view to the observance of the most strict and rigid economy, that we may have the opportunity of relieving ourselves from certain embarrassments which it is not necessary to mention further in detail. We do therefore rely with confidence on the said Sir William Knighton for the strict performance and fulfilment of all our wishes on this head.

“G. R.” \*

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\* Mr. Dickie, the clerk at Coutts' Bank, who regulated the king's accounts, on his death-bed gave the following testimony to Knighton's services: “He managed and guarded his pecuniary concerns with an indefatigable care, and such a peculiar understanding, that had I not myself been a witness, I could scarcely have credited it. There were times when Sir William thought that he was getting over difficulties, when large accounts came in of which he was not aware, like thunder-claps. He has more than once on such occasions, in my presence, most respectfully but firmly remonstrated with his Majesty upon the impossibility of managing his affairs with any satisfaction, or indeed propriety of conduct, if such unforeseen expenditure occurred. Sir William's words, tone, and manner acted like magic upon the King. His Majesty, like a sensible man, seemed obliged from his heart; his whole demeanor showed it; and I myself at such a novel scene was struck with astonishment.”—See also Greville, i. 72,

Owing to the practice of uttering his complaints to strangers and foreigners, the King indeed must have been a perpetual source of annoyance to his ministers. Thus we find that at the levee on April 21 he expressed to M. de Marcellus his approval of the French policy in Spain. A few days later *The Times* commented on this indiscreet proceeding with great violence, hinting that if the King had spoken as described, he must be suffering from something more than gout or mere physical maladies. M. de Marcellus seized the opportunity to write a sympathetic letter to Mr. Canning, which much pleased the King. At a ball the King indiscreetly referred to this matter, unburdening his grievances to Marcellus, the French minister. "If the ministers," he said, "declared me to be mad, I might recover my senses, but they would lose their places. At any rate, for the welfare of mankind, we ought not to wish any other people to have our institutions. What does pretty well for us would be worthless elsewhere. Remember this, Marcellus; it is my unalterable conviction."

## CHAPTER VIII.

1823—1825.

MOST characteristic of the King was the course of secret opposition and *tracasseries*, by which he chose to indemnify himself for having been obliged to accept a minister like Canning, whom he disliked. He affected to give his whole confidence and friendship to the Duke of Wellington. On him, and on "him only," did he rely.

## THE KING TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"March 19, 1823.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"Sir William has faithfully related to me all your sensible, wise, and judicious observations respecting the state of our foreign policy. My feelings are in complete unison with your own on this most important and vital question. My confidence is in you, and you only, and in placing my friendship and affection in you, and with you, I feel safe, happy, and comfortable. I could not resist writing you these few lines, to assure you that I am, with very great regard,

Your very sincere Friend,

"G. R."

These "feelings" were further inflamed by the appearance of Mr. Canning at a dinner given in the following year by the Radical Lord Mayor, Waithman; an obelisk to whose memory now stands at Ludgate Circus. This seemed certainly an indiscreet step, as only he and an inferior member of the Cabinet attended.

## THE KING TO LORD LIVERPOOL.

"Windsor Castle, May 1, 1824.

"The King very much regrets that the conduct of some of the members of his Government impels the King to communicate to Lord Liverpool his feelings upon this subject.

"The appearance at the dinner of the Lord Mayor at the Mansion



House of two of the members of the King's Government unquestionably calls for explanation.

"The entertainment was that which belongs to the Lord Mayor himself, and not to the Corporation.

"The public life of the individual filling the office of Chief Magistrate of the City of London has been marked by a continued series of insults to the Government, to the monarchy, and, above all, personally to the King himself. This is not matter of opinion, for several of his acts are on record, and are notorious to the world.

"Mr. Canning could not be ignorant of this, and had also long known that his visit to the Mansion House would in the highest degree be offensive and personally disagreeable to the King; that, as Mr. Canning was there almost alone, his presence marked a difference of opinion and of conduct between the other members of the Cabinet and himself.

"The King therefore thinks that he has just reason to complain, that in a case in which there was no official, or indeed any, duty to be performed, and no necessity consequently existing, why the King's expressed wishes and his known feelings should have been so entirely disregarded.

"The King desires to remind Lord Liverpool, that when at his particular desire, and that of other members of the Cabinet, the King yielded to Mr. Canning's readmission into the Government in the prominent situation which he now fills, the King consented to forget and to bury in oblivion all that had previously passed, and of which the King felt he had so much reason to complain.

"The King is quite satisfied that he has since acted with the most uniform, condescending, conciliatory, and confidential kindness towards Mr. Canning. The King desires to observe the return is now before Lord Liverpool.

"The King has always shown, under all the fortuitous events that have happened, an honest, steady, and sincere desire to preserve his present Government; but the King owes it to himself and to his own honor to state that (notwithstanding the same desire exists) the King will never consent that his Government shall be degraded by such attempts to acquire popularity; and, finally, whenever the King sees anything in the conduct of any member of his Government calculated to be injurious to the King's service, or personally offensive to his honor and feelings, the King will always feel it his duty frankly to declare it to his minister.

"G. R."

The minister tried to soothe him by quoting the precedent of Mr. Pitt and assuring him that he would represent the matter to his colleague, who, he was certain, would regret having done anything to give his Majesty pain—excuses of the most conventional kind, as, indeed, the King considered them. When no letter arrived from Mr. Canning, he grew very indignant, for “it was observed,” as Sir W. Knighton wrote to the Duke, that “as to the outrage offered to his feelings, Lord Liverpool might with as much propriety have referred to the days of Adam as to those of Mr. Pitt, for the purpose of extenuating Mr. Canning’s conduct.” The precedent, however, had more force than this. But his confidential physician, whom the King little suspected to be in communication with the other camp, was declaring to the Duke that he thought no excuses would have any effect. However, Mr. Canning wrote, expressing his concern, and the matter was allowed to drop.

The King was beginning to try what the French call the “system of the *bascule*” with his ministers. It will be noted how he distinguishes “our friend” from the rest. What the paper referred to is not clear. No wonder the Duke of Wellington at last lost all patience, and wrote to one of the King’s familiars who would repeat it, “that the transaction of the King’s business became a most difficult and arduous task, almost impossible to be performed. Some misfortune would happen,” he prophesied, “which will occasion his Majesty a great deal of trouble.”

#### THE KING TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

“Windsor Castle, April 30, 1824.

“MY DEAR FRIEND,

“I have been very ill: indeed I am still very, very weak, and therefore I need not tell you what a painful effort it has been to me to write the enclosed, which I transmit to you and to our friend Lord Bathurst, for the purpose of delivering it jointly to Lord Liverpool on his arrival in town, that it may be submitted to the Cabinet. I really could not rest till I got this off my mind, for I cannot tell you, my dear friend, nor Bathurst, how much this has disturbed me. You and Lord Bathurst are, of course, to read the enclosed.

“Ever your affectionate Friend.”

## THE KING TO LORD LIVERPOOL.

“Windsor Castle, May 1st, 1824.

“DEAR LORD LIVERPOOL,

“I transmit you the enclosed for your serious and best consideration; I have sent a copy to the Duke of Wellington and Lord Bathurst, two personal friends both of my own and of yours, that they may in conjunction with yourself know my sentiments. I have been very ill, and am still unable to leave my bed. I am glad to hear that your own health is improved, and I hope that you have not returned to business prematurely.

“I am glad that the arrangements for that worthy man, the Dean of Hereford, going to Chester are completed. You may be quite at ease about his pecuniary embarrassments.

“I wish you would give the living of Brighton, which now falls in to the Crown, to the chaplain of our friend the Duke of Wellington. The gentleman's name is Driscoll, a most respectable and good orthodox clergyman. He was with the Duke during the whole of the war, and is therefore surely entitled to our consideration. I wish you to have the entire merit of this, as the Duke is very delicate upon the subject.

“Your sincere Friend,

“G. R.”

It should be considered that there had always existed a coldness, if not hostility, between the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Canning, which the King with some craft was turning to profit. The Duke invariably addressed Canning as “My dear *Mr.* Canning”—indeed it is evident from all the memoirs of the time that he now cordially disliked him. It was natural, therefore, that the effusive partiality of the King should not be wholly unacceptable where it helped to check the growing power of his colleague, whose suspicions, we find, were awakened at certain rather “underhand” proceedings, as he considered them, on the part of the King and the Duke. This arose more immediately in connection with Canning's grand *coup* of the recognition of the South American Colonies, on which the Duke had formed a strong opinion opposed to the Government plan. The recognition of Buenos Ayres had been made and agreed to by all his ministers in July, 1824; but in December it became necessary to consider the recognition of the rest, Mexico and Colombia particularly, and here the Duke was inclined to carry his disapproval so far as to resign. Lord Liverpool tried to dissuade him. The King



addressed a vehement remonstrance, in which he set forth his objections to the plan. This, as he told the Duke of Wellington, "he meant to be a solemn protest against the measures of his servants"—an idle, childish form which he fancied in other more important matters was as good as action. He "chuckled," however, as Mr. Canning said, on a little embarrassment which he hoped his Cabinet had got into in reference to an intended prosecution of Mr. O'Connell. He asked the Duke how they could take this course, when they were actually going to make a treaty with Bolivar, who was much in the same position. The Duke was puzzled and could give no answer, at least "without hair-splittings." Mr. Canning wrote pleasantly that it might be fancied that therefore the King wished the prosecution to be stopped. The workings of the King's mind seem to have furnished intense amusement to his ministers. The strong force by which he had been driven to sanction these measures inclined him to give vent to his feelings in a most singular proclamation or manifesto of his opinions and grievances *in globo*—his general dissatisfaction at the whole. This course he adopted on several occasions, and was always met with a hint to put his objections in shape by finding other ministers and declining to sanction the proceedings of his present servants.

In this long protest was a profession of political faith, and a curious reassertion of the principles held when he was Prince of Wales. The document, Mr. Wynne writes, was dictated by foreign influence—no doubt that of Madame de Lieven.

Mr. Canning was quite certain that the King was acting under this influence. "I am quite aware," he says, "that the King has strong prejudices on this subject. . . . I think he should be set right upon this point, as well as made to feel that the opinions which he sometimes avows on the subject of legitimacy would carry him to the full length of the principle of the Emperor of Russia and Prince Metternich." This appeal was dated on the 8th of December. When Lord Liverpool went to Windsor on the 16th he was asked significantly by his Majesty: "Were they unanimous?" And on the following day the minister received this protest or manifesto—a singular composition:

#### THE KING TO LORD LIVERPOOL.

"Royal Lodge, Dec. 17, 1824.

"The King cannot allow to pass unnoticed the minute of Cabinet transmitted by Mr. Canning on the 15th instant.

“The King always wishes to concur with the opinions of his Cabinet. It is, therefore, with deep regret that the King finds himself under the necessity of differing from the majority of the Cabinet upon the present occasion.

“The King considers that the system of policy of his Government upon this subject has been erroneous, and that instead of seeking for opportunities to promote even that policy, such as it is, the measures now recommended should have been forced upon us by circumstances not to be avoided or controlled.

“However, the King will not oppose himself to the measures considered for the benefit of his subjects, and for the promotion of the navigation (?) of the country, by those to whom the King has given his confidence.

“The King wishes that these measures should stand on the ground of the interests of his subjects and not as measures of war or retaliation against other Powers; and that they should not be put forth to the world as having any other objects in view than those which the King has stated as his motive for assenting to them.

“The King wishes that his allies and the King of Spain should be informed of the present intention, previous to its being carried into effect, and in such language and manner as may make the communication as little obnoxious as possible.”

He was inspired to renew the matter. The plan he thought of was the extraordinary one of requiring each member of the Cabinet to forward to him his separate opinion on the point. This, as one of the ministers observed, pointed to an attempt at breaking up the Cabinet. They were easily able, by an adroit reply, to turn this clumsy movement, answering him with respectful gravity.

#### THE KING TO LORD LIVERPOOL.

“Carlton House, January 27th, 1825.

“The King thinks it right to draw the attention of his Cabinet to the sentiments and opinions contained in the accompanying paper. The King therefore desires that Lord Liverpool will lay the paper before the Cabinet for the purposes required. G. R.”

[ENCLOSURE.]

“The line of policy pursued by the King’s Government, under the King’s direction at the close of the late war, which terminated

under such happy circumstances, was unanimity of co-operation with the great Continental Powers, not only for the purpose of putting an end to the then existing hostilities, but for preserving the future peace and tranquillity of Europe.

“The late Lord Londonderry, in conjunction with the Duke of Wellington, so effectively accomplished this great and desirable object, that this country took a position that she had never before held.

“The King supposes it will not be denied that the anarchy produced through the world by the French Revolution, has left us a record so instructive, that the councils of the British Government should never fail to be regulated by the wholesome remembrance of that terrible event.

“That we should therefore regard with the most anxious suspicion every attempt to revive the example of British America, which ended, unhappily for Great Britain, in a separation from the mother-country. France treacherously assisted that rebellion’s successful enterprise, and by her fatal policy gave the first impulse to that revolution which entailed for a quarter of a century such complicated misery on the whole of Europe. The revolutionary spirit of past years, although lulled and suspended, is by no means extinguished; and it would be wisdom to look to the ultimate consequences which the result of our intended recognition of the independence of the South American provinces may probably produce on the evil and discontented, who are controlled, even at this moment, with difficulty, by the established power of regular governments.

“Let us also look at home, and observe the dangerous attempts which the active firebrands of Ireland are at this time pursuing under the deceptive pretence of Catholic emancipation. The rebellious and organized schemes so actively afloat in that unhappy country are only a part of the same system promoted by the same evil spirit which gave rise to the calamities of the French Revolution.

“The Liberalism of late adopted by the King’s Government appears to the King to be a substantial part of that creed which was hailed in the House of Commons in those revolutionary days when it required all the talent and firmness of Mr. Pitt to put it down; and the support which that great statesman received from the King’s revered and excellent father gave him the opportunity of using his great ability with such effect as enabled him successfully to resist the desolating storm.

“The King has long been aware that the principles promulgated



by the King's early friends were at that period the bane which threatened the destruction of our happy Constitution, and with it our internal peace and happiness; and if the King withdrew himself from his early friends for the good of the country, can the present Government suppose that the King will permit any individuals to force upon him, at this time, a line of policy of which he so entirely disapproves, and which is in direct opposition to those wise principles which the King's Government has for so many years supported and uniformly acted upon?

"The King would wish to ask Lord Liverpool whether he supposes the great abettors of this Spanish-American question, connected with the Opposition, give their support to a recognition of the Spanish provinces, in relation to the great mercantile advantages which this measure may offer to this country, or from their love of democracy in opposition to a monarchical aristocracy.

"The King has no difficulty in answering this question: and let the opportunity arise, the same line of conduct would be as promptly applied by these gentlemen to the emancipation of our own colonial possessions, or to any other of the remote colonial settlements, at present under the dominion of the British Crown.

"The King cannot but be aware that this, as well as every other kingdom, must have its own latent sources of wealth and power, peculiar to itself, the cultivation of which becomes essential to the maintenance of its individual prosperity; but the King desires to observe that the policy or wisdom which is to balance the interest of kingdoms is not to be found in party divisions.

"The King has too much reason to apprehend that the separation from our Allies, so justly and so honestly referred to by the Emperor of Austria, will very soon lead to consequences that will end in disturbing the tranquillity of Europe.

"Why was the Quadruple Alliance formed? To carry into execution, not only the maintenance of the treaties of peace connected with the settlement of Europe (just then concluded), but also for the purpose of controlling the ambitions and the jealousies of the great Allied Powers themselves in relation to each other.

"The Jacobins of the world (now calling themselves the Liberals) saw the peace of Europe secured by this great measure, and have therefore never ceased to vilify the principle of the Quadruple Alliance. The late policy of Great Britain has loosened these beneficial ties, by demonstrating a restless desire of self-interest in direct oppo-

sition to these wise and comprehensive principles, in which the peace and general interests of Europe were bound together.

"The King desires, therefore, distinctly to know from his Cabinet individually, *seriatim*, whether the great principles of policy established by his Government in the years 1814, 1815, and 1818, are or are not to be abandoned.

"The answer to this question will enable the King to satisfy himself of the steps necessary to be taken for the purpose of preventing this country from being again involved in a ruinous and disastrous war. G. R."

The foreign influence ever working on the King's mind appears to have been highly irregular. He would have constant interviews with the Metternichs, Esterhazys (to say nothing of Madame de Lieven), during which he delivered himself on his situation, asked sympathy, and uttered those long harangues to which he was so addicted.

The extraordinary request to have separate opinions from each member of the Cabinet, pointed to an attempt, as we have said, at breaking up the Cabinet. As they met for the purpose of obeying his commands, they must have been scarcely able to control their amusement. Their answer gave him but cold comfort. There was, indeed, a sort of ironical strain through it, though this arises from the unanswerable character of the statement. Mr. Canning wrote a special explanation to the King, on the ground that an insinuation was made that hitherto there had not been that full and faithful confidence and communication with the Allies. He then entered on a long *résumé* of his policy. The King had thus almost succeeded in his plan of at least making the opposing elements in the Cabinet declare themselves.

To this exposition there was, it appears, some qualifying words which were omitted, owing, Mr. Canning says, to his "being ill and tired to death with Westmoreland's discussions." And this the King "dexterously seized on, declaring himself satisfied with the pledge given by his ministers (of reciprocal confidence with the Allies), and throwing all responsibility upon the mode of action upon it."

#### THE KING TO LORD LIVERPOOL.

"Carlton House, January 30th, 1825.

"The King has received from Lord Liverpool the declaration of the Cabinet in reply to the King's paper,

"The King has only to observe that if an earnest desire of 'maintaining the system of confidence and reciprocal communication with the Allies' be fully and faithfully acted upon, it is all that the King can require.

"The King readily admits Lord Liverpool's statement that the recognition, at this time, of the South American provinces was certainly in opposition to the King's own judgment; but the King hopes, as the step has been taken, that it will prove a measure full of the beneficial results which are anticipated, by adding to the prosperity of this country without interfering with the general peace and tranquillity of Europe."

In his irritation at these events, the King was enabled to find some relief in indulging his "religious feelings." He was naturally embarrassed when public reference was made to his Concordat as King of Hanover "with Pope Leo, by Bull, dated March 26th, 1824, for regulating the dioceses and endowments of Roman Catholic bishops and chaplains in the Kingdom of Hanover, with a domestic election of bishops, etc., subject to a royal veto and papal confirmation; such as," Lord Colchester says, "if established in England, with 'the spiritual authority' therein reserved, would be tantamount to a counter-reformation; and be (according to Lord Liverpool's declaration, in his last speech on the Roman Catholic question) a violation of the King's coronation oath in this country."

This was awkward enough; indeed, the whole question was to involve all concerned in inconsistencies and compromises. The King addressed himself to Lord Liverpool for comfort.

#### THE KING TO LORD LIVERPOOL.

"King's Lodge, Feb. 25, 1825.

"The King sends his kind regards to Lord Liverpool, and is more distressed than can well be expressed at the absurd note which has been lately published in Germany, relative to the Catholic Association, in reference to the local circumstances of that country. The King had no knowledge of such an intention, or it would most certainly not have happened.

"The King desires that Lord Liverpool would send for Count Münster, that he may explain the details of the affair. The King is afraid that whatever inconvenience may arise from this late declaration has its origin in the line of policy and original stipula-



tions entered into by our much regretted friend, poor Lord Londonderry, so long since at the Congress held at Vienna. The King wishes, however, distinctly to state to Lord Liverpool that on the subject of Catholic emancipation, the King's revered father's opinions are ever before him and ever will be, to the King's latest existence.

“G. R.”

Lord Liverpool replied dryly that he “never supposed the paper connected with any alteration in your Majesty's mind.”

THE KING TO LORD LIVERPOOL.

“Carlton House, Wednesday morning, May 18, 1825.

“DEAR LORD LIVERPOOL,

“I congratulate you most sincerely on your successful efforts of last night. God be thanked. Your speech was indeed most powerful. I hope you will not suffer from the great exertions.

“Your very sincere Friend,

“G. R.”

## CHAPTER IX.

1825.

WHEN the Catholic question was once more brought forward—perhaps the most serious of the many struggles that immediately preceded the settlement of the question—the Duke of York, when presenting an anti-Catholic petition, took occasion to deliver his well-known apostrophe, which was to enjoy the honor of being printed on pocket-handkerchiefs, and also in letters of gold to be framed and hung up in loyal houses. The topics of this unbecoming appeal were the usual ones, but there were personal references in the worst taste, while others, taking a rather theatrical tone, were outside argument.

“What the effect of the proposal of such measures was at that day (the late King’s), your lordships know. The apprehension that the Sovereign might be called upon to differ with his Parliament in the discharge of his duty—to adhere to his coronation oath, the compact he had made at the altar of God—led to affliction”—(here he could not proceed)—“and to the temporary dismissal of the best, the honestest, and the wisest minister he ever had. I have opposed the concessions of popular power from the first moment in which it was proposed to make them. I have so acted throughout, under a conviction, whenever I have been called upon to act, that I was bound so to act. I shall continue to oppose such concessions to the utmost of my power. My lords, allow me to call your attention to what must be the state of the King upon the throne, who has taken this coronation oath”—(here he read the oath). “The dread of being called upon—of having it even proposed to him—to act contrary to his understanding of that oath, led, or materially contributed, to his late Majesty’s sufferings in the last ten years of a life”—(here he could not proceed, and was in tears: after a pause he said)—“My lords, if you have taken oaths, and differ about the meaning of them, those who think proposed measures contrary to their sense of their oaths are overborne by a majority—they do their duty—they act according to their oaths—

the measure is carried without their violating their compact with God. But recollect that it is not so with the individual who is the Sovereign. He has a right—if he is convinced that it is his duty—to refuse his assent when the measure is proposed to him. His refusal is a constitutional bar to the measure—his consent, if given contrary to his understanding of his oath, is that for which he must ever be responsible. My lords, I understand my duty in this place too well, to be stating what any other person may or may not feel with respect to these proposed measures, what any other person may or may not propose to do, or to forbear doing. I speak for myself only; for myself only I declare my opinions and determinations. But I apprehend that I may be in this place allowed to call your attention to observations upon what may be the state of a sovereign to whom measures may be proposed; who is not to consider what oath might have been administered to him, and taken by him but who has taken an oath.”

A characteristic comment on this deluding “self-righteousness” of fanaticism is to be found in a letter of Lord Eldon’s, a week or two later: “The D. of Y. is at Newmarket. It is to be regretted that, in his highly important and lofty situation, he spends so many days with blacklegs, and so many nights at cards, among which we know there are knaves, as well as what are better company for him, kings and queens.”

“Monday, May 23, 1825.

“We had a most sumptuous and splendid set-out at the Duke of York’s on Saturday—twenty-four rejoicing Protestants round the table—and such a magnificent show of plate as even eclipses the King’s exhibition of that article, and, as it appears to me, eclipses all of the same article which all the monarchs of Europe have presented to the Duke of Wellington. We drank the ’48, the year 1688, and the glorious and immortal memory of William the Third—but without noise or riot.

“I saw the King yesterday, who is much better, and not a little relieved in point of anxiety by the vote on the Catholic question. So much for the present; but politics may possibly soon present some other troublesome matter, for it is in the nature of politics to be restless, and to furnish plague after plague.”

“Wednesday, May 25, 1825.

“I forgot to tell you yesterday that we have got a new favorite toast, Lady Warwick and Lady Braybrooke (I think that is ~~her~~



name) would not let their husbands go to the House to vote for the Catholics; so we Protestants drink daily, as our favorite toast, 'The ladies who locked up their husbands.'"

The Duke's inflammatory language was the subject of much comment. There can be no doubt the King was pleased with it, though he good-humoredly affected to complain of that awkward reference to his successor—"in whatever situation he might be." The royal brothers had met on the Sunday preceding, and when the King opened the subject of the Catholic claims, the Duke begged of him not to mention the subject until some days had gone by; for, as he told Lord Eldon, he was determined to take the whole responsibility of this protest. The effect was extraordinary. It kindled again the bigotry of the country, which was rather flickering, and stimulated the King to new deliverances.

"Two days afterward," says Lord Colchester, "the Duke of York, at the levee, told Lord Sidmouth that 'the King had declared that he would not give the royal assent to such a bill;' a declaration made, not publicly, but not unknown to the Duke of York. The Chancellor told me he had had a long audience of the King this morning, in which his Majesty went through the whole of his political life as connected with opinions upon the Roman Catholic question, and represented himself to have been ever uniformly against, or at least that he had never been for, increasing the powers of the Roman Catholics; and that he was now very anxious upon the subject, and exceedingly disturbed at the progress of the bill depending in the House of Commons."

And on receiving the congratulations of the archbishops and bishops at the Drawing Room, he "took notice of the delicacy with which all mention was avoided of the great constitutional question lately under discussion; and declared that he considered the Church and the monarchy as essentially united; and that they must stand or fall together. He said also to the Bishop of Lincoln, "this will corroborate what my brother (the Duke of York) has said."

The bill was rejected in the House of Lords by a majority of forty-eight.

At this time the Duke of Wellington was enjoying the highest favor of the King, who was exhibiting his regard by the greatest kindness and the most tender solicitude. Towards Christmas in 1826 the office of Constable of the Tower fell vacant,

## THE KING TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"Royal Lodge, December 21st, 1826.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I must tell you that I feel a pride, whenever the opportunity offers, of showing not only the affection I have for you, but the gratitude which this country owes you. The glory of my reign is so identified with you that the one cannot be separated from the other. It is like yourself to think so little of yourself, and as you do not choose to hold the office of Constable of the Tower and the Government of Plymouth together, take that which will be most agreeable to your own feelings. If you do not take that of Constable of the Tower, I will then bestow it on Field Marshal Earl Harcourt, now, from his great age, the father of the whole army. In that case I shall appoint my old and attached friend and servant, Sir William Keppell, to succeed him in the Government of Portsmouth, to whom I have long owed this debt of proper feeling. Upon your taking the Constablenesship, then Earl Harcourt shall go to Plymouth, and my intentions towards Keppell will still be fulfilled by the Governorship of Portsmouth. I have given you this detailed explanation to set you quite at your ease, and, believe me, ever yours affectionately,

"G. R.

"P.S.—Give me one line, with your decision, as soon as you can. Alas! my poor brother."

In a manly letter the Duke wrote to decline keeping the Governorship of Plymouth, on the ground that his officers "would form a very injurious notion of him if they found that he was competing with them for honors." The other post, however, he accepted.

This eagerness to propitiate the Duke was not unlikely to have been connected with an extraordinary idea which, on the death of his brother, had taken possession of him, namely, to assume the command of the army. Even before the Duke of York's death he had been sounding the Duke as to a successor, proposing him for the office; on which the Duke entreated of him not to think of the matter until his brother's demise and then to be guided by his ministers. His Majesty, however, persevered, talked of the suitability of himself as a candidate, but on the whole inclined to the Duke. The latter left town purposely, to be out of the way. "I have always considered this conversation, like many others, as so many unmeaning words and phrases." The Duke was ever consistent in this half-

contemptuous opinion. "I will protest against it in the most formal manner." The ministers were indignant, Mr. Peel declaring the "idea was preposterous," and they would never agree to it. The King proceeded to make arrangements, proposing that Sir H. Taylor should do the serious work as secretary, and "give commands in his name." The latter was only too eager to be released from this embarrassing honor, and was communicating with the ministers. At last Sir W. Knighton was set at work, and the only proper appointment—that of the Duke himself—was made.

When the Duke of Wellington was away on his mission at St. Petersburg, the King was seized with about the severest fit of illness he had yet encountered. All about him were seriously alarmed. A violent attack of gout and inflammation were the ailments from which he was suffering, but, as usual, his fine constitution enabled him to rally. The Duke of York's conduct was pronounced to be "perfect," and he was complimented on his behavior to his brother being "so easy, so natural, it seems as if it never occurs to him that the King is mortal." This indeed was but a fitting tribute to this amiable, well-meaning Prince, who counted many genuine friends in the community, and who ever showed himself a true, manly, straightforwyard English gentleman.



## CHAPTER X.

1825.

THE skilled emissaries of foreign countries may have found their account in interviews with his Majesty, but they soon learned they had to deal with their master. It is pleasant to read Mr. Canning's spirited mode of dealing with the ambassadors; and one can well understand the high position in Europe held by the country under his direction. "The last three mornings," he writes in March, 1825, "have been occupied partly in receiving the three successive communications of Count Lieven, Prince Esterhazy, and Baron Maltzahan, of the high and mighty displeasure of their Courts with respect to Spanish America. Lieven led the way on Wednesday. He began to open a long despatch evidently with the intention of reading it to me. I stopped *in limine*, desiring to know if he was authorized to give a copy of it. He said 'No;' upon which I declined hearing it, unless he could give me his word that no copy would be sent to any other Court. He said he could not undertake to say that it would not be sent to other Russian missions, but that he had no notion that a copy of it would be given to the Courts at which they were severally accredited. I answered that I was determined either to have a copy of a despatch which might be quoted to foreign Courts (as former despatches had been), as having been communicated to me, and remaining unanswered, or to be able to say that no despatch had been communicated to me at all. It was utterly impossible for me, I said, to charge my memory with the expressions of a long despatch once read over to me, or to be able to judge on one such hearing whether it did or did not contain expressions which I ought not to pass over without remark. Yet by the process now proposed I was responsible to the King and to my colleagues, and ultimately perhaps to Parliament, for the contents of a paper which might be of the most essentially important character; and of which the text might be quoted hereafter by third parties, as bearing a meaning which I did not on the instant attribute to it, and yet which upon bare recollection I

could not controvert. Lieven was confounded. He asked me what he was to do. I said, what he pleased; but I took the exception now before I heard a word of his despatch, because I would not have it thought that the contents of the despatch, whatever they might be, had anything to do with that exception. I must, however, own that I was led to make it now, the rather because I had learnt from St. Petersburg that he, Count Lieven, had been instructed not to give me a copy of the despatch on Turkey and Greece, which instruction his own good sense had led him to disobey; that in that instance it was absolutely preposterous to refuse a copy; that the despatch professed to be a narrative, of which dates and facts were the elements; and that to have read such a statement to me, and then circulated it throughout Europe as what had been communicated to me, and acquiesced in by my silence, would have been an unfairness such as it was as well to let him know, once for all, I was determined to resist. Might he state to me verbally what he was ordered to state without reference to his despatch? He then proceeded to pronounce a discourse—no matter for the substance at present—after which he left me. I instantly wrote down the substance of what I understood him to have said to me, and sent him my memorandum, with a letter requesting him to correct any inaccuracies. The result is, that I have a document in spite of all their contrivance. Yesterday the same scene with Esterhazy, who had not seen Lieven in the interval, and therefore came unprepared. He, too, made me a speech, and to him I immediately sent a memorandum of what I understood him to have said. I have not yet received his answer. To-day Maltzahn came, evidently prepared; for he produced no paper, but set off at score. This rather provoked me, for he is the worst of all; but I was even with him. For whereas with the others I merely listened, and put in no word of my own, I thought it a good opportunity to pay off my reserve upon Maltzahn; and accordingly said to him a few as disagreeable things as I could upon the principle of legitimacy."

Under all this was indignation at the private communications with the King. How he was preparing to deal with this conduct will be seen by the following extract from one of his letters: "I wonder whether he (Metternich) is aware that the private communication of foreign ministers with the King of England is wholly at variance with the spirit, and practice too, of the British Constitution. That, during his reign of half a century, George III. (whom all parties now agree in taking as the model of an English

king) never indulged himself in such communications, and that the custom introduced in the time of my predecessor survives only by sufferance, and would not stand the test of parliamentary discussion. I should be very sorry to do anything at all unpleasant to the King, but it is my duty to be present at every interview between his Majesty and a foreign minister. Nothing would induce me to go to that extent; but short of that, being in the right, I would justly resent, and pretty effectually repress, such manœuvres as Metternich has been encouraging."

It is seldom that a minister talks in this strain of his sovereign, and it was clear that matters would soon have come to a crisis; but a little more than a fortnight later, a wholesome foreboding seems to have visited his Majesty, who, either from a whim or sense of its being his interest, determined on a complete *volte face*. The pliant Sir William was despatched on a formal mission to the minister, then laid with up the gout. Mr. Stapleton, the secretary, who was with his chief, describes the scene, and also furnishes a report of what passed, dictated to him by Mr. Canning.

"On April 27th, 1825," he says, "Mr. Canning, not having been well (had passed the day in bed), was dictating a despatch, when a carriage drove up to the door. The servant was desired to inquire 'whether Mr. Canning would not see, for a very few minutes, Sir William Knighton, who was the bearer of a message from the King?' Mr. Canning, who well knew that Sir William had been actively mixed up in the late proceedings, looked at me with amazement when I reported to him the message from Sir William. He, however, at once decided to admit the messenger from his sovereign. At length, when three hours had nearly elapsed, Sir William left, and I rejoined Mr. Canning.

"Well," he said, with a countenance beaming with pleasure, "we have had a most curious and satisfactory conversation. Take a sheet of paper and I will dictate to you what has passed."

"[Most Secret Memorandum.]

"Gloucester Lodge, April 27, 1825.

"Sir William Knighton called upon me to-day by the command, as he said, of his Majesty, to inquire after the state of my health. Sir W., after inquiring about the gout, hoped Parliament would not give me much more trouble this year, so he flattered himself also that in other respects I should have less occasion of agitation and anxiety than heretofore; that he was quite aware that the last year



must have been to me most trying, and the pulse of the mind (as he expressed himself) must have been going at the rate of sixteen miles an hour.

“I admitted that there was some truth in this observation, and said that I dated the origin of my present fit of the gout at least as far back as December. But that in truth from the rising of Parliament last year up to December (which was the crisis) had been a period of constant labor and anxiety. I did not particularize this statement further; but he at once showed that he understood me, and had, in fact, himself been alluding to the same thing, by saying, that I must be aware that the King had sent him to the Continent three or four times during the last six months; that whenever he had gone he had, of course, had his eyes and ears about him, and had been anxious to collect general feelings and opinions—that he was quite satisfied that the Spanish-American question was everywhere working in the sense which I could desire; that foreign nations were astounded at the step, and some of them very angry, but that not one of them ventured to imagine that it was possible to interpose any resistance to England. That Metternich had been trying what he could do, and covering his intrigues with the most plausible topics, but that his motive at the bottom was soreness at my success, and envy of my reputation, from which motive he would have done anything to get rid of me. But that he (Metternich) was now convinced that I was too strong for him, and would, he (Sir W. K.) had no doubt, henceforth try to accommodate himself to circumstances as well as he could.

“Sir W. K. said that he failed not to mention his own impressions to the King, and that he had never in his life seen the King so tranquil and comfortable as he appeared at the present moment. I said that it was my object to make his Majesty comfortable and happy, by placing him at the head of Europe instead of being reckoned fifth in a Great Confederacy.

“I said that I was aware that the King had been afraid that the steps taken with respect to Spanish-America would involve us in a war; that I was perfectly confident that they would not if taken in time. . . . Sir W. K. said that the King had certainly entertained that fear, but was now perfectly satisfied that his fears had been unfounded; that he (Sir W. K.) was certain that, on the contrary, the fear of England was a predominant feeling with the Continental Governments. I said that I hoped so; that that was the state to which I had wished to bring things, and that I trusted his Majesty

must feel better pleased, upon reflection, to be the object of such fear, than of cajolery and contempt. Sir W. K. said that he felt sure that his Majesty was coming to that mind; that he had certainly been very loth to give up all his Continental gossipings (or some expression to that effect) to which he had been accustomed too much and too long; that it was a great misfortune that the royalties and their suites had ever come to this country, but that he did hope that the effects of all that system were gradually passing away; and that Esterhazy's departure and Madame L——'s would be a break-up of the system of living with those two embassies, which he (Sir W. K.) had long lamented. I asked him, then, if he were aware that the gossipings of the Cottage were regularly transmitted to Metternich by Madame L——. He said he had no doubt of it, but that he very much doubted whether in their Cottage parties the King ever talked serious politics at any of them, though, of course, they had an opportunity of instilling any opinions which they wished; but the King certainly liked their society better than any others, and was somewhat at a loss to make up a society for himself.

“Sir W. K. went on to say, that upon all points, and upon everything connected with the King, he wished (if I would allow him) to speak to me at all times with the most perfect confidence and unreservedness; that he did not know that he could do any good, but that he was sure that it was his wish to do so, and that he had long desired an opportunity of explaining himself thus openly to me; that he could not help at the same time saying something of his own situation with the King, which was a very extraordinary, and might become a very embarrassing one. That, officially, he was nothing but Keeper of the Privy Purse, the concerns of which, he flattered himself, he had now brought into order; so that the King was now free from debt, and in a state of ease as to his finances that he had never been before; but that as Keeper of the King's Privy Purse he had nothing to do with politics, yet politics of every sort were every day forced upon him; applications, petitions, representations of all sorts, which he got rid of as well as he could, but which made his life a very weary one. He had access to everything that was most secret, and was employed, not by his own good-will, but necessarily for the King's convenience, on matters of the most delicate nature, for which he had no sort of responsibility; that for his own part he could well be contented to be allowed to live with his family, and

come up occasionally to pass his accounts with the King. He could just as well administer the King's private revenue, living at a distance from his Majesty, as Abercrombie could the revenues of the Duke of Devonshire in England. But that he knew the putting this plan into execution would expose his Majesty to great inconvenience; that his Majesty was used to him and to his help; and such was the growing disposition to indolence in his Majesty, that if he were away, business would get on very ill . . . that it was a most painful part of his (Sir W. K.'s) duty to press business upon his Majesty, when it was absolutely necessary to be done . . . and that his doing so sometimes produced unpleasant scenes. . . . 'I believe' (said Sir W. K.) 'he has as great an esteem and affection for me as anybody living; but he is uncertain, the creature of impulse . . . when he has got a particular notion into his head there is no eradicating it; and I have known him talk himself, when agitated and perfectly fasting, into as complete a state of intoxication as if he had been dining and drinking largely. You see, therefore, that it is natural that I should wish for some arrangement. As to money, it is no object to me: I made my fortune by my profession before I quitted it for the King's service.'

"I keep myself as much as possible to myself in my present situation. I make it a rule never to dine abroad. I constantly refuse Lieven's and Esterhazy's; and even the other day, when you dined at the Duke of Wellington's with the King, I declined his gracious invitation, and therefore do not push myself forward; but my situation is not the less embarrassing, knowing everything, and known to know everything, and assailed on all sides, not allowed to be the private servant of the King, and yet not having any connection with his Government."

"I asked, 'Have you any desire to be in Parliament?' 'Oh no,' he said. In truth, it seemed very difficult to him to say what would answer his purpose; that all his object had been to open himself fully to me, and to explain all his feelings and all the difficulties of his present situation, that I might think it over at my leisure, or think no more about it, as I pleased; but that as long as I held my office, which he hoped would be very many years, and he remained about the King, I might rely upon his entire devotion, and employ him in any way which I thought useful in making things go on easily and satisfactorily. He thought the King very



well, and quite as likely to live as the Duke of York. The mention of the Duke of York's name led to that of the Catholic question. He said the King knew nothing of the Duke of York's intention to make that speech, and certainly did not approve of it; that his Majesty had been so much out of humor with the Duke of York, about a house that he was going to build—so much so, that they nearly came to disagreeable words about it, and that he (Sir W. K.) had been employed to compose the difference; that the King always likes the Duke of York to go to the play with him, and was in an excessive fidget and anger when the Duke did not come to dine; and that his ill-humor would certainly not be cured by hearing what kept him away. I asked him if the King, though not disposed to express it, had the same feeling as the Duke of York about the Coronation Oath. He said not the same, or to the same degree, but certainly a strong feeling about it; so much so, that he had, before he became King, consulted the late Lord Londonderry as to the expediency of altering it before he was called upon to take it. I asked if there was any record of that consultation, and if he knew what had been done upon it. He said he did not know, nor did he believe that there was anything in writing; but that he was quite sure that the King had told him the fact, and that he would endeavor to refresh his memory as to the particulars. The difficulty which you will have with the King will be to satisfy him that the decision of Parliament and the advice of his Government ought to overbear his scruples. I said, of that there can be no doubt, as the King of England can do nothing, except by the advice of his responsible advisers. He may indeed change his advisers as often as he pleases, till he gets those who will advise what he likes, if he can; but on this occasion, I doubt whether, changing ever so often, he will be able to make a completely anti-Catholic Government which would long stand. 'Oh no! (said Sir W. K.) it would be quite impossible; he has no notion of that, I am sure; but I think he would like to dissolve the Parliament, and take the sense of a second House of Commons.' On which I said I thought I saw in that nothing unreasonable. 'My expectation (said Sir W. K.) is that when the thing comes a little nearer and more pressing, his Majesty will wish to talk to you upon the subject.' 'It is one (said I) upon which, divided as the Government is, I should not think myself at liberty to originate any advice or opinion to his Majesty; but of course, as upon everything else, I should be ready to speak my opinion if he wishes to talk to me.' Lord Liverpool, he said,

of course, if he does not make up his mind to support the question, will go out, if it should become necessary to carry it; though the state of the Government upon the question is now such as you allude to, it is evident that the settlement of it must be made by a Government. I said I saw no necessity for Lord Liverpool to go out, and I trusted that he had no thought of it. He said, 'You may depend upon it he would, and that he has made up his mind to do so; and then,' he added, 'I never saw Lord Liverpool in such an amiable humor, and so says the King, who was delighted with him at the levee on Wednesday, and said that he was all *suaviter in modo*.' He (Sir W. K.) then went on: Peel, too, would go out on account of Oxford. I said, God forbid! for he was certainly the most efficient Secretary of State for the Home Department that this country ever saw, and the most able and honest minister. Indeed, I added, the King ought to be aware that he owes the unexampled comfort and tranquillity which he at present enjoys, and which (said Sir W. K., interrupting) he admits never to have enjoyed before. Well, I said, he owes it not to Lord Liverpool and me only, in our respective situations, but to the extraordinary efficiency with which those other great departments of the State are filled by Peel, Robinson, and Huskisson; those offices were never so filled altogether before. Sir W. K. agreed to this, and went off in a great panegyric about Huskisson: but, to my surprise, said nothing about Robinson, whom I believed to be one of the greatest favorites of the King, and particularly of Knighton. He then reverted to Peel, and gave reasons why he thought he would go out. His health, his wealth, his desire of leisure, and particularly of travelling; but without any particular praise of Peel, whom I had also imagined to be one of Sir W. K.'s first favorites.

"He talked of the Duke of Wellington as the person in whom the King had great confidence, though he thought he saw him much less than heretofore, when the Continental system was in more vogue. He thought the Duke essentially ill, but hoped that he was now taking care of himself. Several other matters of less consequence arose in the course of the conversation, of which I entertain no very distinct recollection. The cause of the visit probably was as stated, the King's command to inquire after my gout . . . but the main object which he (Sir W. K.) evidently had at heart, was to set himself right with me as to the intrigues of last summer, of which he knows that I suspect him, and perhaps suspects that I knew him to be, if not an active instrument, a very interested spec-

tator, and to bring his situation before me with a view to some object, and in the contemplation of some contingency, which I do not pretend to divine."

In September, 1825, Mr. Canning found himself, as was to be expected, directly confronted with the grand question, which by his principles and declarations he was bound to favor. There were many reasons why it would have been inconvenient for him to deal with it then—not the least of which was the impracticable mood of the King. He contrived to put it aside for the moment, addressing a letter to Mr. Plunket, setting out the "inopportunes" of the time, "the certainty of its rousing unconquerable hostility," but he added a promise of bringing it forward at the first opportunity after a dissolution.

"I am aware," he added, "to what misconstructions this proceeding may possibly expose me. I need hardly say that I had much rather that this extreme measure was averted by the discretion of those of the Catholic body with whom the bringing the question forward may rest." But so fixed was his resolution, he said he was determined to move the previous question, should it be brought on.

This letter he forwarded to the King, with a skilfully-written one of his own.

"Dated Oct. 19, 1825.

"Mr. Canning, in submitting with his humble duty the accompanying copy of a letter for your Majesty's gracious perusal, humbly entreats your Majesty to believe that he does not presume to entertain the slightest wish or expectation that your Majesty should condescend to express any opinion upon the subject to which it relates.

"But in the very embarrassing situation in which that subject is placed (by no fault of any one, but through its own intrinsic difficulties), Mr. Canning is, above all things, anxious that your Majesty should be informed (if your Majesty will deign to receive such information) of any step taken by Mr. Canning, individually, upon a question upon which your Majesty's confidential servants do not offer to your Majesty any collective opinion.

"For himself, Mr. Canning begs leave most humbly to assure your Majesty, that however impossible it would be for Mr. Canning at any time to pursue, consistently with his honor and conscientious conviction, any other course than that which he has hitherto



pursued upon this most momentous and perplexing question, sentiments of affectionate duty and grateful attachment to your Majesty make him feel at all times no less the wish than the obligation to consult to the utmost of his power, in the discussions which may arise upon this question, your Majesty's ease and comfort, and to omit no endeavor by which the decision upon it (whatever that decision may be) can be rendered least prejudicial to the general well-being of your Majesty's Government."

He thus describes to Lord Granville the King's reception of his communication:

"I sent to his Majesty for his private perusal a copy of my letter to Mr. Plunket.

"He has returned it with thanks, describes it as 'admirable;' and though he does not (nor could I expect that he would) look beyond the next year for what must follow, there is not one word in his letter of determination not to yield, not a syllable of his royal brother's language, and not a shadow of ill-humor. This is well so far as it goes, and it is a great thing to have begun with his Majesty upon a subject which hitherto has been considered as interdicted ground.

"You remember, of course, that in the discussions (in Cabinet) which followed the loss of the question last session, I declared my determination to be no longer precluded from communicating with his Majesty when I thought fit."

The minister showed himself here rather too sanguine and credulous as to the King's disposition; indeed, it must be said that the latter was not called upon to do more than signify his approbation of the postponement, at which he might reasonably exclaim "Admirable!" without, too, exhibiting "a shadow of ill-humor." The proceeding was indeed one which recalled Pitt's and Fox's consideration for the feelings of his royal father on analogous occasions.

It is evident, however, that the King relied on their assurances that he was not to be annoyed by the Catholic question. But had Mr. Canning lived, it is clear he must have been obliged to bring forward the question. For the present it was staved off. He, however, had no objection to reciprocate these cordial advances, and contrived to turn them to profit.

Mr. Stapleton declares that from that day to Mr. Canning's

death there was a most remarkable change in the King's behavior, who became as cordial and loyal in his support as he was before unfriendly. The results were immediate. He even anticipated his wishes in regard to the recognized States.

"You will not think my journey to town fruitless," he wrote in October, "when I tell you that I received, the day before yesterday, from the King a note in which is the following sentence: 'The King will receive the ministers of the New States early in November.' Recollecting that this time twelvemonth it was a question whether there should be any New States at all, and that in the discussions of that day one of the main arguments employed to deter me from my purpose was, that the King would never be brought to receive their ministers, I think the two lines above quoted as satisfactory a proof of the sum as could be desired. I am afraid, however, that the King offers me more than I shall be able to take; for I have only one minister, that of Columbia, here. Immediately after the presentation I shall appoint ministers to both States; and to this also I have obtained his Majesty's complete acquiescence. The King had now begun to feel, he said later, that 'I had not, as he was taught to apprehend, lost him his status among the Powers of the Continent,' but had only changed it from 'the tail of Europe to the head.'"

The presentation of the Columbian envoy was a special source of satisfaction to him. As "a scene" it is interesting, and a favorable specimen of Mr. Canning's spirited style.

"I had mentioned to his Majesty before Signor Hurtado came into the closet, that he had conducted himself eminently well during his residence of some years in England—had mixed himself in no factious cabal, nor, so far as I know and believe, in any dirty speculations.

"Immediately upon his coming in, the King, without waiting for his address, began with a sentence to this effect, extraordinarily well worded and pronounced:

"'I have learnt with great satisfaction, sir, that during your residence in this country you have conducted yourself with particular prudence and propriety, under very difficult circumstances. It is an earnest of the manner in which you will discharge the duties of the situation to which you are now appointed, and in which I have great pleasure in receiving you.'

"Hurtado then made his speech, which was a very judicious and

proper one; though rather of the longest, and in the most uncensored and arbitrary French which it is possible to imagine. (The King's speech to him was in English, which he understands, but does not venture to speak.)

"I then told the King (in the presence of Hurtado), that 'I had received from Hurtado the most positive assurances of the disposition and desire of his Government to cultivate the relations of peace with all the world, but especially with the New States of America, and especially, among them, with the State more immediately under his Majesty's protection—Brazil.'

"To which Hurtado bowed, and muttered his assent; and his Majesty added: 'I rejoice to hear it;' and turning to Hurtado, 'Peace, peace, by all means, and above all things. We have had thirty years of convulsions; let us all now conspire to keep the peace.'

"And so the audience ended. And so, behold! the New World established."

Another version of his proud boast of calling the New World into existence "to redress the balance of the Old!" What if we could have foreseen the miserable little republics, which were in reality to be engendered by his bold step?

In December he had the satisfaction of witnessing Prince Esterhazy's farewell audience, which was to bring him fresh proof of his new-born favor with the King. He reports it in the same dramatic style:

"After many gracious expressions of regret, his Majesty said (in French) that it was particularly mortifying that Prince Esterhazy should leave England at such a time, when all was going on so well; when his Majesty's Government was so much to his own mind, and when he should think every other Power was so completely satisfied with it.

"Prince Esterhazy interposed a few words in confirmation of the King's sentiments, and expressive of his own satisfaction at the manner in which he was treated, especially by me. '*Que les formes avaient été toujours les plus amicales et qu'à présent il était convaincu—*' and was evidently proceeding to some reference to former political differences of opinion between himself and me, when the King interrupted him, and said:

"'*Oui, oui—il faut être juste*;' and then turning to me, went on (still in French) to say—'Yes, it is right that you should know, and



I am determined to tell you in his presence, that Esterhazy was the first "*de revenir sur votre compte,*" and to disavow and to complain of the unreasonable "preventions" of Prince Metternich. It is many months ago since Prince Esterhazy said to me, of his own accord, that he was ashamed for himself, and for his Court, of the injustice which had been done to you; and to express his conviction that, even on the points on which you had most differed, you had been right, and had done what was best for all.'

"*Oui—je vous le jure,*" said Prince Esterhazy, holding out his hands and taking mine, and the tears coming into his eyes; and then turning to the King, he said: '*Sire, de toutes les graces dont votre Majesté m'a comblées*' (or words to that effect), 'I consider this as the most kind. I wished Mr. Canning to know this, but I could not myself tell it him, or be sure that he would have given me credit for it if I had. How little could I expect your Majesty would have deigned to take the task upon yourself. *Oui, je vous jure,*' he repeated, turning to me, '*que même dans la question coloniale,* upon which it was my duty and that of others, according to our instructions, to oppose you all that we could, I have long been satisfied that you were entirely right; but still more upon the question which now occupies all our minds—I mean the Greek question.

"'I do confess, Sire,' he said to the King, 'I was, as we all were, excessively dissatisfied with Mr. Canning for his constant refusal to join in the conferences at St. Petersburg, and did really and truly think that he was sacrificing the general good to his particular opinions; but I now assure your Majesty, upon my honor, that I am quite convinced that he judged the matter rightly from the beginning, and that he took the only course which, as a British minister, it was for the honor and interests of his country to take. *Moi-même dans sa situation et avec ses moyens,* I hope I should have acted like him. Indeed, Sire, events have proved how just a view he took of this subject. He foresaw the nullity of our conferences, and knew that he could not commit England in them without exposing her to discredit and impairing her utility in future.'

"The King said a few words implying assent, and I interposed, saying: 'Yes, Sire, in this country we cannot afford unprofitable discussions, or to take any public step, of which one knows beforehand that it will lead to no good.'

"'Yes,' said the King. 'When we see our way, and can employ our own influence, we can do anything. *Qui est ce,*' turning to

Prince Esterhazy, '*qui pourroit avoir fait ce que nous venons d'accomplir au Brésil?*' Prince Esterhazy expressed his entire consent, and went into a panegyric of the instructions given to Sir Charles Stuart.

"'*Au moins,*' I said, '*Sire, nous avons sauvé là une monarchie—* which, as part of a confederacy, I would not answer for having been able to do.'

"The conversation then turned upon the Emperor of Russia's death; upon the danger of a Turkish war. The King expressing his determination to exert all his influence to preserve peace, and Prince Esterhazy expressing for himself and for his Court the perfect and entire confidence which (pointing to me) they reposed in his Majesty's Government.

"After Prince Esterhazy had taken leave, the King made me sit down, and repeated to me the conversation to which he had alluded in presence of Prince Esterhazy; and which, his Majesty said, had begun by a voluntary declaration on Prince Esterhazy's part of the error in which he had been for some time respecting the course of my policy, and of his complete abjuration of that error.

"The King said that Prince Metternich, though a very clever, was a very prejudiced man; that he had been used to have very much his own way; that poor Lord Londonderry had often found that however well Prince Metternich might have appeared to understand a subject relating to England in conversation, yet, that three months after he got back to Vienna he appeared to have forgotten totally all that had passed, and said and did such things as put Lord Londonderry to great embarrassment; that his (the King's) wish had been to bring me and Metternich together; that he had proposed to him (Metternich) to come over from Paris for that purpose; that he would have introduced us to each other and shut us up in a room together, when in the course of an hour he was sure, I should have convinced Metternich and brought him to reason.

"Referring to his majesty's expressions of regret at the loss of Prince Esterhazy, I offered to write privately to Sir H. Wellesley, to sound Metternich, whether the arrangement for his removal could be reconsidered; which the King commanded me to do.

"I asked whether his majesty's sentiments with respect to Count Lieven were the same, and the King answered, '*Certainly;*' that his majesty wished I would do anything in my power to preserve Count Lieven in his present situation, for that with Lieven and Esterhazy I could manage everything.

"On leaving his majesty, I found Prince Esterhazy waiting for me in the outer room. He came up to me and repeated with emotion the substance of what he had said before the King; thanked me for my intention to write to Sir H. Wellesley, but expressed his belief that it would be of no avail; regretted his departure at a moment when it was so essential that Austria and England should understand each other; but conjured me to believe '*qu'il me rendit enfin pleine justice*;' and that he now comprehended and '*sçavoit apprécier ma politique*,' that I had everything in my hands, and was '*destiné à jouer le plus grand rôle en Europe*.'

"It is needless to add that we parted very good friends."

There seems no reason to doubt that this was the result of an intellectual victory, and that Mr. Canning had really gained one over the King. The latter, indeed, some years later, in conversation with Mr. Canning on Lord Liverpool's retirement, frankly assured him that this was so; and that his prejudices had been removed and his support gained by the brilliant results of the policy adopted, and the great position in Europe to which he had raised the country.\*

#### THE KING TO SIR WILLIAM KNIGHTON.

"Royal Lodge, Nov. 15th, 1825.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I have so little to say since your departure from hence, that it is scarcely worth while troubling you with a line even now—especially as in the course of a few days I look for your reappearance—except to acknowledge and to thank you for the short epistle I received from you, dated Frankfort.

"Tranquillity, I am sure you will be pleased to learn, has in general been the order of the day since you left us. However, there have been, and I am fearful that they are still existing, some difficulties and misunderstandings in the final arrangement of that business which has caused you so much trouble and anxiety; and which at present do, and which I fear will still procrastinate the final adjustment until your return.

"It is impossible to detail to you what cavillings there have been, and what strange crotchets have started up, and sometimes seemingly upon the merest rifles, among the lawyers, and indeed, pretty much all the parties concerned; such immensity of talking back-

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\* Stapleton, "Canning," p. 582.



wards and forwards, here and there—the mistake of a sentence, and of even a single word—all which creates delays; and even if there be the possibility of correcting it and setting it to rights again afterwards, I think but little progress has yet been made; and I see the impracticability, and next to impossibility of its being brought to any final issue, until the moment of your return, when by your good and kind advice it may in all likelihood be ultimately settled.\*

“You, I am confident, will understand all this without the necessity of any further explanation on my part, especially as they, I know, are at this very moment in the act of writing to you; so probably they may enter into some further details.

“As to bodily health, I am certainly not as well as I ought to be, although I complain but little, which you are well aware is generally the case with me; but as to that which is more and most essential (as it is the mainspring to leverything, and the only security for health), the state of my mind and my feelings, I shall reserve all I have to say till next we meet.

“Now, then, God bless you, dear friend; and believe me always affectionately yours,

“G. R.”

THE KING TO SIR WILLIAM KNIGHTON.

“Royal Lodge, Two o'clock P.M., Dec. 28th, 1825.

“DEAR FRIEND,

“I write a few lines in great haste to request that you will be with me here at an early hour to-morrow morning. You may depend upon it, that if it were not for matters of considerable moment, I would not break in upon the few moments of peaceful enjoyment with your family which you allow yourself, and it is therefore with sincere regret that I feel myself under the necessity of doing so upon the present occasion. However, you may assure Lady Knighton and your family from me, that four-and-twenty hours, I hope, will be the utmost extent of time of which they will be deprived of your

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\* This letter referred to the young Duke of Brunswick's affairs, of whom the King was guardian, and which brought his Majesty much trouble and litigation. This child grew up to be the well-known eccentric Charles Duke of Brunswick, whose strange life, chiefly conspicuous for diamonds, was closed by his strange legacy to the town of Geneva.

society. The matter is too big with a variety and combination of matters not to require without the loss of a moment your presence, and your best advice and assistance. I have not time to add another word, but that I am always

“Affectionately yours,

“G. R.”

## CHAPTER XI.

1825—1826.

ON the accession of the new Czar (the late Emperor Nicholas), it was proposed to send the Duke of Wellington to St. Petersburg to explain personally the views of the Government. The duke had been a little unwell, but otherwise there could be no objection to his setting out on so important and honorable a mission. The King, however, complicated so simple a matter by some fancied difficulties, and addressed to the duke what seems an apologetic letter.

## THE KING TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

“[Most secret and confidential, and for yourself alone.]

“Royal Lodge, 27th December, 1825.

“MY DEAR FRIEND,

“In consequence of an interview I have just had with Mr. Canning, I have determined upon sending you the enclosed letters, in hopes that they will reach you, before you can, or will, hear from Mr. Canning, and which I am confident that you will shortly. If upon reading my letter, you should not approve of it, the only apology I can offer is that which I am sure the generosity of your heart, and of your nature, will of itself naturally suggest to you for me, the sincerity and warmth of my most affectionate feelings towards you, which will, at all times, supersede every other consideration.

“I must in justice to Mr. Canning add, that every expression he made use of was in a very friendly and proper tone. My fear was, that you might think that the proposal originated with me, and therefore that you might consider it as something in the shape of an official order, without any previous consultation on my part with you, my friend, as to that which might be agreeable to your feelings, and of which I do entreat you to believe I am wholly and entirely incapable.

“Mr. Canning’s fear, on the other hand (from what I have just



heard from him), seems to have arisen from this: the apprehension, that if this proposal was not in the very first instance made to you, you might possibly suppose that from some unjustifiable reason he had overlooked your superior consequence, pretensions, and ability; and therefore, he might be deemed as guilty of not showing towards you all that high consideration and respect, which are no more than your due; and which, as well as with private regard for you, he not only expresses himself, but appears to be strongly impressed.

“By the statement I have just made to you, you will perceive (when you receive Mr. Canning’s communication) that the matter now stands on a perfectly different footing and principle than it did appear to me to do. When I wrote my answer to Mr. Canning’s first letter, for now you will, if you please, consider it either as a matter of personal respect and compliment to yourself, or deal with it in any other way that may be most congenial and satisfactory to your own feelings; and it is upon this ground, and this ground alone, that I assented to Mr. Canning’s approaching you at all upon the subject; and, after a further consultation with Lord Liverpool, to whom he is gone at Coombe, immediately upon leaving me. Advice I do not pretend to offer, but, as to my wishes, they are to be summed up in very few words indeed; and not to repeat all, I do so sincerely feel personally towards you, I must say that your absence for any length of time, or rather, the want of your presence, would be quite intolerable to me, besides the risk which your health would run, perhaps even your life, which is too frightful a consideration, either for the private man that loves you, or the public man that cares for his country, or for the interests of all Europe, to entertain or tolerate for a single instant.

“Believe me, my dear Duke,

“Ever your most affectionate Friend,

“G. R.

“P.S.—When you have done with Canning’s letter, as well as with the copy of my answer, I will thank you to return them.”

From Mr. Canning’s account of this simple transaction, it will be seen that, with his usual love of tortuous ways, even in trifles, the King’s letter had been addressed to the Duke without Mr. Canning’s knowledge—hence “for yourself alone.”

“I proposed it to the King almost as soon as the event was

known; but his majesty doubted—solely, however, on the ground of the duke's health. I persuaded his majesty to let me try the question upon the duke, with an express intimation of his majesty's commands that he should not undertake the mission, unless he felt himself strong enough to go through with it, and unless his medical advisers concurred in the same opinion. The duke not only accepted, but jumped, as I foresaw that he would, at the proposal. 'Never better in his life,' 'ready to set out in a week,' and the like expressions of alertness, leave no doubt upon my mind that the selection of another person would have done his health more prejudice than all the frosts or thaws of the hyperborean regions can do it."

As the reader will have seen, it is not proposed in this work to give a complete view of ministerial changes and politics during this reign, which would be entering on a vast field, but simply to deal with these matters only so far as they exhibit the behavior of his majesty.

## THE KING TO SIR W. KNIGHTON.

"January, 1826.

"DEAR FRIEND,

"Many thanks to you for your letter, just received. Inclosed, and unsealed, I send you a short note of thanks for Robinson, which, after you have read, you will be so good as to seal and forward to him. Cathcart's paper I also return you, properly signed.

"With respect to Munster's re-despatching the quarterly messenger to Hanover on the 25th of this month, as he proposes, I can only say at present, that he may prepare him eventually for such departure, if such things as I shall have to send abroad by him shall be ready (and which I hope they will by that day), but that, should they not, he must positively await my further orders. Amongst the rest of the articles which I shall have to send by him are the complete set of Handel's scores and works for the King of Prussia, now binding, which I must beg of you to look after, and to see yourself carefully, properly, and safely packed up, and then to be simply addressed '*Pour Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse;*' and the outward cover, 'For H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland, K.G., Berlin.'

"With your usual precaution, celerity, and zeal, you seem to have carried, and settled to my entire comfort and satisfaction, all the necessary and essential points respecting Windsor Castle and

the King's palace, as well as what to me is almost equally agreeable (as you state it) to the quietude and gratification of poor little Nash's feelings.

"A little charitable impulse induces me to desire you to inquire into the distressed circumstances of poor old O'Keeffe, now ninety years of age and stone-blind, whom I knew a little of formerly, having occasionally met him at parties; my juvenile recreation and hilarity to which he then contributed not a little. Should you really find him so low in the world, and so divested of all comfort as he is represented to be, then I do conceive that there can be no objection to your offering him, from me, such immediate relief, or such a moderate annual stipend, as will enable him to close his hitherto long life in comfort, at any rate free from want and absolute beggary, which I greatly fear at present is but too truly his actual condition and situation. Perhaps on many accounts and reasons, which I am sure I need not mention to you, this had best be effectuated by an immediate application through you to our lively little friend G. Colman, whose good heart will, I am certain, lead him to give us all the assistance he can, especially as it is for the preservation of one of his oldest invalided brothers and worshippers of the Thespian muse.

"G. R."

#### THE KING TO LORD LIVERPOOL.

"Royal Lodge, April 19th, 1826.

"[Most private.]

"I think your explanation on the subject of the Northumberland peerage, although not satisfactory to one's feelings, is upon the whole conclusive; but I do think that it is a hard thing, both upon you and me, that Lord Grenville should make a point of driving me to do that which I think wrong, and take no interest in, politically or otherwise. However, let it be, for I do not choose that you should be compromised. All the others that you have put down have my entire approbation. I will now add my own; and I shall begin by naming my friend Charles Long; the second, about whom I am even more anxious, is my old and attached friend Lord Fife. I am quite aware of the trifling objection to some of the fooleries of his past life, but who is exempt from some nonsense or other? I dismissed him from my household, and used him apparently ill to please my Government and poor Lord Londonderry; but, notwithstanding this, my friend Fife never gave a vote against



the Government afterwards, and by his loyal example when I was in Scotland did the greatest good. I am much attached to him. If you choose to let Sir John Leicester stand, I have no objection; and with this understanding, that I shall be willing to consider myself as owing you a peer at any future period that you may propose. Peace and harmony is my great object. You will be glad, I am sure, to learn that I am gradually improving in health every day.

“Your sincere Friend,

“G. R.”

#### THE KING TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

“Royal Lodge, October 7th, 1826.

“The King has read with attention the papers transmitted to him by the Duke of Wellington, and which he now returns.

“The King is entirely of the same opinion as the Duke of Wellington with regard to the propriety of the second condition proposed by Mr. Canning.

“The King doubts Marshal Beresford’s acceptance of the command of the Portuguese army, if hampered with the first condition; and therefore, if Mr. Canning considers it is of great importance that the command should be taken by Lord Beresford, probably Mr. Canning will reconsider the first proposition.

“The King desires that the Duke of Wellington will communicate the contents of this letter to Mr. Canning and Lord Liverpool.

“G. R.”

#### THE KING TO THE SAME.

“MY DEAR FRIEND,

“I add this short note, merely for yourself, to tell you that I am quite of your opinion on this matter. The first proposition cannot be flattering to the feelings of Lord Beresford; nor do I think in a political view it would be a dignified measure for us to sake.

“Yours very affectionately,

“G. R.”

#### THE KING TO SIR W. KNIGHTON.

“Royal Lodge, Dec. 30, 1826.

DEAR FRIEND,

“I write a short line, merely for the purpose of wishing you and yours from my heart a happy new year, and many returns of

the same. I shall trouble you with but little on the present occasion, though I have much, and that too of great importance, which I must with the shortest lapse of time possible discuss and talk over with you; and therefore I rely upon your affection for me that you will not disappoint me, but that you will be punctual with me at the Lodge by noon, and not later than on Wednesday the 2nd, by which time I trust the old mansion will be completely restored to its wonted tranquillity and quiet. But see you I must on that day.

"It was fully my intention to have written you a few lines on Christmas Day, but I was then, and had been confined ever since this day se'enlight, to my room with a general cold and feverish attack, attended with great tightness and oppression upon the chest, and for which, by Sir Henry's advice, we were obliged to have recourse to the lancet, which produced the expected relief, but not such entire relief as to set me free from my chamber, but from which, thank God, I am to emerge this day, by going down to dinner for the first time. My affection for you made me feel that, however I might be suffering myself, it would be both cruel and unjust in me, knowing how very little time you ever allow yourself to pass in comfort with your family (especially at this season of the year), were I to write that to you which, from your affection to me, might have induced you generously to break up your domestic board by coming away to me suddenly, or at any rate have cast a damper over those happy, cheerful, and enviable hours, which you cannot fail to enjoy when surrounded by your happy domestic circle; and that long may this be your case, dear friend, my best prayers are, and ever will be offered up.

"Now good-by to you. I look forward with impatience to Wednesday next, the 2nd, when I rely and depend upon seeing you. Till then, God bless you!

"Yours affectionately,

"G. R."

In the January of 1827 the royal Protestant champion, the Duke of York, was taken ill and died—a great loss to his majesty. He had been giving much trouble to Mr. Canning, owing to his interference; and not long before his death he had exhorted the King "strenuously to place the Government of the country in a state of uniformity, and that that uniformity should be one of a decided opposition to the Catholic claims." The King, however, was not prepared to take his advice; but Mr. Canning was actually medi-

tating taking some serious step to put a stop to his interference. He congratulated himself that he had not done so. But still in death the duke was destined to help the cause he loved, for it was on attending his funeral that Mr. Canning caught the fatal cold that carried him off.

Of a sudden came the catastrophe of Lord Liverpool's seizure and subsequent death; which led to a crisis of singular embarrassment for all concerned.



## CHAPTER XII.

1827.

ON March 27th Mr. Canning went down to the Royal Lodge, to hold one of those long conversations in which the King was fond of indulging in his last years, and which rather took the shape of monologues, in which he rambled from topic to topic, but chiefly dwelt upon himself, and his life and principles. These views often astonished and confounded the listener, owing to their inconsistency with the real course of events. "The King gave him the whole history of his political opinions, both before as well as after he became Regent, and subsequently King, especially with reference to what they had been, and then were, on the Catholic question. He stated that on that point, even at the time of his closest connection with Mr. Fox, his opinions had been against concession, and, in short, that he was decidedly opposed to emancipation. His majesty's expressions were very strong on this subject. His majesty expressed, in the most unequivocal terms, his satisfaction with Mr. Canning's services, and his wish to retain them for the rest of his life; but, he added, that as the Catholic question was a matter of conscience, he must take great precautions against exposing himself to the imputation of abandoning his opinions on that question, which he feared he would do if he were to select a Catholic Prime Minister. He therefore wished to retain all his present ministers, and to fill up Lord Liverpool's place with some peer holding Lord Liverpool's opinions upon the Catholic question.

"Mr. Canning said that the first advice which, as an honest man, he was bound to tender to him was, that his majesty should form a Government calculated to represent his own opinions. The King thought that was impossible, and cited Lord Liverpool's opinions to that effect upon the Duke of York's paper of November last. Mr. Canning observed that he did not agree in that opinion; but that it was not, however, his business to point out the mode in which such a Government might be formed, but all he could do was to lay his

office at his majesty's feet, in order that the attempt might be made.

"His majesty then declared his sense of the impossibility of parting with Mr. Canning, and repeated his assurances that the repugnance with which he frankly admitted he had received Mr. Canning into his service in 1822 had not only been completely effaced within a short time after their coming together, but was now changed into sentiments of satisfaction, regard, and warm affection; that Mr. Canning had placed this country in a position, with respect to Europe, in which it had never stood before; that the maintenance of the country in that situation depended upon Mr. Canning's continuance in office, on the personal consideration which was placed in him by foreign Courts, and on their knowledge that his majesty completely approved and adopted Mr. Canning's system.

"Mr. Canning answered with becoming expressions of gratitude, but asked whether his majesty wished him to speak his mind freely, otherwise he had sufficiently discharged his duty in advising his majesty to form an exclusively anti-Catholic Government. His majesty repeated that that was impossible, and desired Mr. Canning to go on. Mr. Canning then said, in obedience to his majesty's commands, that he would speak without reserve. After declaring that he could not alter his views on the Catholic question, his majesty must permit him to say that it was not just to change that footing without previous warning, and that it was obviously unjust to do so without giving each minister, who had entered his service upon the faith that the footing was unchanged, permission to retire without incurring his majesty's displeasure; that if the proposition made to Mr. Canning was either to conform to a new footing on this subject, or retire, he should not complain. He could only say that, if he remained in the Government, it must be to act as he had hitherto acted upon the Catholic question, whenever the discussion of it occurred.

"That most happy should he be, if, by any fair management or reasonable compromise, he could contrive to spare his majesty's feelings, or, to use a word which his majesty had employed, to protect him from the vexation which he had experienced in the annual agitation of this painful question; but that, in order to do this, Mr. Canning must be free as air with respect to the question; that he could give his majesty no pledges of any kind respecting it.

"His majesty graciously admitted the reasonableness of this view of the subject; but then, reverting to his own feeling upon the

Catholic question, asked what he should be able to say to those who relied upon his majesty's firmness for the maintenance of the Protestant cause, if he were to name what would be called a Catholic Prime Minister?

"The other replied that 'as the Catholic question was an open question on which the members of the Government were free to act according to their opinions, without entailing any disadvantageous consequence upon themselves, how could he allow it to be proved in his person, that those whose sentiments were favorable to the Roman Catholics were to be excluded solely on account of those sentiments, as much as the Catholics, from the highest elevations in the State and from the greatest objects of ambition?'

"He could not, therefore, consent that, in his person, such a principle should be established; and he felt bound honestly to tell his majesty, in plain terms, that the substantive power of First Minister he must have, and what is more, must be known to have, or he must beg leave to be allowed to retire from a situation which he could not longer fill, either with satisfaction to himself or with benefit to the King's service."

The result of this conversation is embodied in the following "corrected minute:"

"Minute of what was said to me by the King at the Royal Lodge, March 21, 1827. Read by me to his majesty March 29, and corrected in his majesty's presence.

"G. C."

"FOR THE CABINET,

"That his majesty is desirous of retaining all his present servants in the stations which they at present fill; placing at their head, in the station vacated by Lord Liverpool, some peer professing opinions, upon whom his majesty's confidential servants may agree, of the same principles as Lord Liverpool."

It was thought advisable, however, not to present this view to the Cabinet, so matters remained exactly as they were for more than a week. Mr. Peel and the duke had interviews with his majesty later.\*

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\* Mr. Greville learned from Lady Bathurst: "When the account of Lord Liverpool's seizure reached the King at Brighton, Peel was at the Pavilion; the King got into one of his nervous ways, and sent for him in the middle of the night, desiring he would not dress; so he went down in his bed-gown and



It would take too long to set out the difficulties of the imbroglio that followed. They could be anticipated, when it is considered that the elements were a Tory Cabinet, deprived of its chief, and expected to enlist under "a Catholic Premier." These ministers were willing to take service under any one who corresponded to the type of the late Premier—that is, a "Protestant"—and was content to leave the question an "open one." They expected that the Duke of Wellington would answer this description; on the other hand, the claims of Mr. Canning were conspicuous for his commanding abilities. Neither party, it was clear, wished to bring the matter to this distinct issue. Mr. Canning had many interviews with both Mr. Peel and the duke, which were reported to have brought "the greatest satisfaction to the parties," but nothing came of it. During these interviews, however, Mr. Canning came at last to believe that what was in the duke's mind was, that he, the duke, should be Premier; which might have been confirmed by Mr. Peel's actually making the suggestion. But the public growing impatient at the delay, the King found himself obliged, on April 10th, to give formal commission to Mr. Canning to form a ministry.

He accordingly applied to the members of the late Cabinet, who nearly all declined; while the Duke of Wellington, with something that seemed like insolence, inquired in reply: "Who was to be head of the Government?" He was deeply offended at the tone of the rather sharp answer he received, and resigned his office at the head of the army. But it is with the King's behavior we are most interested; who in the crisis appears to have passed through all the stages of indecision, cunning, revolt, advances, and concession. He could not endure to have a Catholic Premier, and yet he knew what worry and annoyance were in store for him if he rejected him. He dreaded facing his "Protestant" friends, the Eldons and others, who used to support him with comforting ascendancy doctrines, and to whom he would pour out his valiant assurances of resistance. He felt, too, the genius and fascination of Canning, who, like Lord Wellesley, used to kindle his regal ardor, by grand schemes that would bring glory to his reign.

But he himself shall presently unfold his own views in his own characteristic style.

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sat by the side of the king's bed. Peel has got an awkward way of thrusting out his hands while he talks, which at length provoked the King so much that he said: "Mr. Peel, it is no use going on so (taking him off) thrusting out your arms. The question is, who is to be my minister?"

## THE KING TO SIR WILLIAM KNIGHTON.

"St. James's Palace, Friday, April 6th, 1827.

"DEAR FRIEND,

"For God's sake, for all our sakes, pray, pray take care of yourself, and do not think, upon any account, of stirring until to-morrow morning. It is true, I am jaded and quite worn out, and writing from my bed, where I have laid down for a little rest; but to-morrow will be quite time enough. Little or no advance, I regret to say, has as yet been made, amidst, perhaps, almost unravelable perplexities.

Yours affectionately,

"G. R."

At this crisis the Duke of Buckingham, then struggling with difficulties, and going abroad on a yacht voyage, with a view to retrenchment, was passing through London, and determined to see and fortify his sovereign by offers of support. This rather singular nobleman had been fatiguing his political friends by a long course of querulous demands for place and advancement; and the publication of the voluminous family papers has helped us to see in what estimation he was held by his contemporaries.\*

Not obtaining the Governorship of India, which he hoped for, he appears to have conceived the idea of attaching himself to the King as to a party. The interview that followed is so characteristic of his majesty, and his views at this crisis are so freely delivered, that it is worth giving here at length.

"On the 13th I went to the King, according to appointment, and was received most graciously. He made me sit down, and I had an audience of near three hours. He had kept me waiting, owing to some boxes arriving from London. He therefore sent the Lord Steward to entertain me, offer me refreshments, etc. I began by asking him about his own health. He is much altered and aged, walked but feebly, but still without assistance, but complained of his knees. This conversation related at first to his own health, and to that of his old companions in the gout, Lord Forester and others.

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\* There are some curious particulars reported by Mr. Greville, and which he gathered from the duke's friend, Arbuthnot—such as the King's declaration to the duke, "that if the Tories would not agree to his (Canning) being Prime Minister, he was sure of the Whigs." But this is inconsistent with Mr. Canning's account, or it was probably due to the imagination of the King.

“He then exclaimed, ‘Ah! these are indeed strange times, and it is a strange political atmosphere which we are breathing.’

“I replied, ‘So strange, sir, that I cannot breathe it, and I retire to avoid it.’

“He then, hardly allowing me to say a word, entered himself into a detail, for two hours uninterruptedly, of the whole circumstances attending the late change, and most clearly made out a story against Peel and the Duke of Wellington, the truth of which I cannot doubt and which perfectly surprised me. The King, on the political ‘smash’ of the Ministry, urged the Government to hold together, and to choose some one—he cared not who, Protestant or Catholic—to recommend as Prime Minister. That, of course, he could not admit the situation to be elective; but that if they would name any one that would hold them together on the principles of Lord Liverpool’s Government, that man should be his minister. Twice he saw the Duke of Wellington, and twice said the same thing to him, urging them to unite—and twice the Duke of Wellington declined himself suggesting any person, specially saying that he could not be his minister, that he had gained all he wished for, more than he had hoped for—that he had been bred up amongst camps and armies, that all his political views had arisen out of, or had been secondary to, his military proceedings, and therefore that he could not be his minister; that as to a purely Protestant Government, it could not be made. The King suggested several names—Bexley, Bathurst, etc. etc. Why not make them sticks to rally round? No, they would name nobody, and the Duke of Wellington persevered in excluding himself. At last Peel, who had kept a very high and mighty bearing, declared himself ready to meet Canning upon the subject; and after their meeting, Peel wrote to the King to say that one had been suggested, but that he would wait upon the King, as he did not like to put the name in writing. In the meanwhile several delays occasioned by Peel intervened, and at last after Tierney had declared that he would ask a question in the House of Commons about the Government—that he must do so to keep it out of other hands—Peel came to the King and thundered out the Duke of Wellington’s name.

“The King, having been refused twice by the duke himself, and having under that refusal announced that he was not to be the man, said he would not then, in the last moment, in the eleventh hour, have a man crammed down his throat; declined the duke, and suggested any other; and then upon, for the first time, a refusal being



given to act with Canning, refused the Duke of Wellington, named Canning, and then the resignation took place—the Duke of Wellington leading the way, because his own suggestion had been adopted; and he followed it up by throwing at the King's head the whole of his employments, military and all. The King begged him to keep the army. No—all or nothing! Now, the duke had an entire right to say that he was the fittest man to be minister, and the only one to keep parties together. But he had no right to protest until the last moment that he would not be the man, and then employ that last moment in putting the pistol loaded with his own name to the King's head.

“Now, as to the Whigs, I asked him if he had any hope that they would stand steadily by him on what both he and I considered the best interests of his country?

“The King's answer was: *‘Alors, comme alors.’*

“I then asked him whether he did not see that the Whigs would pledge him much closer to the carrying of that question, the Catholic, than any other public body would? His answer was: *‘Alors, comme alors!’* Canning has pledged himself never to press me upon that subject, and never to be a member of the Cabinet that does!’

“I begged to have that repeated to me, that I might be sure of the fact. The King repeated it, and then said: ‘As yet he has kept his word, and I think he will go on and do so; but, by God, the moment he changes his line, he goes—and, of course, I look only to my Prime Minister. It is his business to complete his administration upon the same principles on which he himself consents to form it, and it is no business of mine to look further.’

“What assistance, I said, could he look to from the Whigs?

“He replied: ‘I cannot help it; you may be sure I cannot forget the past. But where else could I go? I did all I could short of making the situation of Premier elective. I offered to take any one whom they would name, Protestant or Catholic, provided I could have kept the thing together. Canning from the beginning was ready to undertake the task. I told them so. They expressed no feeling against him personally at first. I only asked them to name—they declined. I must have a minister; the Opposition threatened to storm my citadel. I again urged them. They again refused, and in the last moment, when they saw that I was driven to the wall, they pressed upon me the very name which they and the individual himself had repeatedly declared was the only name that

could not and ought not to be put forward! I then had no resource but to direct Canning to write the note to the Duke of Wellington, which you saw, and all the occurrences which you are aware of followed. If it is the great devil that has been forced upon me, it is they who have done it. I did not want Canning in the Government upon Castlereagh's death, but they forced him upon me. Now they wanted in the same way to force Wellington; but I am, at least, somebody in the State, and have shown them that I will not be bullied. The future must take care of itself. Now, as to the Opposition, the Corn Bill has held it together; but draw the Catholic question round it, and what becomes of it? Like a salamander, it must expire, surrounded by its own fire.'

"The King expressed much indignation against Lord Mansfield, who had accused him in the House of Lords of having changed his opinion on the Catholic question.

"'He lied. Had I been an individual I would have told him so and fought him. As it was, I put the Archbishop of Canterbury in a fright by sending him as my second to Mansfield, to tell him he lied. The archbishop came down bustling here to know what he was to do? So said I: "Go and do my bidding—tell him he lies, and kick his behind in my name!"'"

We may accept the perfect accuracy of this amusing scene, for the duke was a diligent and painstaking reporter. It offers a good vindication of the Duke of Wellington, and shows that he had then no wish for office.\*

To the Duke of Newcastle, who came to warn him, he was loud in professions of stanch orthodoxy; made a valiant display, "entered at great length into the whole history of the Roman Catholics from the reign of James II. down to the present time, professed himself a Protestant heart and soul." He declared he never would give his assent to any measures for Roman Catholic Emancipation. And, when pressed by the duke as to the new form of his Administration, he assured the duke "that the First Minister should be for the

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\* In his defence in the House of Lords he said: "But it has been stated that I withdrew myself because his majesty would not submit to my dictation and threats, in case I should not myself be appointed his minister; and this accusation is most curiously coupled with another, namely, that his majesty offered to make me his minister, and that I refused. My lords, those know but little of his majesty who suppose that any man can dare to dictate to him, much less to threaten him. My lords, his majesty never offered to me to make me his minister."

Protestant side of the question," and as to Ireland, that the Chancellor there should be Protestant also. He added that the present audience would be necessarily known to everybody; but "he must keep faith with his ministers." He said "the courage of his family had never been questioned." When assured that, in choosing Protestants for his ministers, his choice would be supported by a large and powerful body of peers, and pressed for an assurance that his choice would be made accordingly, he said, again and again: "Do you doubt me? But it is not I who fail in my duty. It is you in Parliament. Why do you suffer the d——d Association in Dublin?" The King's sentiments were strongly expressed, but there was reason to apprehend that considerations of ease and repose might outweigh his principles.

The duke told the King plainly that the support or opposition of himself, and of those for whom he was acting, would depend on the choice that the King should finally make in forming his Administration.

The Archbishop of Canterbury he had already entertained in the same way on the 14th of March, for six hours, from two till eight. Here he was still more earnest, going back to Mr. Fox's time, and that of "the Talents." In this discourse he exhibits some of the curious delusions into which he had persuaded himself, viz. that of having been a devoted son. He had induced Mr. Fox not to bring forward the Catholic question to disturb his father, who would never consent, nor would he, if the crown descended to him. "When the Grenvilles were dismissed in 1807, it was he that had given early notice of the pro-Catholic scheme to his father," etc. As to the new Government, he particularly mentioned, as to the coronation oath, that he had told Lord Castlereagh previously to his own coronation, that if they meant he should ever consent to Roman Catholic Emancipation, they must alter the coronation oath before he was crowned; for after taking that he would, like his father, sooner consent to lay his head on the block than consent to that measure. The King then desired the archbishop to write immediately to Lord Manners, begging, as a personal request from the King, that he would stay out the year, so as to give time for finding another Protestant Chancellor of Ireland, for he would have a Protestant Lord Lieutenant also, and a Protestant Chief Secretary. The archbishop accordingly had written to, and had received a letter from, Lord Manners, consenting to remain till October. Yet he complained of the Duke of Wellington, declaring that he had agreed to accept



with Canning. In his Protestant principles "he was even more immovably fixed than his father was," and when Mr. Peel told him there were no materials for a Protestant Government, he said: "Then it must be a neutral Cabinet. Mr. Canning is forced upon me; but I will have a Protestant Lord Lieutenant," etc. This latter declaration he made to all sorts of persons, and he bade the archbishop tell it "to all the bishops, and all the world."

Mr. Canning was finally installed, but his rule was only to be for a brief period, offering a curious parallel to the case of Mr. Fox. According to the Duke of Wellington's account, he had decided the King's vacillation in rather summary fashion, taking out his watch and requiring him to make up his mind within a quarter of an hour. The duke himself later found this mode very effectual with his Majesty. The King, however, felt unbounded confidence in his new minister, whose talents would protect him from annoyance, especially on the great question of Catholic Relief, which he had the assurance of his minister would not be forced on. A curious incident is connected with this matter by Mr. Jerdan, who by a strange accident was enabled to confirm to Mr. Canning whatever hopes he may have founded on the King's ardent assurances of support. A friend of his, Mr. Hunt, connected with the Board of Works, was engaged at the palace on the alterations the very day on which Mr. Canning was appointed minister. "By a strange casualty, when he left off his inspection of the innermost apartment, and was on his way out, he discovered to his dismay that his Majesty had retired from his meeting with Mr. Canning, and come, with the Marchioness of Conyngham, into the room immediately adjoining that in which he was. Retreat was impossible. Bathed in perspiration, as he described himself to me, he was thus compelled, perforce, to overhear the conversation between the King and his confidante on this important occasion; and thence the particulars of his Majesty's interview with the minister, the expression of his confidence in his genius and loyalty, and his firm persuasion that he would conduct the affairs of the kingdom to the heights of prosperity and glory; in all which sentiments the accomplished marchioness cordially agreed, and warmly applauded the act by which numerous political ravels seemed to be so happily disentangled. To Hunt's infinite relief, the colloquy ended, and the suite of rooms was cleared for his joyous escape." Mr. Jerdan hurried to Mr. Canning with this news, which was received with the most genuine satisfaction.

One of the first necessary results was the real retirement of the always retiring Eldon.

“I took my final leave of office on Monday, May 2nd, 1827. The King, to me personally, behaved with kindness and feeling. He sent for me on the Sunday, as he said he could not prevail upon himself to part with me, having only the short interview, which the hurry of Monday, when the whole change was to be made, would admit. His conversation to me was very kind certainly, and it discovered a heart that had such affectionate feelings as one cannot but deeply lament should, from intrigue and undue influence, not be left to its own operations upon the head.”

Such was the *congé* of this veteran placeman. Within a year or two more his enthusiasm for his sovereign was to be a good deal abated.

## CHAPTER XIII.

1827.

ON the resignation of the Tory members of the Cabinet the duke resigned the command of the army in a pet, having found an excuse in what he considered "the want of confidence, respect, and even common civility" with which he had been treated by Mr. Canning. This was most inconvenient for the new Government, for it was felt that the office would lose its prestige if entrusted to any one else while such a man remained unemployed; in fact, the feeling of the country would be that ministers should restore him, even at the expense of any *amende* that might be necessary. But the King had no such misgivings, for, with a light heart, he had resolved upon his favorite scheme of taking the command of the army himself, on the ground that it was properly his, from the fact of signing commissions! Sir H. Taylor was informed of this proposed step by Sir W. Knighton and Mr. Canning, much to his alarm and annoyance. He was to remain as Adjutant-General. On his objecting, the King himself explained to him that it was impossible to entrust the office to any of the royal family, and that the general in Ireland could not be spared. The Adjutant, however, impressed on him the serious nature of the step, and its unconstitutional character, on which the King gave way. But he, with needless pathos, "called on him, as the person who had been the confidential attendant of his blind father, and the attendant on his brother to the hour of his death, to take this situation; that he had long wished to have him about him; that he laid his commands on him," etc. But it was felt, however, that the duke should be brought back with all speed, and it was pressed on him that he ought to reconsider the matter. The duke, however, took his ground and kept it firmly. He had been insulted, and the *amende* must come from the other side. "It remains for his Majesty," he wrote to a friend, "to decide whether I was mistaken in the view I took." This was shown to Mr. Canning on May 21, who soon got the King to write.



## THE KING TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"St. James's Palace, May 21st, 1827.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I learn from my Government, as well as from other quarters, that you have obligingly expressed your readiness to afford your advice upon any matters of military importance or detail that might occur. These circumstances renew in me those feelings towards you which God knows (as you must know) I have so long and so sincerely felt, and I hope on all occasions proved—at least it was my intention so to do. I cannot refrain, therefore, from acquainting you that the command of the army is still open, and if you choose to recall that resignation which it grieved me so much to receive, you have my sincere permission to do so.

"Ever your sincere Friend,

"G. R."

To this soothing appeal the duke replied that he could not claim the merit of making any communication to the Government. He had served the King and his father forty-two years, and he was willing of course to give any advice if consulted, but he declined to recall his resignation. Even here he fancied he saw the craft of Mr. Canning, for, in a letter to the Duke of Cumberland, he accuses him of suppressing this portion of his letter, when urging the King to write. He required an apology. The King, however, determined to make another trial, and expressed his surprise to Lord Maryborough that the duke had never come down to see him. The duke declined to go until commanded. On this he was invited, and spent three hours at Windsor. The King was gracious and effusive, but the duke was reserved and dry. "The King went over," says the latter, "the whole story of the change of ministry in his own way; in answer to which I told him that *I thought I recollected some circumstances as having occurred in a manner different from that in which his Majesty had stated that they had occurred, and of others I had no knowledge*, and that I recollected others which his Majesty had not mentioned, but that upon the whole I thought it best not to enter upon that discussion." The passage in italics is amusing, and shows the duke's quiet mode of dealing with the ebullitions of his royal master. In this interview the duke believed he had discovered that the King had been determined at all hazards and all through to take Mr. Canning. He saw, too, that the latter's influence was stronger than ever.

The visit, however, did not bring any profit, but the visitor was amazed to find that the *camarilla* immediately gave out that he had come of his own motion and uninvited! "My opinion," he wrote to Lord Bathurst, in strong language, "respecting the King's conduct is this. He wished to see me so as to have a resource in case of an evil day; and likewise, if he could, to coax me into taking the command back again without requiring any concession from Mr. Canning. But when he found the last failed, he misrepresented to Mr. Canning the mode in which I had been prevailed upon to visit the Lodge." The King's letter, thus alluded to, may be given as the conclusion to this unique piece of strategy. The reader will note the passages I have put in italics.

## THE KING TO MR. CANNING.

"[Private.]

"Royal Lodge, Thursday, half-past two P.M.,  
"July 19, 1827.

"DEAR MR. CANNING,

"I delay not a moment in acquainting you with a circumstance that has just occurred very *unexpectedly* to me—a visit from the Duke of Wellington. *I can only attribute this visit to its being the anniversary of my coronation.* Our interview was not long, and our conversation for the most part was on general topics. *Of course it was impossible here and there, occasionally, not to have some reference to matters which have recently occurred.* I found the duke extremely temperate, but I could easily perceive, from little expressions which now and then dropped, that the most assiduous pains have been taken, and are still actively employed, to give the strongest jaundiced complexion to the past, as well as the present state of things, and to keep up, if not to widen as much as malice and wickedness can contrive it, the breach which exists between him and my Government. I sincerely hope that you are rapidly recovering from the odious lumbago.

Believe me always,

"Your sincere Friend,

"G. R."

Mr. Canning was destined to enjoy this plenitude of power scarcely two months. He had long been ill, borne down with overwork and disease. Many had been struck by the change in his appearance—his "wasted look." At the Duke of York's funeral in January, as we have seen, he had caught a cold, which the venerable Eldon had escaped by judiciously putting his hat under his feet to save himself

from the chill of the flags. Mr. Greville had seen him at Windsor in the middle of June, when he looked dreadfully ill. A few days before his death he was again with the King, who spoke to him about his looks, when he replied that "he did not know what was the matter with him—he was ill all over." On the first of August he took to his bed.

"When the physicians saw him," says his secretary, "he was in pain, and exclaimed, 'My God! my God!' Dr. Farre observed: 'You do right, sir, to call upon your God. I hope that you pray to Him yourself in secret.' 'I do, I do,' was his answer. 'And you ask,' added the doctor, 'for mercy and salvation through the merits of your Redeemer?' 'Yes,' he replied, 'I do, through the merits of Jesus Christ.' The doctor then asked if he had anything to say about his country, but it was feared that the question might excite him, and the subject was dropped. In the course of the evening he said to Sir W. Knighton, 'This may be hard upon me, but it is still harder upon the King.' August 8.—Went to his room at three in the morning; he was quite unconscious. . . . Sir M. Tierney felt his pulse, thought for a second that he was gone, but he still breathed. In a few minutes there ceased to be any signs of breathing. He passed away so quietly that the exact moment could not be ascertained, but it was between twelve and ten minutes before four."

Thousands assembled at his gates, deploring the death of this high-spirited minister. There is something pathetic and unselfish in his speech to Sir W. Knighton, that "it was harder upon the King," whose troubles were now to recommence.

His colleagues, Mr. Greville says, were in despair, as well they might be, for it was not so much the signal for the destruction of the Cabinet, as for the commencement of moribund agonies which were to be protracted to their own discredit. The master-spirit was gone, there was no one left to control the King, and the short-lived Goderich Ministry was formed, consisting of fragments of both parties. Yet this death was really the signal for Emancipation. It was naturally believed that the King would deal with the Cabinet summarily, and consult his "feelings" in sending for a Protestant premier, such as was the Duke of Wellington. For this he had made that stout and persevering contention when the last ministry was in power. The Duke of Wellington fancied "there was going to be another scene of confusion." It, however, now appeared that the King was full of affection for the memory of Mr. Canning, and professed to wish to carry on his arrangements. At the same time, from



his peculiar disposition, he was delighted at the opening offered to him for petty intrigue, and for playing off one part of the ministry against the other. Lord Goderich was weak and easily overborne, and the King, generally viewing matters from the view of his *personnel*, was eager for his appointment.

The behavior of the King in this transaction was characteristic. He had conceived a violent desire for having Mr. Herries in the ministry as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and this scheme he pressed with an extraordinary persistence. As we learn from a recently-published memoir of that statesman, the Whigs were eagerly pressing for the introduction of some of their own party, and the weak Lord Goderich was unable either to resist them or the King. The post was formally offered to Herries through Sir W. Knighton, but he saw that the Premier wished that he should not accept it, and was himself disinclined, owing to bad health. He, however, repaired to Windsor; where, as he says, "the scene that took place would fill a volume." While he was waiting, the Whigs, he said, contrived to work on Lord Goderich, who came to implore him to decline the post, if he could do so. When he went into the King, the latter enlarged on the situation for an hour, declared he would not be dictated to, and actually put the seals into his hand. The latter referred him to the minister, who entered in his turn, and persuaded the King to postpone the matter. Mr. Herries was naturally mortified at this treatment, but was induced once more to repair to Windsor with some of the ministers; when a conversation four hours long took place, and the King, in a speech of an hour and a half, explained his views and dwelt on "his feelings." He would not compromise, he said, his own just authority. There were two conditions he would hold by, the maintenance of his own honor, "and my character." Such was his pertinacity, that Mr. Herries was at last induced to accept. Now it is but too evident that his Majesty must have been thus eager, not so much on account of the public interest, as for some personal object. There are a number of other instances in which he was equally pertinacious, and when the motives were strictly personal. Lord Palmerston, Mr. Greville, and others, not unreasonably imputed it to a wish to have an officer at the Exchequer who would be tolerant of his own demands; not that Mr. Herries was likely to be so, but his confidential intimacy with Knighton, and frequent conversations with the King, might fairly encourage such a belief. Further, we find Herries later appointed to direct the expenditure on the palaces, and pressing on the works.

He may not "have got odds and ends out of the *droits*," which his son indignantly denies; but it must be remembered that many of the royal family had been assisted with more than "odds and ends," from the same source. Other ministers, too, were obliged to tolerate the King's unlicensed "helpings" of himself to the public funds.

These scenes are well described by Mr. Greville—the whisperings, "the going in to the King four times," the final return to town without matters being arranged. The King, he says, had resented this breach of agreement on the part of Lord Goderich, and the Duke of Wellington, who was with him on August 21st, learned that Mr. Herries had complained of his treatment by the Prime Minister. He was perfectly outrageous, and said Lord Goderich gave him up to the Whigs, adding that "he wanted to keep his house till his wife was confined." He then rang the bell, and bade his page call in Lord Bexley, whom he made First Lord. Mr. Huskisson, however, spoke to the King firmly, and got him to agree, but other difficulties arose.

"Taking up the account," Mr. Greville goes on, "from where I left off, Goderich went to the King, and it was settled Herries was to be Chancellor of the Exchequer. He returned and wrote to Lord Lansdowne, entreating him to acquiesce. Lord Lansdowne went to the King, and the result of his interview was, that he retained office together with his friends. He wrote a letter to one of them, which he intended might be communicated to others, giving an account of his conduct and motives. I saw this letter. He said the King received him very well and spared no entreaties to keep him in office. The King said that he was most anxious the present Government should continue on every account, but more particularly on account of what was now passing on the Continent; that Lord Lansdowne's holding office was indispensable for this object, and he asked him in his own name and for the sake of the country not to resign; that what had occurred had arisen out of a series of blunders which, 'let me say,' he added, 'were neither yours nor mine.' Lord Lansdowne said it was put to him in such a way that he could not do otherwise."

The Duke of Wellington had cordially disliked Mr. Canning, and wrote to the Duke of Cumberland that "he felt that Mr. Canning's temper and habits were such as to render it impossible to serve under him, without becoming liable daily to the consequences of acts done or words spoken in heat, or without quarrel-

ling with him.' Nor did this hostility much abate on the death of the great statesman. We find him writing to his friends: "I hear that Dr. Farre says it was Canning's temper that killed him." Mr. Croker assured him that the King's confidence in his late minister was almost unlimited. Only a week before his death he had shown Mr. Croker a letter, in which the King "seemed to look to him as the protector of his dignity." He would have gradually, he said, persuaded him into even receiving Mr. Brougham. His untimely death had indeed plunged the King into fresh troubles and annoyances. "Heart and soul a Protestant," as he professed himself, he might surely now gratify his feelings by taking back all the elements of the Liverpool Cabinet, with the duke to replace its chief. The only disturbing influence had passed away. But his perplexed mind began to fluctuate. He told Mr. Huskisson that no Government could be thought of without the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel. When he was pressed therefore to send for the duke, he declared that the latter would be, "as he had always been, of the greatest comfort to him at this moment; but that after what had so freshly happened, almost with the wax of the present minister's appointments soft, he could not at once turn round upon those who had adhered to Canning, and treat them as if they were Canning's lackeys." He also spoke of his own "permanent dignity," and that the "simulacrum of an effort" should be made—which would enable him to take his course with the duke with greater satisfaction. The first result was the restoration of the duke to his command, which was offered to him at seven in the morning, and accepted before eight.

#### THE KING TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"Royal Lodge, August 15, 1827.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I write for the purpose of again offering to you the command of my army, and I sincerely hope that the time has arrived when the country will no longer be deprived of the benefit of your high talent.

"Always, with great truth, your sincere Friend,

"G. R."

The duke accepted on the following day.\*

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\* Lord Anglesey was hurriedly despatched with the communication to the country, and arrived at Strathfieldsaye in the small hours, to find the duke



## THE KING TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"Royal Lodge, Friday night, August 17, 1827.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I have this evening, by the hands of Lord Anglesey, received your affectionate and dutiful letter. I write to you immediately, that I may have the pleasure and satisfaction (as soon as you can conveniently come to me) of seeing you, that you may kiss hands, and assume the command of the army without delay. I will add one word more, merely to express the happiness I shall have in receiving you.

"Ever, with true regard, your sincere Friend,

"G. R."

As may be conceived, the course of such a ministry was not only short but marked by weakness; but, it may be imagined, it was most acceptable to the King, for he carried and disposed of all sorts of appointments in the most peremptory manner, without consulting them. After the battle of Navarino, he and the Duke of Clarence dispensed the various honors and promotions. He gave his favorite, Dr. Sumner, the bishopric of Winchester.

In a conversation with Lord Colchester, Mr. Peel bitterly inveighed against this system. "The King's situation; with the existence of a personage like Sir William Knighton (who certainly had formerly got the promise of the Duchy of Lancaster for life); and the playing off one half of the Administration against the other half; the receiving recommendations to honors and offices from each party in the Government; and putting aside both, 'that neither might have a triumph,' and bestowing the favor upon some third individual of his own choice, for which there was no responsible adviser."

Against Mr. Peel the King had conceived an extraordinary dislike. "There was nobody," says Mr. Dawson, "he was more exasperated against than Peel, and for this reason: When the late Government (Canning's) was forming, Peel went to the King, and in reply to his desire that he should form a part of it, told him he

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just returned from a ball. Posting back with the same haste, he entered the room where the ministers were assembled, and flung himself down on a seat, exclaiming: "Well, gentlemen, I have done your commission; but I warn you, he will blow you all up!"

could not continue in any Government the head of which was a supporter of Catholic Emancipation. The King proposed to him to remain, with a secret pledge and promise from him that the question should not be carried. This of course Peel refused; and the King, who construed his rejection of the disgraceful proposal as conveying a doubt of his word, dismissed him with much resentment.

By Christmas dissensions broke out in the Cabinet, occasioned by a dispute as to patronage between Herries and Huskisson, so that the King declared that he "did not see why he was to be the only gentleman in his dominions who was not to eat his Christmas dinner in peace." Lord Goderich seems to have unduly magnified this not very important matter. He was, in fact, unnerved, and shrank from the dangers and troubles that were before him. Lord Campbell, who had the account from Lord Lyndhurst, describes what followed: "Late at night, on the 6th of January, he came to Lord Lyndhurst in a state of great agitation, and for some minutes walked about the room wringing his hands, without uttering any articulate sound. At last he exclaimed: 'I deem it due to you to let the Lord Chancellor know that I have made up my mind to resign immediately.' An explanation taking place, it turned out that, in reality, no new disaster had happened. The Chancellor tried to reassure him, and to advise him to meet Parliament, saying that 'after all, the session might pass off smoothly, and, at any rate, it would be more dignified to fall by an adverse vote than to tumble down with a confession of incapacity.' He attempted no answer, but mopped the perspiration from his brows with his handkerchief, as he was used to do in debate when his ideas became very confused. He now merely said that his resolution was irrevocable, and that what he feared was to break the matter to the King, who must be much perplexed by being called upon to change his Cabinet a few days before the meeting of Parliament. 'As far as that goes,' said the Chancellor, 'instead of your writing a letter to his Majesty (about which there might be some awkwardness), if you do not like to face him in a private audience, I don't mind accompanying you to Windsor.' This offer was joyfully accepted, and by a dexterous stroke of policy the Chancellor became master of the position which gave him the power of forming the new Administration.

"Next day they proceeded to Windsor together. The King had been prepared for their visit by reason of a secret communication to

his private secretary, who was a fast friend of the Chancellor, and his Majesty received them very graciously, and accepted the resignation. 'But,' said he, rather addressing himself to the Chancellor, 'I ought to ask your advice about the person I ought to send for to consult about the formation of a new Administration.' 'Sir,' said the Chancellor, 'I venture to mention the name which must have already presented itself to the mind of your Majesty—the Duke of Wellington.' King: 'Let him come to me as soon as possible.'" Lord Lyndhurst, in relating the particulars of this conference, avers that his Majesty added: "But remember, whoever is to be minister, you, my lord, must remain my Chancellor."\*

#### THE KING TO SIR W. KNIGHTON.

"Royal Lodge, June 18th, 1827.

"As to myself, I am pretty well bodily; but I have little or no use of my poor limbs, for I can neither walk up nor down stairs, and am obliged to be carried, and in general to be wheeled about everywhere; for my powers of walking, and even of crawling about with crutches, or with the aid of a strong stick, are not in the smallest respect improved since you last saw me—at the same time that my knees, legs, ankles, and feet swell more formidably and terribly than ever. This, I am sure you will agree with me, ought now to be seriously attended to without delay by some plan devised and steadily acted upon, in order to stop the further progress, and to remedy it effectually and finally; for there is no question it is an increasing and progressive evil (at least so I fear), unless steps be found, and that speedily too, of averting it.

"You must now have had enough of my epistolary quality; I shall therefore, dear friend, hasten to a conclusion, with the assurance that I am always your sincere and affectionate friend,

"G. R."

The worthy Secretary Knighton at this time was much annoyed by rumors that he did not stand well with his royal master. Mr. Greville learned that the King was groaning under his tyranny, and would exhibit the feeling of a schoolboy in presence of his master. "When alone with him he is more civil, but when others are present (the family, for instance) he delights in saying the most

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\* It was reported that Lord Goderich was much affected on taking leave of the King, and that his majesty offered him a pocket-handkerchief.



mortifying and disagreeable things to him. He would give the world to get rid of him, and to have either Taylor or Mount-Charles instead, to whom he has offered the place over and over again; but Mount-Charles not only would not hear of it, but often took Knighton's part with the King. He says that his language about Knighton is sometimes of the most unmeasured violence—wishes he was dead, and one day when the door was open, so that the pages could hear, he said: 'I wish to God somebody would assassinate Knighton.' Knighton is greatly annoyed at it, and is very seldom there. Still it appears there is some secret which binds them together. The King's indolence is so great that it is next to impossible to get him to do even the most ordinary business, and Knighton is still the only man who can prevail on him to sign papers, etc." This, however, may be doubted, as the King's letters show a good-natured regard and affection for him. He was in fact indispensable—had rescued him from innumerable troubles—and got all his finances into order, and discharged debts. One of these missions has been alluded to. The King had much trouble with his nephew, the young Duke of Brunswick, whose guardian he was, and whose funds he administered. But his eccentricity had probably early displayed itself.\*

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\* The following note of complaint was found in his own handwriting:

"The duke never could [obtain] any money during the life of Geo. IV., and only obtained the same from Wm. IV. after the Revolution of 1830.

"One most extraordinary fact is that the Duke Charles has never been able to see the testament of his father, and therefore does not to this day know the exact amount, although he has received contradictory extracts from the will. Wm. IV. admitted that he had only paid a portion of the money into the funds, and retained the rest for Prince William, who already had seized the duke's fortune."

The matter came into the English Courts, and the whole case is summed up in an elaborate judgment of Lord Langdale's. For an account of this singular case the reader is referred to a little French work, "*Le Duc de Brunswick*."

## CHAPTER XIV.

1828.

ON the new ministry being formed by the Duke of Wellington, and including Mr. Peel, Lord Lyndhurst, and others of the same political school, the King might fondly delude himself that he had now at last secured a ministry of Protestants, and therefore after his own heart. He little dreamed that he was now entering on the most troubled era of his life, and that in its closing days he was to be forced to gulp the nauseous political potion that he had so often successfully put away from him. He was moreover to find that he had imposed upon himself the yoke of two disciplinarians, who were not to be trifled with. The surprise of this discovery must have been painful indeed. This, however, was the last thing that occurred to him, and he had settled that the Duke of Wellington was to be "my dearest friend," and with many "God bless yous!" we may presume, to be made suitably flexible by a display of enthusiastic affection. Lord Eldon, the Tory buttress, was indeed left out, which he himself attributed to secret female influence, but a better reason was that he was virtually *passé*, and not likely to be of further use.

On January the 9th, the duke was at Windsor arranging details. The duke himself gave an account of his first interview with the King to Mr. Raikes: "When he sent for me to form a new administration in 1828, he was then seriously ill, though he would never allow it. I found him in bed, dressed in a dirty silk jacket and a turban nightcap, one as greasy as the other; for, notwithstanding his coquetry about dress in public, he was extremely dirty and slovenly in private. The first words he said to me were: 'Arthur, the Cabinet is defunct;' and then he began to describe the manner in which the late ministers had taken leave of him, on giving in their resignations. This was accompanied by the most ludicrous mimicry of the voice and manner of each individual, so strikingly like, that it was impossible to refrain from fits of laughter." The King said he presumed that the ministry must be formed

of persons holding both opinions in respect to the Catholic Question; but that, as in former Protestant Governments, it must not be a Cabinet question. There must be a "Protestant" Lord Chancellor of Ireland, a "Protestant" Secretary, and "Protestant" Lord-Lieutenant. Nothing could be more explicit and determined than he was on this point. He approved, he said, of all his late and of all his former servants, and had no objection to anybody—except Lord Grey. On the whole, he left the duke *carte blanche*. With this pliant mood, the task became easy. But it would seem that he was inclined to be shift in the case of certain undertakings as to peerages entered into by the fallen Premier. The latter was compelled to appeal to him in great distress on the matter, declaring that "his personal honor was concerned," as he would be accused of "having broken faith with those whose cases," he adds significantly, "upon his humble recommendation, received your Majesty's gracious approbation."

## THE KING TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"Royal Lodge, January 11th, 1828.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I have just received your letters. I can scarcely write. I hope in the course of the evening that you will be enabled to give me some outline as to the probable frame of your Government. Lord Goderich sent me the enclosed yesterday. I am, I suppose, pledged to make the new peers; but you had better see Lord Goderich, as I put the matter in your hands.

"Your affectionate Friend,

"G. R."

"I am, I suppose, pledged!" A strange royal declaration. The Duke of Wellington wrote to Lord Goderich, with a soldier's directness, that every case in which his Majesty's pleasure had been taken, and communication made to the individual, ought to be completed as soon as possible, and "you had better give directions accordingly." Lord Goderich seems to have acted on his instruction.

## THE KING TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"[From my bed.]

"Royal Lodge, January 14th, 1828,

"Monday, four o'clock.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I have just received a letter from Lord Goderich, which



makes it quite necessary for me to see you to-morrow morning. Pray have the kindness to be here at ten o'clock.

"With great truth, ever your sincere Friend,

"G. R."

THE SAME.

"Royal Lodge, Thursday night, January 17th, 1828.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I have just received your list, which, of course, I do approve; and I feel very sensibly the very arduous task you have undertaken. Nevertheless, under your care and guidance, I trust it will all do well. I am realiy quite heartbroken respecting my friend the Duke of Devonshire and my friend Lord Carlisle. Can you suggest any means of keeping the duke?

"Yours affectionately,

"G. R."

"It is really essential to my private affairs that Scarlett should be kept, if possible. There is much depending in my duchies upon this gentleman's particular knowledge and talent.

"G. R."\*

His poignant feelings on parting with the Duke of Devonshire had been more or less excited by "a scene of an affecting kind" when that nobleman came to resign his office in person. He was also much concerned about the Duke of Argyll.

THE SAME.

"Royal Lodge, January 28, 1828.

"Monday evening, seven o'clock.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I lose not a moment in forwarding to you a letter which I have just received, and which I must candidly acknowledge to you distresses me much. The Duke of Argyll's statement is perfectly correct. I therefore desire you will see if anything yet can be done to remedy this very unpleasant business, as I cannot submit to the

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\* Scarlett was a favorite from his declining to mix himself up with the Queen's trial. On a commission for inquiry into the courts of the Duchy of Lancashire his majesty wrote: "The King *most earnestly* desires that Sir J. Scarlett be prevailed upon to place himself at the head of this commission. The King feels himself personally obliged to Sir James Scarlett for the manner and conduct pursued by him in the late trial of the Duchy of Cornwall. The King has the greatest confidence in this gentleman."

Duke of Argyll's conceiving that it was by any desire of mine that he has received his dismissal. Your sentiments coinciding so completely with mine, I am sure you will know how to appreciate my feelings upon this subject, and that you will do all you can to relieve me from this embarrassment.

"Always most truly yours,

"G. R."

THE KING TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"Royal Lodge, Wednesday evening, seven o'clock,

"January 30th, 1828.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I thank you for the letters you sent me to-day. I am perfectly satisfied with what you have stated respecting the Duke of Argyll, and I therefore enclose to you the Duke of Gordon's warranty, which I had delayed putting my signature to until I had received your answer to my letter. I congratulate you upon everything having apparently gone off so tranquilly and so well yesterday in both Houses of Parliament.

"Always most truly yours,

"G. R."

In the question of the Corporation and Test Act, it would appear that the King's Protestant feelings were treated with scant consideration. The Protestant peers wished that the solemn, all-important words, "I am a Protestant," should find a place. The Duke and the Chancellor supported this view. We find the King uttering his querulous and unavailing complaints.

THE SAME.

"St. James's Palace, Friday, two o'clock, P.M.,

"April 25th, 1828.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I received your box, with the account of last night's debate, about an hour since. I wish that you had come and talked the business over with me that was to take place in the House of Lords, previous to your going down to the House yesterday. Had I entertained the slightest idea of what was to occupy the House, I should most certainly have desired your attendance, and that of our friend the Chancellor, before the discussion.

"After that which did pass in a conversation (not long since) between me and the Archbishop of Canterbury upon this very sub-

ject, and in which I strongly expressed my own sentiments, which for years and years have never varied, I feel that unless the word Protestant be introduced as proposed into the Act itself, individually, as a Protestant, and as the head and protector of the religion of this country, we have virtually no sort of permanent security left us to look to for the preservation of the Established Church.

"I am most anxious, my dear friend, that you should show this letter to the Chancellor, at the first moment you can see him, and at any rate before he takes his seat on the woolsack.

"Always your sincere Friend,

"G. R."

The duke must, in familiar phrase, "have been sick" of these protestations. The first instance in which his majesty tried his power was in the well-known Huskisson episode, when affected resignation and its treatment by the duke was a valuable precedent, and had no doubt exercised a wholesome influence, the memorable reply: "There is no mistake," etc., operating as a warning against such political coquetting. When the question of his successor was under consideration, the King wrote:

#### THE KING TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"St. James's Palace, Sunday, four o'clock, P.M.,

"May 25th, 1828.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"Pray come to no immediate conclusion upon any new arrangement until I see you to-morrow. I have thought much upon this subject since we parted. What do you think of the enclosed list, which has occurred to me?

"G. R."

But the duke replied dryly: "I am afraid the arrangement suggested by your majesty would not answer."\*

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\* The duke had carelessly said that "we should soon be as weak and contemptible as Goderich." This phrase struck Lord Palmerston, for he recollected his friend Huskisson describing the King as using it. The King was prompted by the Duke of Cumberland, who kept repeating to him that the duke had no energy or decision, and was "as weak as Goderich," and the King, who could be played on with catch phrases, adopted it as his own. It thus got abroad, and was repeated to the duke, who, much nettled, determined to assert himself. This seems a plausible account enough. Lord Palmerston always said that the King "hated him."



There was a delicate *finesse*, too, in his mode of administering a rebuke to the King, who had taken on himself too hastily to endorse an application for an Irish peerage for Mr. Daly, which Lord Anglesey had forwarded. He apologized to his majesty for Lord Anglesey's having sent the official record to the King before his Majesty had the opportunity of considering whether it should be made. And later, again, he wrote on the same subject: "Since my arrival in town, I observe that your majesty has signed the letter to Lord Anglesey. I propose to keep that document in my possession till I learn your majesty's pleasure upon it."

A glimpse of the King at this time in his social moments is not unpleasing: "June 29th.—I dined yesterday with the King at St. James's—his Jockey Club dinner. We assembled in the Throne-room, and found him already there, looking very well and walking about. Nobody spoke, and he laughed and said: 'This is more like a Quaker than a Jockey Club meeting.' He was particularly gracious to me, talking to me across the table and recommending all the good things; he made me (after eating a quantity of turtle) eat a dish of crawfish soup, till I thought I should have burst. After dinner the Duke of Leeds, who sat at the head of the table, gave 'The King.' We all stood up, when his majesty thanked us, and said he hoped this would be the first of annual meetings of the sort to take place, there or elsewhere under his roof. He then ordered paper, pens, etc., and they began making matches and stakes; the most perfect ease was established, just as much as if we had been dining with the Duke of York, and he seemed delighted. He made one or two little speeches, one recommending that a stop should be put to the exportation of horses. He twice gave 'The Turf,' and at the end the Duke of Richmond asked his leave to give a toast, and again gave 'The King.' He thanked all the gentlemen and said that there was no man who had the interests of the turf more at heart than himself, that he was delighted at having this party, and that the oftener they met the better, and he only wanted to have it pointed out to him how he could promote the pleasure and amusement of the turf, and he was ready to do anything in his power. Nothing could go off better, and Mount-Charles told me he was sure he was delighted."

Many as had been the struggles with ministers and others in which the King had been engaged, and in which he had to display the arts of delay, wheedling, and craft—in all of which he was a proficient—the severest and most disagreeable of all was now before him. He

was to be once more confronted with the eternal Catholic question, and to have the task, "most painful to his feelings," according to his favorite expression, of bringing it to a solution. It was unfortunate for him that such a moment had been chosen; for he was at that time almost a dying man, or, as his physician put it, "was fast breaking up." During the years 1828 and 1829 he suffered acutely from gouty swellings in his hands and feet: his ankles, always small and attenuated, were insufficient to bear the growing bulk of his body, and on slight exercise swelled up. This gave him a disinclination to walk or go out, and this sedentary life increased his ailments. He was racked with pains, which could only be alleviated by large doses of laudanum—a hundred drops at a time—administered by direction of Sir Henry Halford, with protest on the part of Sir W. Knighton.

It was this condition of the King that was one of the chief embarrassments of the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel in their determination to "settle" this great question, a determination to which they had been led long before even a suspicion of their purpose had got abroad. Nor was it so much the physical state of the King, as his shifty impracticable humor which, though the minister had the power of controlling and even intimidating for a time, yet opened opportunities for bigoted opponents to work on. His weakness of "taking the advice of the last person he saw," according to Lady Hertford's expression, and his eager wish to show that he was a King according to the old pattern of his father, made it the most hopeless and harassing task to "fix" him to any engagement; while, finally, his twenty years' adherence to the fanatical side had fostered an almost rabid bigotry, perfectly genuine, influenced by these protracted and excited conversations with intemperate men of that faction, of which the reader has had many specimens. "Between the King and his brothers, the government of this country has become a most heartbreaking concern. Nobody can ever know where he stands upon any subject." So said the duke, in perfect despair at his shiftiness in another matter.

At this time occurred a curious family episode, which added to the troubles of the ailing monarch. The Duke of Clarence, lately appointed Lord High Admiral, had been showing symptoms of extravagance, if not of eccentricity in his behavior. This took the shape of an unseemly perverseness and of undignified resentment against one of his colleagues who ventured to remonstrate against

his proceedings. The Duke of Wellington was generally required to recall these royal brethren to their good behavior, and this he did with a wholesome severity of which they stood in awe. The Lord High Admiral, by the terms of his patent, was no more than president of a council, and could not act without its advice, and of this he was respectfully reminded by Sir G. Cockburn, his colleague. To this, on the 10th of July, he responded, dating from his yacht, *Royal Sovereign*, on which vessel he had embarked without leave. This strange composition ran:

“SIR,

“Your letter does not give me displeasure, but concern, to see one I had kept when appointed to this situation of Lord High Admiral, constantly opposing what I consider good for the King’s service. In this free country every one has a right to have his opinion, and I have therefore to have mine, which differs totally from yours. . . . I cannot conclude without repeating, my council is not to dictate, but to give advice.”

He later complained of receiving a letter, “if possible, a more disrespectful, more impertinent, if possible, than his first.”

Appeal was made to the King, who thus intervened:

THE KING TO THE DUKE OF CLARENCE.

“Royal Lodge, Tuesday night, July 15, 1828.

“MY DEAR WILLIAM,

“My friend the Duke of Wellington, as my first minister, has considered it his duty to lay before me the whole of the correspondence that has taken place with you upon the subject relating to yourself and Sir George Cockburn. It is with feelings of the deepest regret that I observe the embarrassing position in which you have placed yourself. You are in error from the beginning to the end. This is not a matter of opinion, but a positive fact; and when the Duke of Wellington so properly calls your attention to the words of your patent, let me ask you how Sir George Cockburn could have acted otherwise?

“You must not forget, my dear William, that Sir George Cockburn is the King’s Privy Councillor, and so made by the King to advise the Lord High Admiral. What becomes of Sir George Cockburn’s oath, his duty towards me, his sovereign, if he fails to offer such advice as he may think necessary to the Lord High Admiral?



Am I, then, to be called upon to dismiss the most useful and perhaps the most important naval officer in my service for conscientiously acting up to the letter and spirit of his oath and his duty? The thing is impossible. I love you most truly, as you know, and no one would do more or go further to protect and meet your feelings; but on the present occasion I have no alternative; you must give way, and listen to the affection of your best friend and most attached brother,

“G. R.”

The King was complimented by the Duke of Wellington on this production, as being a most able and judicious one.

The Lord High Admiral vindicated himself to his brother in terms of great effusion, “rejoicing in the affection and friendship of fifty-seven years.” He adds rather unhandsomely: “I shall, however, make one observation; that Sir G. Cockburn cannot be the most useful and the most important officer in your Majesty’s service, who never had the ships he commanded in proper fighting order.”

Mr. Croker, who was then secretary to the Admiralty, describes with much humor the behavior of the duke at the office—picturing him as glancing at the officer who had displeased him with considerable exasperation, and threatening his “own eternal displeasure.” Sir G. Cockburn positively declined to withdraw his remonstrance or its terms, though he was induced at last to express regret for having offended his highness. Thus the matter was composed for a few weeks, when the Court was again annoyed to learn that on a squadron putting to sea under Sir H. Blackwood, the eccentric High Admiral had joined them in his Royal Sovereign yacht, flying his flag, and all without the King’s orders.

#### THE KING TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

“Royal Lodge, August 3, 1828.

“MY DEAR FRIEND,

“If the Lord High Admiral cannot make up his mind to fill his station according to the laws of the country, it will be quite impossible for the King to retain him in his present situation. It is very painful to my feelings, after all that has passed, that you should be placed in the disagreeable position of again explaining to my brother my sentiments, and consequently those of my Government, who are the responsible agents in this matter.

"No man understands discipline better than my brother, therefore I am the more surprised at his hoisting his flag as Lord High Admiral without my orders.

"Your sincere Friend,

"G. R."

THE SAME.

"Royal Lodge, August 10, 1828.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"My sentiments coincide entirely with yours upon this disagreeable altercation with the Lord High Admiral. As he dines with me on the next Tuesday (the 12th) I desire you will be with me early on that day, in order that I may have some conversation with you before I see my brother.

"Ever your sincere Friend,

"G. R."

"P.S.—I will restore your papers to you when I shall see you here."

THE SAME.

"Royal Lodge, August 11, 1828.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I have read with the most careful attention your further correspondence with the Lord High Admiral.

"I will repeat to your grace the words that I used to my brother when I had occasion to write to him on this painful subject, namely: 'that he was in error from beginning to the end.'

"I now desire distinctly to state, once for all, that I most entirely approve of all that you, in the exercise of your bounden duty towards me, as my First Minister, have communicated to the Lord High Admiral on the subject now before me. When I appointed my brother to the station of Lord High Admiral I had reasonably hoped that I should have derived comfort, peace, and tranquillity from such an appointment; but from what has hitherto taken place, it would seem as if the very reverse were to happen.

"Can the Lord High Admiral suppose that the laws are to be infringed, the rules of true discipline (which he knows so well how to uphold) are to be broken in upon? and that these things are to pass without notice or remonstrance by the responsible advisers of the Crown? Can the Lord High Admiral suppose that his best friend and his sovereign is to have no feeling under the circumstances? I am quite aware that I am drawing fast to the close

of my life; it may be the will of the Almighty that a month, a week, a day, may call the Lord High Admiral to be my successor. I love my brother William: I have always done so to my heart's core; and I will leave him the example of what the inherent duty of a king of this country really is. The Lord High Admiral shall strictly obey the laws enacted by Parliament, as attached to his present station, or I desire immediately to receive his resignation.

“Such are my commands to your grace.

“Ever your sincere Friend,

“G. R.”

The Lord High Admiral had to resign.



## CHAPTER XV.

1828—1829.

THE election of Mr. O'Connell for Clare, in July, 1828, was of course the event that forced on the settlement, and Lord Eldon and other sagacious observers at once felt just forebodings that the "duke intends next Session to emancipate the Catholics." In fact, early in August both he and Mr. Peel had taken their resolution, though it is plain that the duke was determined not to allow his hand to be forced by eager agitators on that side till the moment arrived. It was to come in the form of a concession from opponents, and not as the victory of a party. This may explain his behavior to his own Lord Lieutenant, Lord Anglesey. The political incidents have been often set out, and are familiar enough; but, as we have said, the management of the King, and the faction of dukes and lords who had access to him, required the greatest delicacy.

## THE KING TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"Royal Lodge, Friday night, twelve o'clock, July 12, 1828.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I have this moment received your box, with your long, most interesting, and important letter, and other annexations, concerning which at this late hour I will say nothing, but reserve my sentiments (which, by-the-bye, are entirely in unison with your representations) for a personal interview, when I shall freely enter with you into every part of the present matter, so (as I hope) not only to settle this immediate question, but to put the extinguisher upon all and every future attempt which might (otherwise and at some most unexpected moment) hereafter arise, or rather recur, if not now and immediately (but with good-humor and firmness) stopped *in limine*. Your time I know in general is (and must be most particularly so at the present moment) so cruelly occupied with a variety of important matter and matters, that I can scarcely

bring myself to name any particular day or hour for your attendance upon me, under the apprehension that it might possibly interfere with the only moments of relaxation and comfort which so sparingly fall to your share. However, as the Chancellor is to be in attendance upon me between twelve and one o'clock on Sunday next (the day after to-morrow), to converse over some matters of importance, and to which you must be a primitive, but at any rate a most essential party, perhaps you will deem it not inconvenient, and more eligible, to come to the Lodge about the same hour, by which all purposes may be at once and more easily answered than by separate conferences.

"Believe me, always your most sincere Friend,

"G. R."

The first opening of the matter to the King is shown in the following:

#### THE KING TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"Royal Lodge, August 3, 1828.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I have read with the most anxious attention your memorandum respecting the present state of Ireland. I fear the picture of that unhappy country is but too true. You have my full permission to go into the question of Ireland with the Lord Chancellor and Mr. Peel, and we have this settled understanding, that I pledge myself to nothing with respect to the Cabinet, or any future proceeding, until I am in possession of your plan.

"Always your sincere Friend,

"G. R."

This document had been judiciously prepared with a view of leading the King's mind to what was to follow; but he little knew that only a few days later Mr. Peel had addressed a letter to his colleague, the duke, declaring that the time had come for a change of policy towards the Roman Catholics. While everything was going on well, the whole had been nearly shipwrecked by the news of Mr. Dawson's awkwardly-timed speech at Derry, which aroused, not unnaturally, the King's quick suspicions. He shrewdly conceived that it was connected with some change of view in the Cabinet. The Chancellor was with him a long time, as Mr. Greville well recollected, trying to tranquillize him. He believed that the speech

was made in concert with Mr. Peel and the duke, to prepare the way. This unpleasant *contretemps* increased their difficulties.

The day after the memorandum had been shown to the King, he had interviews with Mr. Peel and the Duke of Wellington separately, and found that both agreed in their views. To Mr. Peel he had sent a sort of manifesto:

[EXTRACT.]

“The sentiments of the King upon Catholic Emancipation are those of his revered and excellent father. From those sentiments the King never can and never will deviate.”

The duke assured him it was no longer an open question. The King then invited the Cabinet to submit their views, without engaging himself to adopt them. He criticised Mr. Peel's paper as “a good one, though not an argumentative one.” In the curious struggle we are now entering on, a certain sympathy must be accorded to the King, who fought the battle with extraordinary resolution, though with little skill. There is no doubt his prejudices and convictions were engaged; for, like many men of loose life, he conceived that exertion in the cause of religion to a fanatical degree was as effectual as good moral conduct. Great allowance, too, must be made for him, considering the exertions of selfish persons about him—statesmen, bishops, and others—who encouraged him in resistance.

So early as September the duke had informed Lord Anglesey that he would lay the Bill for Emancipation before the King when he got better. The King had taken a particular aversion to the Lord-Lieutenant, and was eager to recall him. But though the latter was acting with too much independence for a proconsul, the duke advocated reserve, and it was not until the well-known incident of the “Curtis letter” that he was recalled.

His Majesty was indeed in a precarious way. The gout was raging in his hands, which were so swelled that he could not sign public documents—a serious labor when a number were to be perfected—and it was proposed to have a sort of stamp, to be affixed with due formalities. However, in the midst of his illness, he had all the Anglesey documents read to him, though suffering acutely; so eager and “intense” was he on this subject. By October he was slowly “creeping out of his illness,” and, as though he scented the danger, proposed that the venerable Eldon should be called into the



Government as President of the Council. This ludicrous notion the duke put aside, almost sarcastically telling his Majesty that Lord Eldon was an inconvenient sort of colleague, for he was often not disposed to take his share in the advocacy of measures for which the Government were responsible. It would also, he added significantly, be interpreted by the public as evidence of a change of opinion. He then once more pressed on him the frightful state of Ireland, and the possibility of finding no remedy unless the whole state of the question—an elastic but very significant phrase—was taken into consideration.

Early in November the duke sent the King his letter to Lord Anglesey, which was of a severe character, and which gave his Majesty, ill as he was, great delight. He fancied that this nobleman was the embodiment of the pro-Catholic cause, and his minister was, perhaps, not disinclined to let him direct his hostile feelings in that direction. "His Majesty says," wrote Sir W. Knighton "(I use his own words), that it is quite a cordial to his feelings. The King read your letter twice over; he says it has quite relieved him." Thus encouraged, the duke next despatched a long paper or scheme of arrangement for the Catholics, which now fills some twenty printed pages, and which he desired to submit to the Protestant bishops.

#### THE KING TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"Royal Lodge, November 17, 1833.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I am unable to use the pen myself; I can therefore only dictate.

"I have no objection to your sending the paper to the bishops; but then, let it be under your own authority, and not from my recommendation, as the only means of avoiding all comments with respect to myself.

"I also think that Mr. Peel should see the paper, as well as your letter to me; but all this must proceed from yourself.

"I consider your paper very able; but on the point in question I need not tell you what my feelings are.

"Your sincere Friend,

"G. R."

Here are evident some uneasy forebodings. But the duke had sent a severe rebuke to Lord Anglesey, in reply to a letter of that nobleman. On which the King rallied, and gave vent to his "feelings"

in one of his most characteristic, rambling, and strangely-qualified letters.

THE KING TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

“Royal Lodge, November 20, 1828. Half-past eleven A.M.

“MY DEAR FRIEND,

“Though it is still attended with much pain and difficulty, I cannot return your interesting despatch of last night without its being accompanied with a short line from my own poor enfeebled hand.

“Your answer carries with it (as it appears to me) all that frankness, point, and at the same time firmness, which it ought to do; whilst, on the other hand, the Lord-Lieutenant’s letter is nothing but a proud and pompous farrago of the most *outré* bombast, of eulogium upon himself, his political principles, and his government of Ireland, without, at least materially, according to the best of my recollection, answering or even alluding to any one of the very essential points which you so properly and so necessarily pressed upon him in your original letter, and which has called forth this most curious document and specimen of pride in the shape of a reply.

“Consistency and firmness is, and must be, the only line for us to pursue if he will not take and understand the very clear, and at the same time liberal and gentlemanly hint in its tone, given to him by you in your former letter; I and my Government must act for ourselves, and he must be removed by us as shortly as possible, but with all proper dignity on our part, accompanied by as much personal attention to himself as the nature of the case will admit; for if it required anything more than I have already stated, I am sure that it would betray the utmost folly and weakness in the Government could they be supposed for one instant to fancy to themselves, after being in possession of this most curious reply, and especially from the tone in which it is written, that they either could or that the writer himself would ever submit to be interfered with, or (much less) to be guided by them in any essential measure which the state of Ireland may, in our opinion, call for. At any rate, cordial support you never can nor must expect from the present Lord-Lieutenant.

Ever your sincere Friend,

“G. R.

“P. S.—I must apologize for this scrawl, but I cannot hold the pen any longer.”

This letter and the Curtis incident brought matters to a crisis. Lord Anglesey had indiscreetly and indecorously advised that the agitation should not relax. This threw the King into a state of blind fury. For three days, as the Duke of Wellington told Mr. Greville's mother, he inveighed against him, declaring that he was setting up "as King of Ireland." After so insubordinate a step, it was impossible that he could remain, and on the 30th of December he was recalled. Mr. Greville gives the following sketch of the Windsor "interior" at this time, furnished to him by one who had the best opportunities of observing: "Lord Mount-Charles came to me this morning (January 12) and consulted me about resigning his seat at the Treasury. He told me that he verily believed the King would go mad on the Catholic question, his violence was so great about it. He is very angry with him and his father for voting as they do, but they have agreed never to discuss the matter at all, and his mother never talks to the King about it. Whenever he does get on it there is no stopping him. Mount-Charles attributes the King's obstinacy to his recollections of his father and the Duke of York, and to the influence of the Duke of Cumberland. He says that 'his father would have laid his head on the block rather than yield, and that he is equally ready to lay his head there in the same cause.' He is furious with Lord Anglesey, but he will be very much afraid of him when he sees him. Mount-Charles was in the room when Lord Anglesey took leave of the King on going to Ireland, and the King said: 'God bless you, Anglesey! I know you are a true Protestant.' Anglesey answered: 'Sir, I will not be considered either Protestant or Catholic; I go to Ireland determined to act impartially between them, and without the least bias either one way or the other.'"

These, however, were all hints and foreshadowings. It was not until the new year began, and the meeting with Parliament impended, that the serious difficulty had to be grappled with. The plan had to be formally opened to the King, and his consent as formally obtained; a matter of enormous difficulty, made more difficult by the hesitation that had been used. Then set in a singular struggle, in which there were really dramatic elements—the helpless, shifty, and dying monarch, contending vainly with the two resolute intellects. Lord Ellenborough kept some memoranda of the stages of the business,\* which will be found interesting.

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\* Given in the Duke of Wellington's "Desp. Cor. Mem.," vol. v.



On the 26th of January the duke undertook the task of belling the royal cat, and of going out to see the King to state to him the points agreed upon in the Cabinet. These were embodied in a sort of general minute, which it was considered incumbent, for obvious reasons, that the King should sign. In this the duke succeeded, and it will be seen later how prudent was this precaution.

MINUTE SIGNED BY THE KING ON JANUARY 26, 1829.

“The King has considered the representations made to him by such of the members of his Cabinet as have been generally adverse to the concession of further political power to the King’s Roman Catholic subjects. It has been earnestly pressed upon the King, as a measure not merely expedient, but necessary, that the King’s Cabinet should take into its immediate consideration the whole state of Ireland, and particularly with the view of preparing measures for the suppressing of the Roman Catholic Association, of altering the law respecting the elective franchise in that part of the kingdom, and of proposing such arrangements relative to the existing disabilities of the King’s Roman Catholic subjects as may lead to a final settlement of that difficult question. The King, attending to the representations that have been so made to him, and the reasoning by which they have been supported, acquiesces in what has been thus strongly recommended; but without in any degree pledging himself to the approval or adoption of the measures that may be proposed as the result of the deliberations of his Cabinet.

“(Approved)

“G. R.”

It will be seen that even here they had not ventured to open their whole programme; concession of “further” political power might be reduced to some small act of indulgence, and his reserved power of dissent seemed to him a certain resource. But he was drawn on step by step.

On the 28th the duke reported that the King agreed to the words for the speech, but seemed very reluctant. When the duke said that the Catholics were to be excluded from judicial offices connected with the Church, the King said: “What, do you mean a Catholic to hold any judicial office? to be a Judge of the King’s Bench?” When seats in Parliament were mentioned, he said: “D——n it, do you mean to let them into Parliament?” In the

interval before settling the words of the speech, the King had contrived to start a point, and in the Council on the 2nd of February, when the speech was being read, at the paragraph, "His Majesty recommends," etc., the King said: "The whole condition of Ireland includes the Catholic question, and I see no reason why that part of the paragraph should not be omitted." The duke said: "Your Majesty has Roman Catholic subjects in other parts of your dominions besides Ireland." The King acquiesced, and at the end of the speech expressed himself quite satisfied with it.

Parliament now met, and the exciting Session began. On the 5th of February the King's Speech announced to the world that it was intended "to review the laws which imposed disabilities" on the Roman Catholics.

THE KING TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"Windsor Castle, Sunday morning, February 8, 1829.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I return you the answer to the Address of the House of Peers, with my signature to the Address affixed to it.

"I cannot have the smallest objection to your reading or referring upon the present occasion (should you find it necessary to do so) to any letter in which you may have made mention of my name in your correspondence with Lord Anglesey, for I never for a moment can entertain a doubt either of your prudence or of your caution where I am concerned.

"The Council, the nomination of the Sheriffs, the Recorder's Report, and the presentation of the Duke of Northumberland (according to your desire), I shall hold myself in readiness to receive as usual here on Wednesday next, the 11th, at two o'clock P.M.

"Ever your sincere Friend,

"G. R."

It is not difficult, however, to see that he was looking to a chance of failure, and that he was induced to yield thus much by the measures of apparent severity that were to precede it. A memorandum in his handwriting, among the Duke of Wellington's papers, supports this view: "The King in recommending, in the speech from the throne, the putting down the illegal and rebellious assemblage of his subjects in Ireland, under the name of the Catholic Association, understood it to be an abstract measure, and one of positive necessity, and connected with the existence of all good government,

The King always supposed that this was to be followed by the repeal of the law that gave the right of voting to the forty-shilling freeholders. Then, after these two measures, that it would be safe to take into consideration the question of Catholic Disabilities."

Lord Eldon, while complaining of the "mysterious concealment" of the Government plan till that moment, expressed his opinion that the best course now for the beguiled "Protestants" was to obtain the fullest statement of the details of the measure, and then "as long an interval of delay as possible for and during the discussion." No doubt his Majesty was encouraged by the arrival of that strange character the Duke of Cumberland, who had flown from Berlin to take part in the fray, dining with the Prime Minister the night after his arrival, but presently to cause him infinite difficulties and annoyance by his intrigues. This disastrous influence was presently to be felt in new obstruction on the part of the King, in new shifts and pretences, so that the matter seemed likely to come to shipwreck.\* He seems to have never relaxed an instant in his underground

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\* A good idea of this well-known personage's character may be obtained from his views on bishops, written to Lord Strangford in 1850, when he states that "the first change and shock in the ecclesiastical habits was the bishops being allowed to lay aside their wigs, their purple coats, short cassocks, and stocking, and cocked hats, when appearing in public; for I can remember when Bishop Heard of Worcester, Courtenay of Exeter, and Markham, Archbishop of York, resided in Kew and its vicinity, that, as a boy, I met them frequently walking about dressed as I now tell you; and their male servants appeared equally all dressed in purple, which was the custom. The late Bishop of Oxford (Bagot) was the first who persuaded George IV. to allow him to lay aside his wig, because his wife found him better looking without it. I recollect full well that the Bishop of London, who succeeded Bishop Porteous, coming to St. James's to do homage to my father, when Lord Sidmouth was Secretary of State, and he came into the closet, where I was at the time, and informed his majesty 'that the bishop was there, but that he had refused to introduce him as he had not a wig.' Upon which the King replied: 'You were perfectly right, my lord; and tell the bishop from me that until he has shaven his head, and has provided himself with a wig suitable to his garb, I shall not admit him into my presence.' " The King himself complained that he had been disgusted by seeing the Bishop of London (Blomfield) "attend the committee-room in the House of Lords in a black Wellington coat, with top-boots, and coming in with a hat like a butcher or coachmaster." King Ernest entertained a perfect detestation for the Bishop of Exeter, never having forgiven him for voting for Sir Robert Peel at the Oxford election in 1829. He alluded to him as "that ugly vagabond, Philpotts." On Lord Truro being raised to the woolsack, he wrote: "What a scandal! what a disgrace! to have raised that blackguard Wilde to the Lord Chancellorship."



intrigues, and, if we can trust Mr. Greville, was one of the most odious beings that ever existed. So that we find the Duke of Wellington writing to Sir W. Knighton to say that if the "Duke of Cumberland thought he could make a Government, he had better give his advice to the King, and so end matters." He himself would seem to have been with the King on the 26th, when "a very disagreeable conversation" had taken place. For his Majesty, seriously alarmed at the way he was being drawn on, appears to have determined on resistance. "The King begged he would not speak to the Household, and seemed to intimate they were to vote against the Government. The King's conversation before mixed companies and his servants has been most imprudent. The King seems to have been very nervous at dinner and absent. He seems to have intended to say more to the duke than he did, but, being interrupted by the duke, perhaps regretted he had said so much." It was settled, however, that on the following day the duke should bring matters to a point—no doubt by exerting his well-known mastery over the King's mind; and that night at eleven the Cabinet were relieved to learn that their chief had had entire success. The interview had lasted five hours. As was to be expected, the King had not only yielded, but yielded abjectly, "declaring himself more satisfied with the Bill than anything he had seen." He would even order the Duke of Cumberland to quit England. He gave up on the point of the Household. The duke confessed to his friends that he had to use "very peremptory language to him," which made the scene very painful, so that the King was thrown into great agitation, and even spoke of abdicating. At the end he was kind and gracious, and even kissed his visitor on leaving.

The Duke of Cumberland, ignorant of the sentence passed on him, wrote to the Duke of Wellington, declaring that he meant to call on him, but he should certainly tell his friends all that passed. "My character must stand clear before them." He was disagreeably surprised by receiving a communication, brusque and haughty to a degree. "I assure your royal highness that I have nothing to talk to your royal highness upon respecting which I care whether it is stated to the whole world. I have no business to transact except his Majesty's, and do not care who knows it." He further sent a formal complaint to the King of the underhand proceedings of the Duke of Cumberland, who was now opening communications with Members of Parliament in the King's name, and sending circulars to the Household requiring their attendance.

In one of the debates in the House of Lords, Mr. Greville tells, there was an amusing, if not an unbecoming, spectacle. "The three royal dukes, Clarence, Cumberland, and Sussex, got up one after another, and attacked each other (that is, Clarence and Sussex attacked Cumberland, and he them) very vehemently, and they used towards each other language that nobody else could have ventured to employ; so it was a very droll scene. The Duke of Clarence said the attacks on the Duke [of Wellington] had been infamous; the Duke of Cumberland took this to himself, but when he began to answer it could not recollect the expression, which the Duke of Clarence directly supplied: 'I said "infamous."' The Duke of Sussex said that the Duke of Clarence had not intended to apply the word to the Duke of Cumberland, but if he chose to take it to himself he might. Then the Duke of Clarence said that the Duke of Cumberland had lived so long abroad that he had forgotten there was such a thing as freedom of debate."

Meanwhile, on the very day of the duke's stormy interview with the King, Mr. Peel had been defeated at the Oxford election, which at once renewed his Majesty's hopes. He began to talk "of the people standing by him," and would not separate from his brother. Madame de Lieven, who had a vehement dislike to the Duke of Wellington, was secretly working on the Duke of Cumberland. We are not therefore surprised to find on Sunday, the 1st of March, the Chancellor with him, vainly urging him to direct the Household, as he had promised, to vote for the bill. He was in bed, and for three hours the minister was striving to bring him to reason. He said he would abdicate—henceforth a favorite declaration to all his visitors—he would send Lord Bexley to the House of Lords with a letter to that effect. The Chancellor returned without having effected any change, and the greatest alarm and excitement prevailed in political circles, for it was idly believed that he would be firm, and that ministers must resign. So serious was the crisis that the Chancellor travelled all that night to the duke's country-seat, reaching it at three in the morning, and returning to London before ten. But the Cabinet was not to be trifled with. A council was instantly held, after which a letter was despatched to the King, reminding him of his written agreement to this programme, requiring his renewed assent, and enclosing a copy of his signed approbation of the minute.

## THE KING TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"Windsor Castle, Tuesday, eleven o'clock A.M.,

"March 3, 1829.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I will answer your letter as soon as I can possibly collect my thoughts sufficiently to put them upon paper.

"Ever your most sincere Friend,

"G. R."

THE SAME.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I really wish to see you, the Chancellor, and Mr. Peel, to-morrow. I shall be ready to receive you punctually at twelve to-morrow, and all three together. I cannot tell you how much your letter, received this morning, has embarrassed me.

"Ever your sincere Friend,

"G. R.

"P.S.—Pray let the Chancellor and Mr. Peel know."

This invitation masked a new design. The three ministers went down. There are two accounts of this interview, which were dramatic from the feelings and interests engaged. "When we arrived," said Mr. Peel, "he received us cordially, but seemed grave, and laboring under anxiety and weariness. He said that we must be aware that it had caused him the greatest pain to give his assent to the proposition made to him by his Cabinet, that they should be at liberty to offer their collective advice on the Catholic question, and still greater pain to feel that he had no alternative but to act upon the advice which he had received. He added that as the matter was to be brought forward in Parliament, he wished to learn from ministers 'a more complete and detailed explanation of the manner in which it was proposed to act.' On this I explained that the chief impediment, the oaths of supremacy, were to be repealed. The King seemed much surprised, and said rapidly and earnestly: 'What is this? You surely do not mean to alter the ancient oath of supremacy!' He appealed to each on this point. They again explained the reasons in detail. The King observed, that be that as it might, he could not possibly consent to any alteration of the ancient oath of supremacy; that he was exceedingly sorry that there had been any misunderstanding on so essential a point."



Five hours were passed in hopeless attempts to convince him; and at the close they informed him they must resign. He accepted their resignation, and sent, Mr. Greville says, to Lord Eldon, who thought over a plan that would include the Duke of Richmond, but soon found it was impracticable.\* On the following day the duke received his sovereign's submission—a humiliating transaction.

## THE KING TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

“Windsor Castle, Wednesday evening, eight o'clock,

“March 5, 1829.

“MY DEAR FRIEND,

“As I find the country would be left without an Administration, I have decided to yield my opinion to that which is considered by the Cabinet to be for the immediate interests of the country. Under these circumstances you have my consent to proceed as you propose with the measure. God knows what pain it costs me to write these words.

“G. R.”

But this would not do. The duke answers at midnight. There is a stern tone in the communication.

“Mr. Peel will proceed with the bills to-morrow, in the full confidence and with the full understanding that your Majesty's servants have your sanction and support, and that your Majesty will go through with us.

“I entreat your Majesty to give your gracious approbation to my letter of the 2nd instant, containing the minute of the Cabinet, or to inform me if my understanding of your Majesty's letter of this afternoon is not correct.”†

The King could no longer wriggle off the hook, and wrote a complete surrender.

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\* Peel, “Memoir,” i. 343. There is no mention of Lord Eldon's share in the transaction in Mr. Twiss's “Biography.”

† The same doubt of craft and shiftiness occurred also to Mr. Peel, who considers the King's words “rather equivocal,” and “reserving a veto.” He suggested getting the King to write “approved” on the duke's letter.

## THE KING TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

“Windsor Castle, Thursday morning, quarter-past seven,  
“from my bed, March 6, 1829.

“MY DEAR FRIEND,

“I am awakened by the messenger with your letter, and as I know that you are much pressed for time, I send him off again immediately. You have put the right construction upon the meaning of my letter of last evening; but at the same time I cannot disguise from you that my feelings of distress in consequence are such as I do scarcely know how to support myself under them.

“G. R.”

Thus there was ever the same feeble protest—“his feelings” and “God knows.” The weak mind thus ever fancies that words will neutralize acts.

This may be said to have ended the contest, and the King, though he indulged himself in theatrical protests and bursts of fanatical grief, virtually gave little more trouble to his ministers. Some strange frantic efforts, however, followed on the part of other opponents. The Duke of Cumberland prepared petitions, which were to be taken to Windsor and presented by imposing mobs. These proceedings excited the indignant remonstrances of the duke. The Irish archbishop and bishops came over with addresses. There were interviews three hours in length with “Protestant” lords. The duke contrived to keep all in check, and even went the length of challenging and fighting Lord Winchelsea.\*

## THE KING TO LORD MACCLESFIELD.

“Windsor Castle, March 27.

“MY DEAR MACCLESFIELD,

“The long and sincere regard and friendship which has subsisted between us for the last seven-and-forty years, renders it unnecessary for me to make any comment upon the present occasion. The state of your health at this moment precluding (as I understand) all idea of personal audience without considerable inconvenience and risk, I will acquaint you wherever it may best suit me to receive you.

Yours, etc.,

“G. R.”

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\* See Dr. Hame's dramatic account, in the Duke of Wellington's “Desp. Cor. and Mem.”

THE KING TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"April 1, 1829, half-past three, P.M.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I have not the smallest objection to your giving the necessary directions for every accommodation to be made in the House of Lords that can be effected for the convenience of the peers.

"Your sincere friend,

"G. R."



## CHAPTER XVI.

1829.

It is painful to find find ministers, till the matter was actually settled, declining to trust the King. The Duke of Wellington told the Cabinet that from his suspicions "they ought to keep Supply in hand." The duke, in introducing the bills, told the House in pointed language that "they had the sanction and approbation of his Majesty," though the old Eldon tried to argue that "he was pledged to nothing." So skilfully did they deal with him, that he saw that further struggling was hopeless, and when the Duke of Cumberland came down to urge him to new efforts, he was reported to have said: "My dear Ernest, do not talk to me any more about it. I am committed, and must go through with it."

On the 10th of April the bills were passed. The old Protestant peers, however, had some faint hopes from their various interviews with his Majesty, in which he expressed his feelings warmly, that even yet he would interfere. Lord Eldon's description of two of these consolatory interviews is truly characteristic. They were, of course, of many hours each. It will be seen what an uncandid account the King gives of his share in the transaction, while not a little amusement will be caused by the naïvely expressed surprise of Lord Eldon at the signed documents which so completely destroyed the case of his royal master. The King complained "that at the time the Administration was formed, no reason was given him to suppose that any measures for the relief of the Roman Catholics were intended or thought of by ministers: that he had frequently himself suggested the absolute necessity of putting down the Roman Catholic Association—of suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, to destroy the power of the most seditious and rebellious proceedings of the members of it, and particularly at the time that Lawless made his march: that instead of following what he had so strongly recommended, after some time, not a very long time before the present Session, he was applied to to allow his ministers to pro-

pose to him, as a united Cabinet, the opening the Parliament by sending such a message as his speech contained: that, after much struggling against it, and after the measure had been strongly pressed upon him as of absolute necessity, he had consented that the Protestant members of his Cabinet, if they could so persuade themselves to act, might join in such a representation to him, but that he would not then, nor in his recommendation to Parliament, pledge himself to anything. He repeatedly mentioned that he represented to his ministers the infinite pain it gave him to consent even so far as that.

“He complained that he had never seen the bills—that the condition of Ireland had not been taken into consideration—that the Association Bill had been passed through both Houses before he had seen it—that it was a very inefficient measure compared to those which he had in vain, himself, recommended—that the other proposed measures gave him the greatest possible pain and uneasiness—that he was in the state of a person with a pistol presented to his breast—that he had nothing to fall back upon—that his ministers had threatened (I think he said twice, at the time of my seeing him) to resign, if the measures were not proceeded in, and that he had said to them, ‘Go on,’ when he knew not how to relieve himself from the state in which he was placed; and that in one of those meetings, when resignation was threatened, he was urged to the sort of consent he gave, by what passed in the interview between him and his ministers, till the interview and the talk had brought him into such a state, that he hardly knew what he was about when he, after several hours, said, ‘Go on.’ He then repeatedly expressed himself as in a state of the greatest misery, repeatedly saying: ‘What can I do? I have nothing to fall back upon;’ and musing for some time, and then again repeating the same expression.

“In this day’s audience his majesty did not show me many papers that he showed me in the second. I collected, from what passed in the second, that his consent to go on was in writings then shown to me. After a great deal of time spent still in the first interview), in which his majesty was sometimes silent—apparently uneasy—occasionally stating his distress—the hard usage he had received—his wish to extricate himself—that he had not what to look to—what to fall back upon—that he was miserable beyond what he could express—I asked him whether his majesty, so frequently thus expressing himself, meant either to enjoin me, or to forbid me, considering or trying whether anything could be found

or arranged, upon which he could fall back. He said, 'I neither enjoin you to do so, nor forbid you to do so; but, for God's sake, take care that I am not exposed to the humiliation of being again placed in such circumstances, that I must submit again to pray of my present ministers that they will remain with me.' He appeared to me to be exceedingly miserable, and intimated that he would see me again.

"I was not sent for afterwards, but went on Thursday, the 9th of April, with more addresses. In the second interview, which began a little before two o'clock, the King repeatedly, and with some minutes interposed between his such repeated declarations, musing in silence in the interim, expressed his anguish, and pain, and misery, that the measure had ever been thought of, and as often declared that he had been most harshly and cruelly treated—that he had been treated as a man whose consent had been asked with a pistol pointed to his breast, or as obliged, if he did not give in, to leap down from a five-pair-of-stairs window. What could he do? What had he to fall back upon?

"This led to his mentioning again what he had to say as to his assent. In the former interview it had been represented that, after much conversation twice with his ministers, or such as had come down, he had said, 'Go on;' and upon the latter of those two occasions, after many hours' fatigue and exhausted by the fatigue of conversation, he had said, 'Go on.' He now produced two papers, which he represented as copies of what he had written to them, in which he assents to their proceeding and going on with the bill, adding certainly in each, as he read them, very strong expressions of the pain and misery the proceedings gave him. It struck me at the time that I should, if I had been in office, have felt considerable difficulty about going on after reading such expressions; but whatever might be fair observation as to giving, or not, effect to those expressions, I told his majesty it was impossible to maintain that his assent had not been expressed, or to cure the evils which were consequential—after the bill, in such circumstances, had been read a second time, and in the Lords' House with a majority of a hundred and five. This led him to much conversation upon that fact, that he had, he said, been deserted by an aristocracy that had supported his father—that, instead of forty-five against the measure, there were twice that number of peers for it—that everything was revolutionary—everything was tending to revolution—and the peers and the aristocracy were giving way to it. They (he said



more than once or twice) supported his father; but see what they have done to him.

“He then began to talk about the coronation oath. On that I could only repeat what I had before said, if his majesty meant me to say anything upon the subject. Understanding that he did so wish, I repeated that, as far as his oath was concerned, it was a matter between him, God, and his conscience, whether giving his royal assent to this measure was ‘supporting, to the utmost of his power, the Protestant Reformed religion.’

“Little more passed—except occasional bursts of expression—‘What can I do? What can I now fall back upon? What can I fall back upon? I am miserable, wretched; my situation is dreadful; nobody about me to advise with. If I do give my assent, I’ll go to the Baths abroad and from thence to Hanover: I’ll return no more to England—I’ll make no Roman Catholic peers—I will not do what this bill will enable me to do—I’ll return no more—let them get a Catholic King in Clarence.’ I think he also mentioned Sussex. ‘The people will see that I did not wish this.’

“There were the strongest appearances certainly of misery. He, more than once, stopped my leaving him. When the time came that I was to go, he threw his arms round my neck and expressed great misery. I left him about twenty minutes or a quarter before five.”

Not less characteristic was his reception of the Irish bishops, “which,” says Archbishop Magee, “was warm, affecting, and cordial. He declared the strongest attachment to Protestant principles, expressed his astonishment at the suddenness of the change that had taken place on the subject of the Roman Catholic demands, spoke of the deep sufferings he had endured and was enduring upon the subject, lamented the dearth of talent that was at present manifested among public men, reckoned over some members of the Lords on whom he could place full dependence (among whom were Lords Eldon, Redesdale, Manners, and your Lordship), but having done that, he professed himself totally incapable of naming any of the Commons. One star, indeed, he said, had lately arisen (I understood him to mean Sadler), but the dearth was still lamentable. He assured us of the warm interest he felt in our behalf; and having spoken in this strain (not however committing himself as to any line he intended to take) for about half an hour, he dismissed us in a manner the most cordial.”

Lord Londonderry, an old friend, also took the opportunity of

calling, and received his confidences to a great length. This conversation is equally characteristic. "On entering," writes Lord Londonderry, "the King was most kind and sympathizing. He begged me to sit down, and said he was sure I was very unhappy, as I appeared to be." Lord Londonderry then said he wished to speak to him on present circumstances. "What is it then you wish to say to me?" replied the King, in rather a severe tone. After a long preamble the visitor began to explain that he could not support the new head of the Ministry.

" 'I see what you are going to say,' said the King, 'but let me now have some conversation with you, and state how I have acted, and how I have been placed by the late extraordinary events; and let me show you that those who have now deserted, or are deserting me, are alone the cause why the pernicious drug and bitter pill which they forced upon me is now the cause of all the present confusion. To those persons who pressed Mr. Canning on me against my will, to those friends who now leave me in the lurch, may all the mischief and perplexity which I feel be ascribed. When I lost your incomparable brother, and my best friend, a friend and a minister that can never be replaced, I will state to you what occurred when I was on board ship, and Peel came to me with the news. But first I must say that, of all men I ever saw, he was the most clear and correct in all his views, and in nine hundred and ninety-nine times he was ever perfect in every judgment he formed, but in the thousandth he had an obstinacy arising from a conscientious feeling of honor he never would be moved from.' (Here the King went into a very minute history of all my brother's later feelings as connected with persons and circumstances wholly irrelevant to the present moment, and unnecessary and painful to put on paper.) 'Well, when Peel came to me, it was arranged between us that, in order to keep my mind quiet, no arrangement should be made till I returned to London.' He added that he wrote this to Lord Liverpool, stipulating that 'no change whatever is to take place in the arrangements fixed for India. I parted with Peel, who went up by land to town with Mrs. P., his eyes being bad and he wearing a low green shade. I heard nothing more till I came to London. All were silent until after some meetings at Walmer, and then Liverpool announced to me they could not go on without Canning, and it ended, chiefly at the instigation of the Duke of Wellington, in my consenting to that measure of his introduction into the Cabinet, which was of all others the most disagreeable to me.

“ ‘I must, however, here do Mr. Canning the justice to say that since he has served me, I have found him considerate, and behaving well to me in every respect. So things proceeded until after the calamity of Liverpool, and what I formerly thought would have been a desirable event has certainly turned out for me one of the most unfortunate. It is true, however, that Liverpool would not have stayed in beyond the present session, and he declared to me if he did not carry the Corn Bill he would not remain Minister; but, had he gone out, he would have arranged matters so as not to have placed me in the dilemma in which I now stand. Now, with regard to the principles upon which my Government is to be formed, I will tell you what passed between me and Londonderry upon the Catholic question. That question was the thousandth, from which nothing could move him; but I told him, after repeated discussions, it was in vain to attempt to shake me, because what Charles Fox could not accomplish, no other man could, but that as I was about to take the coronation oath as King, I wished Castlereagh to consider if he thought, by any act of the Legislature, it could be so modified or arranged, previous to my taking it, as would satisfy my mind that I could, consistently with my oath, depart from those jars which impede the Catholics from the privileges of their Protestant brethren. After three weeks’ reflection, he came to me, and told me he saw at present no mode of framing or proposing such a course. I then said, ‘Remember, once I take this oath, I am forever a Protestant king, a Protestant upholder, a Protestant adherent, and no power on earth will shake me on that subject.’

“ ‘I here observed, that I believed his majesty’s sentiments were pretty well known on that head; but that I had never heard it so distinctly as in confidence he was now pleased to state it to me.

“ ‘Not in confidence,’ resumed he quietly; ‘I declare it to you openly, broadly, distinctly. You are at liberty to state it everywhere; and the very act of the present men who desert me is to throw me into the arms of the Catholics, or commit me towards them in a manner they should have saved me from. But yet the resignation of Protestants I can in some degree understand. Peel, for instance, is a man of the highest integrity and honor, and respected by the whole country: rich in reputation, rich in domestic happiness, rich in wealth, wanting in nothing. He steers himself above every petty consideration.’

“ ‘I said, ‘No man more respected. I could not say the same of the individual his majesty now confided in; and when his majesty’s



words in 1821, as to that person, were deeply recorded in my breast; when I knew and remembered how he had acted to my sovereign and my brother, it was impossible, if I loved one or the other, that I could forget it or support his rule.'

" 'Well,' replied his majesty, 'you have strong feelings. But why Lord Melville has taken the line he has I cannot understand; and none of them have estimated my difficulties, nor the course honorable to them all that I pursued. When I got Lady Liverpool's answer on the Monday I had them down at the Lodge, and I saw Wellington first; and here, if there ever was a man to whom I paid every honor and devotion, it is he. I have bestowed on him every gift of my crown: not that he does not deserve it, but I have done as much on my part as he has done for me. Well, how could I suppose that he would condescend after uniting the command of two armies in his person on my brother's death, that he would ever leave that position to be minister?'

"I said, 'I suppose, sire, he never would have done such a thing but at the wish of your majesty, and the belief that it was for the real good of your service.'

" 'Well, I told him all the difficulties. I desired him to consult with his colleagues, especially Mr. Canning and Mr. Peel, and endeavor to form an arrangement to conduct the Government as heretofore, and I told him that I would name any head that might in common be agreed upon. I then saw Mr. Canning and stated pretty much the same thing to him. He said there were innumerable difficulties, but still thought they might be got over. I then saw Mr. Peel and had a similar conversation with him. At my party at the Lodge I endeavored, by mixing all friends, to show no partiality. In this state of things I arrived in town, having however seen the Duke of Newcastle, who conversed with me in a very unbecoming manner; and I should also say I had seen the Duke of Rutland and his brother: but he said nothing in any shape but what was of the most conciliatory and respectful description, although I told Wellington I had heard of persons in office combining their opinions as to what I should or should not do, in the most unconstitutional and improper manner, which, however, he (Wellington) had wisely arrested.'

"As I felt that at this the King looked at me, I immediately replied, 'Sir, it is quite true there are various individuals who think most unfavorably of Mr. Canning, as I do, from his speech in Parliament,'

“‘I am not one of those,’ rejoined the King, with great bitterness, ‘who take up men’s words in the heat of debate, and bring them out afterwards as palliations for any course of conduct I adopt. If speeches were to be considered, I should allude to yours in the House of Lords, when I was under all this embarrassment.’

“‘Sir,’ I said most respectfully, ‘I felt myself in duty bound, in respect to my brother’s principles, to show, in the interregnum that prevailed, that I had every confidence in those men who acted with him, while I reprobated the new system.’

“‘Ay, but you forget that it was owing to a factious meeting of Whig lords that Lord Liverpool was appointed minister.’

“‘Sir, there was no faction on my part. My opinion of Mr. Canning has been taken from your majesty’s lips, and I have seen no cause to change it.’

“Here the Duke of Clarence was announced, perhaps fortunately!

“His majesty then resumed: ‘Well, when I came to town, after seeing Wellington, the Chancellor, and Canning and Peel, and finding nothing done—and indeed nothing is done yet, although a good deal of writing has passed—I found it was absolutely necessary to act. The Chancellor, to do him justice, has acted rightly and consistently, for he stayed in before, against the grain, at my positive entreaty, and I can say nothing to him. But what can I say to those who have left me so unexpectedly and wholly uncalled for? The Duke of Wellington I cannot understand. Mr. Canning certainly informed me that Mr. Peel had named a person under whom he thought they could both act, and that was the Duke of Wellington. But this, Mr. Canning said he did not think would answer, or be consistent with his views of carrying on the Government. What then had I to do? or what course had I to steer? No one would take the responsibility of any arrangement but Mr. Canning, and this is the predicament.’

“I then urged against Canning the fact of losing seven colleagues, and then placed his letter of resignation of the Duke of Bedford in the King’s hands.”

The most cruel blow he experienced, however, was in the desertion of the Sumners, the two bishops whom he had petted and promoted. One of these he tried to persuade to absent himself, at the least, but he declined.

## THE KING TO THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER (?).

"Windsor Castle, March 10th, 1828.

**"MY DEAR BISHOP,**

"I am sure that in all you do you are influenced by the best and most honorable of motives. I shall therefore only add that I am always your sincere friend,

G. R."\*

To others he declared that the Duke of Wellington was now King of England, O'Connell King of Ireland, and he himself no more than Dean of Windsor. To Lord Skelmersdale, who came with an address, he said, "Put it down, take a chair, and let us have a talk." He then complained of his situation: that he had no knowledge of what was intended until the speech for the opening of Parliament was discussed in his presence; that he had no resource; that no other Administration could be formed. And he added that, "as he was recommended to go to some German baths for his legs, then they might take his brother William (the Duke of Clarence), who would make them a good Roman Catholic King. And then they would only have to send for Dr. Murray and Dr. Doyle to educate the Princess Victoria," etc. This was a melancholy pitiful display, and it was no wonder that the bishops and the other Protestant leaders, when they came to compare notes of his professions with his acts, could recount many instances of his "dupery," as they called it.

A few days afterwards, the veteran peer Eldon, who had been to a certain extent imposed upon by his grief, writes to his daughter: "The fatal Bills received the Royal Assent. After all I had heard in my visits, not a day's delay! God bless us and His Church!" The duke himself sent down the Bill to the King with other papers, as if it was an ordinary transaction. He did not go himself, in order to avoid any discussion or distressing scene.

## THE KING TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

"Windsor Castle, Monday morning, ten o'clock,

"April 13, 1829.

"The King returns the Lord Chancellor the Bills which he has forwarded for the King's signature, which are now completed. As

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\* Lord Ellenborough also gives an account of this memorable struggle, which will be found in the Duke of Wellington's "Despatches, Correspondence, and Memoranda," under the date. "The Diary of Ellenborough" during the last two years of the reign is announced as the last sheets of this account are passing through the press (February, 1881), so I have been unable to use it.



the Chancellor has (very properly) conceived it to be his duty to call the King's attention particularly to the two Bills relative to the Roman Catholics, the King cannot refrain from repeating to the Lord Chancellor his unaltered sentiments and feelings with respect to them, and observing that the King never before affixed his name with pain or regret to any Act of the Legislature."

## CHAPTER XVII.

1829—1830.

THESE events naturally embroiled the duke with the Duke of Cumberland. How indifferent the former was, and what his opinion was of the King's brother, is set down in a pleasant conversation the Duke of Wellington held with Mr. Greville at this time. It offers to us a good appreciation of the King's character.

" 'I make it a rule never to interrupt him,' said the duke, 'and when in this way he tries to get rid of a subject in the way of business which he does not like, I let him talk himself out, and then quietly put before him the matter in question, so that he cannot escape from it. I remember when the Duke of Newcastle was going to Windsor with a mob at his heels to present a petition (during the late discussions), I went down to him and showed him the petition, and told him that they ought to be prevented from coming. He went off and talked upon every subject but that which I had come about, for an hour and a half. I let him go on till he was tired, and then I said: "But the petition, sir; here it is, and an answer must be sent. I had better write to the Duke of Newcastle and tell him your Majesty will receive it through the Secretary of State; and, if you please, I will write the letter before I leave the house." This I did, finished my business in five minutes, and went away with the letter in my pocket. I know him so well that I can deal with him easily, but anybody who does not know him, and who is afraid of him, would have the greatest difficulty in getting on with him. One extraordinary peculiarity about him is, that the only thing he fears is ridicule. He is afraid of nothing which is hazardous, perilous, or uncertain; on the contrary, he is all for braving difficulties; but he dreads ridicule, and this is the reason why the Duke of Cumberland, whose sarcasms he dreads, has such power over him, and Lord Anglesey likewise; both of them he hates in proportion as he fears them.' I said I was very much surprised to hear this, as neither of these men

were wits, or likely to make him ridiculous; that if he had been afraid of Sefton or Alvanley, it could have been understood. 'But,' rejoined the duke, 'he never sees these men, and he does not mind anybody he does not see; but the Duke of Cumberland and Lord Anglesey he cannot avoid seeing, and the fear he has of what they may say to him, as well as of him, keeps him in awe of them. No man, however, knows the Duke of Cumberland better than he does; indeed, all I know of the Duke of Cumberland I know from him, and so I told him one day. I remember asking him why the Duke of Cumberland was so unpopular, and he said, "Because there never was a father well with his son, or husband with his wife, or lover with his mistress, or a friend with his friend, that he did not try to make mischief between them." And yet he suffers this man to have constant access to him, to say what he will to him, and often acts under his influence.' I said, 'You and the Duke of Cumberland speak now, don't you?' 'Yes, we speak. The King spoke to me about it, and wanted me to make him an apology. I told him it was quite impossible. "Why," said he, "you did not mean to offend the Duke of Cumberland, I am sure." "No, sir," said I; "I did not wish to offend him, but I did not say a word that I did not mean. When we meet the royal family in society they are our superiors, and we owe them all respect, and I should readily apologize for anything I might have said offensive to the duke; but in the House of Lords we are their peers, and for what I say there I am responsible to the House alone." "But," said the King, "he said you turned on him as if you meant to address yourself to him personally." "I did mean it, sir," said I, "and I did so because I knew that he had been here, that he heard things from your Majesty which he had gone and misrepresented and misstated in other quarters, and knowing that, I meant to show him that I was aware of it. I am sorry that the duke is offended, but I cannot help it, and I cannot make him an apology."'"

The duke was so afraid that the King would twist what he had said into an apology, and report it to his brother, that he took care to warn him, on going away. "Now, sir, remember that I will not apologize to the duke; and I hope your Majesty will therefore not convey any such an idea to his mind." A strange tone—but justified—to take to his sovereign!

At the levee, however, his Majesty could show his feelings without restraint, receiving, to the delight of Lord Eldon, all his opponents with studied discourtesy—notably the pro-Catholic pre-



lates—while on Mr. O'Connell he turned his back, in as offensive a manner as he could, muttering to his neighbor, "D——n the fellow! what does he come here for?"

We now find the King, relieved from political troubles, making an earnest appeal for a favorite.

THE KING TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"Royal Lodge, January 14, 1829.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I now write to you upon a matter in which I feel very much interested. The report of the Committee of the House of Commons upon Mr. Nash's business has been delivered in, and as I have been informed by one of that committee (not one of those who had any previous predilection towards him), 'without the slightest stain or imputation against his character.' I do therefore desire that you will direct his being gazetted by himself, on Tuesday next, the 16th of this month, as a baronet, with the remainder at his death (as he, Nash, has no family of his own) to his nephew, Mr. Edwards, a gentleman of excellent character, large property, who sat in the last Parliament, and who has proved himself a thorough supporter of Government, and a most loyal man, besides being well known to me personally. Mr. Nash has been most infamously used, and there is but one opinion about it; and therefore it is not only an act of justice personally to him, but to my own dignity that this should forthwith be done. For, if those who go through the furnace for me, and for my service, are not protected, the favor of the sovereign becomes worse than nugatory.

"Your very sincere Friend,

"G. R."

The duke, however, was not inclined to comply with his wishes, hinting plainly it was undesirable for the King's interests, and that, in conjunction with the unfinished works at the new palace, it would lead to opening up the unpleasant business of outlay in the House of Commons. "Before he can lay aside prudence," he wrote to Sir W. Knighton, very significantly, "he must give the Government all the strength he can." Indeed, in connection with this very matter, the duke made bitter complaints to this confidant of the treatment he was experiencing. "Look at his society at the Lodge! If a minister (except myself) goes to the neighborhood of Windsor

he dare not approach. Few dare go to the council; they are ill-received, and see their opponents honored with the greatest favor and attention. What must the world think of this? the truth, namely, that the King wishes to get rid of us all. This is the most dignified course—to have at least a strong Government in his support.”

The Chancellor declared “he was mad.” He was greatly pleased, Mr. Greville says, with the duke’s duel, declaring that he would have called the duke’s attention to the matter. It was remarked: “He will be wanting to fight a duel himself,” and the pleasant Lord Sefton added sarcastically, “He will be sure to think that he has fought one.”

Indeed the state of his health and his mode of life were enough to account for much of his extravagance, and certainly engendered those strange humors, fancies, and even delusions which marked his latter days. He seldom rose till about six in the evening, having spent most of the day in bed dozing and reading newspapers. His nights were wretched, and his unhappy valets were worn out attending; as he required to be handed everything, even his watch if it were lying beside him. The rooms were kept at the temperature of a stove. He had also a fancy for drinking inordinate quantities of cherry brandy, his favorite liqueur. And this habit, no doubt, bemused and bemuddled his brain, and engendered those curious dreams and delusions which were repeated at the time and caused such amusement.\*

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\* Mr. Greville condescended to question closely the King’s valet, in several interviews, as to the private household details and scandal, and received much information of the kind he desired. What a valet’s report and a valet’s judgment are, and what he sees, has been characterized by Mr. Carlyle. Says Greville: “I sent for Batchelor, and had a long talk with him. He said the King was well, but weak; his constitution very strong; no malady about him; but irritation in the bladder which he could not get rid of. He thinks the hot rooms and want of air and exercise do him harm, and that he is getting every day more averse to exercise and more prone to retirement; which, besides that it weakens his constitution, is a proof that he is beginning to break. Batchelor thinks he is in no sort of danger; I think he will not live more than two years. He says that his attendants are quite worn out with being always about him, and living in such hot rooms (which obliges them to drink), and seldom getting air and exercise. B. is at present well, but he sits up every other night with the King, and never leaves him. The King told them the other day that ‘O’Reilly (the surgeon) was the d—dest liar in the world, and it seems he is often in the habit of discussing people in this way to his valets de chambre. He reads a great deal, and every morning has his boxes

He was now particularly annoyed by an incident in which all the art of the duke was required to carry the point desired. Mr. Denman, a lawyer of eminence, had remained under a ban in his profession ever since the Queen's trial, having worn "a stuff gown" now for two-and-twenty years. This ostracism he owed to the King, often unforgiving and relentless where he had taken a dislike. This Denman, after vain attempts at redress, acquiesced in believing that it was simply owing to the general share he had taken in the trial. In 1828, however, he learned from the Chancellor that the King's rancor was owing to the Greek quotations used in his speech, and which the King took as scandalous personal imputations. The Duke of Wellington undertook the matter, saying: "I'll do it;" Denman, in a memorial, declaring that no such insinuation was ever in his mind, and that such would have been abhorrent to his feelings. After infinite trouble the duke prevailed, declaring it was "the toughest job he ever had," and that the King would receive his explanation and allow him to hold a patent of precedence. But this tardy reparation was accompanied by a penalty. The King stated his feelings in a declaration written on the memorial itself, in which was rather cleverly embodied his own vindication, with an insinuation of disbelief in what was submitted to him.\*

"The King has read the statements as the annexed memorial:

"The King could not believe that the Greek quotation referred to had occurred to the mind of the advocate in the eagerness and heat of argument; nor that it was not intended; nor that it had not been sought for and suggested for the purpose of applying to the person of the sovereign a gross imputation. The King therefore considered it his duty to command the late Chancellor, Lord Eldon, and the Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst, never to approach the King with the name of the memorialist.

"Nevertheless, as the memorialist has distinctly denied, disowned, and disclaimed all intention to apply the quotation to the person of the sovereign, and has expressed his sorrow that the King should have believed he intended so to apply it, and has, moreover, in his

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brought to him and reads their contents. They are brought up by Knighton or Watson, both of whom have keys of all his boxes. He says there is not one person about him whom he likes."

\* The text is said to have been the work of the Duke of Wellington, but the points were certainly suggested by the King.



memorial prayed his Majesty to believe that no such insinuation was ever made by him, that the idea of it never entered his mind, the King commands that he may have a patent of precedence from the day of its date." \*

His Majesty, however, had not learned to be magnanimous; and in November of this year, the Recorder, whose duty it was to present the report on sentenced prisoners, having fallen ill, his duty devolved upon Mr. Denman, who was Common Serjeant. This produced the most extraordinary agitation at Windsor, the King vehemently refusing to receive his enemy.

The duke having announced to him by letter this state of things, the King replied, addressing him no longer as "My dear friend."

#### THE KING TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"Royal Lodge, November 9, 1829.

"MY DEAR DUKE,

"As it is impossible for me, on account of the state of my eyes, to write a letter by candlelight, I am under the necessity of having recourse to an amanuensis to convey to you my sentiments upon the subject of your letter just received.

"I must express to you my extreme surprise, my dear duke, that you should suggest to me that I should either decline to receive the Recorder's report to-morrow, or submit to the indignity of receiving the Common Serjeant to fulfil the duties of the Recorder upon the occasion, when you cannot fail to know the insult I have received from that individual; and you ought to know the firmness of my character in not bearing an insult from any human being with impunity.

"A provision has long since been made for the fulfilment of the Recorder's duties in the event of his indisposition, in the appointment of Mr. Sergeant Arabin as Deputy Recorder for that express purpose; and I desire that he should attend in that capacity to-morrow rather than defer the report, he having already officiated in that character.

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\* It must be said, that but for the high character of Denman, it would be almost impossible to accept the explanation given; for it seems the passage which is often in question was discovered by Dr. Parr, and supplied to the counsel to be used in his speech. The allusion is of the most gross and offensive kind, and certainly not recondite enough to have escaped a man of education. It may have been unintentional, and the speaker have fancied it was simply a general allusion to tyrants and slaves, and had not time to consider the particular insinuation.

"I must express a hope that this will be the last time that I shall be troubled relative to Mr. —, as no consideration will ever induce me to admit that individual to my presence. I remain, my dear duke,

Your sincere Friend,

"G. R.

"P.S.—Mr. Peel will accordingly announce to the Deputy Recorder that he will be required to officiate to-morrow."

This was resolute and determined. But the duke proceeded to deal with him in his own way.\* He wrote him a firm letter, showing him the difficulties of the situation he was putting himself in, declaring that the Council must be put off, and that he himself would go down and discuss the matter. The scene that followed seems incredible. The duke pointed out to him that he was committed to receive Denman, having condoned the past; on which his Majesty declared that he had been forced into it, and, growing very violent, swore that he would never see him; on which the duke replied calmly it did "not signify one farthing" how long the executions were put off. That it was better not to have a scandal or a scene in the palace, etc. Then, in his usual way, letting the King run on until he had exhausted himself, he brought him back to the point, and it was agreed that the matter should be put off once more.

However, in this particular difficulty a solution was discovered, and pressure put on the ailing Recorder, who tried to get well as speedily as he could.

It must be said that there seems something ungracious in forcing a king to do what was so distasteful. But the duke seems to have grown into a sort of dislike for him, joined with contempt. "If I had known," he says of this distressing scene, "in January, 1828, one tittle of what I do now, and of what I discovered in one month after I was in office, I should never have been the King's minister, and should have avoided loads of misery! However, I trust that Almighty God will soon determine that I have been sufficiently punished for my sins, and will relieve me from the unhappy lot which has befallen me."

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\* All allowance may be made for the duke's resentment at the King's insincere treatment of him; but it seems scarcely becoming that the Prime Minister should have made a practice of showing the King's letters indiscriminately to friends, and of writing and uttering complaints of his sovereign, and of using very intemperate language as to his behavior.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

1830.

THERE was another influence that had been exerted very actively, at least during this period—that of the most adroit of *intriguanes*, Madame de Lieven, the Russian ambassadress. She had a particular dislike to the Duke of Wellington, and exerted her arts in inflaming the foolish bigotry of the Duke of Cumberland; and when he had his baggage packed and was ready to depart, she was believed to have persuaded him to remain. The duke accused her and her husband of playing an English party game, instead of doing the business of their sovereign: “Since I have been in office, I have the best authority for asserting that both have been engaged (as principals) in intrigues to deprive me and my colleagues of power, since January, 1828. They have misrepresented our views to their sovereign, and been the cause of a coolness between the countries.” He had actually thought of having them recalled, but hesitated, especially as he felt himself “too strong for them.” The King took pleasure in her lively society, and, as she gave out, in retailing his grievances to her. For nineteen years this extraordinary woman held her post, occupying a position such as no foreign envoy’s wife has ever done before or since, holding an equally high position in the fashionable as in the political world. Not till the year 1834 did she return to Russia.

“The gentlemanlike manners and hospitality of the prince,” says Mr. Raikes, “combined with the talents and grand air of the princess, rendered their house not only the resort of the most distinguished society, but the rival of our own most magnificent establishments. She was deeply engaged in all the cabals with Mr. Canning in the year 1827, which ended in the resignation of the duke, and the short-lived Administration of the other. On his grace’s return to office in 1828, she was anxious to regain his friendship, but the breach had been too flagrant ever to be entirely made up again. That event and the death of the Empress-mother, with whom she was living on the most intimate terms of correspondence, latterly very much diminished her political importance in London. Prince



Lieven was always very much supposed to act according to her suggestions. She was a great favorite of George IV., who much admired her musical talents, and in those days she was a constant visitor at the cottage in Windsor Park."

Not less annoyed was the duke by the various attempts of the King to exercise patronage which belonged of right to the minister. He was often "caught" in attempts of this kind. But the duke held him in check with a cold stern authority. Thus, in August, he conceived the idea of going over to Paris on a visit to Charles X., and Sir W. Knighton was despatched to Walmer, to open the matter. The duke, as he said, "put an extinguisher on the foolish project," showing at once that as the French King was highly unpopular, it would be looked on as an attempt to give him support. He sometimes met a mortifying rebuff even from those to whom he wished to extend his bounty in an irregular way, as when he sent for Lord Aberdeen to tell him that he intended sending a ribbon to his brother. It is amusing to see the adroit caution with which the Thane puts the offer aside, writing the while to the Prime Minister: "The King," he says, "after giving me 'Nugent's History,' mentioned my brother with great approbation; upon which I thanked him for his gracious intentions towards him. He said that the ribbon should be sent out to him directly, and desired me to go to Naylor, and have it done directly. I told him that I had already communicated to my brother his Majesty's gracious intentions, which I was sure would be quite satisfactory, and that he could very well afford to wait. He pressed this two or three times, to which I always made the same answer; at last he said very abruptly: 'Very well, just as you please.' I thought it would be rather too strong to tell him, in direct words, that he ought to speak to you. He was in very good humor, and appeared to be very well. As usual, he talked a great deal about the Lievens. He abused Lord Grey, and told me that, sitting with Madame de Lieven some time ago, and talking about the French Government, she had said that Chateaubriand was the most distinguished man in the country, and that Charles X. ought to make him his minister. The King replied that Charles X. was not fallen quite so low as that, and need not so disgrace himself; adding that it would be almost as bad as if he were to send for Lord Grey."

Another conflict was even more mortifying for his Majesty. In November, General Garth—associated with so many distressing scenes in the illness of the late King—died, and the Commander-in-

Chief, Lord Hill, submitted two names for promotion; but the King nominated two friends of his own. The duke, called in council, seemed to shirk the matter, advising his friend, if the King persisted, "not to go on;" admonishing his friend that, "if he does go on, and gives way, there will be an end to his authority." Finally, if the King does not yield, then "send for me." "Unless the King gives way," he added in his blunt fashion, "this affair cannot be settled. We cannot allow the Duke of Cumberland to conduct the military affairs of the country." As a matter of course his Majesty had to yield.

## THE KING TO LORD HILL.

"Royal Lodge, Nov. 22, 1829.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"Subsequent to the receipt of your letter this day, your letter of the 19th reached my hand; and, with reference to the recommendation therein preferred, I have to observe to you that I consider it essential for the service that the Royal Dragoons should ever be held by an officer of rank (notwithstanding the two successive precedents to the contrary); and as Lieut.-General Vandaleur has already a regiment of equal emolument, I prefer that Lieut.-General Lord Edward Somerset should be removed from the 17th Lancers to the Royals. I readily accede to your recommendation of Major-General Sir John Elley to succeed to the 17th Lancers; but in relinquishing in his favor my recommendation of Major-General Sir E. Kerrison, I must express my desire that Major-General Kerrison be selected for the next occurring vacancy; and that in future you should pursue the mode adopted by my late lamented brother, namely, that of submitting for promotion three or four names to me for my selection.

"G. R."

In the following instance the appointment was unexceptionable; but the King probably guessed that he was only anticipating the course of those in authority, and was eager to have the credit of being the author of the suggestion.

## THE KING TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"Royal Lodge, August 26.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I have just written to Lord Hill, in consequence of the unexpected and sudden death of poor Sir Henry Torrens being

reported to me, to acquaint him of my intention that Sir Herbert Taylor should be his successor. I am sure that neither you, nor Lord Hill, nor myself, nor indeed the whole army, can have a difference of opinion as to the propriety of this appointment. His long service as Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief (my late forever-regretted brother), and in which place he succeeded the late Sir Henry Torrens when he was appointed Adjutant-General, entitles him; while by the correctness of his conduct, as well as the amiable tone of his manners to every one, he gained and insured to him the affections, good-will, and respect of the army. One word more: besides, it is a real pleasure to me to have him at the head of my own staff.

"This appointment of Sir Herbert Taylor to be Adjutant-General will of course vacate the office of Surveyor-in-General to the Ordnance, and I thought you would be glad to have the earliest information of it.

"Always your sincere Friend,

"G. R."

In December, when a political question of extreme delicacy arose, the King allowed his own prejudices to influence him in a most irregular interference. The question was that of the candidate for the throne of Greece, and Prince Leopold learned that the Duke of Cumberland had been closeted hours with the King, and had handed him a letter in favor of the Prince of Mecklenburg, one of the candidates. The King told Lord Aberdeen that he intended writing to the King of Prussia in his favor. The duke determined that this interference should end, and declared to his correspondent that "either you or I" must have a discussion with his Majesty. The latter gave way, engaging to make no further answer but one of civility. The duke however ascertained from the Prussian minister that the King had actually promised his support to the candidate. There was more behind this than at first appeared. For there was here an unworthy dislike of long standing to one of the candidates—his son-in-law Prince Leopold—whom he was trying to deprive of his annuity. The prince had appealed indignantly to the duke: "The King should be made to feel that he exposes himself in a manner unprecedented as a British king, in acting upon a feeling of dislike, which, I can say with truth, I have never given him cause for these fourteen years." His Majesty, having unavailingly shown his feelings, yielded the point.



## THE KING TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

“[Memorandum.]

“Windsor Castle, January 19th, 1830.

“The King cannot but deeply regret the selection made by France and Russia of Prince Leopold, as the prince to be placed at the head of the Greek kingdom.

“Without entering into a detail of reasoning, the King considers Prince Leopold not qualified for this peculiar station.

“Nevertheless, the two great Powers—France and Russia—having conjointly named Prince Leopold to be placed at the head of the Greek kingdom, the King, in deference to the desire of those two great Powers, gives his assent.

“GEORGE R.”

Early in the following year the prince, having come to London, submitted himself humbly to his Majesty's pleasure, writing from Marlborough House, Feb. 27:

“SIRE,

“I learn with the most profound grief from Lord Aberdeen, that your Majesty is dissatisfied with my conduct.

“I never, during all the fifteen years since you sent for me to this country, have been wanting in deference and respect, etc. For my part, I have always determined never to enter on this new course without the powerful protection and approbation of your Majesty. I couldn't give a more marked proof of this than by resigning into your hand the position in which the negotiations have placed me.

“I will conform to your wishes as to allowances.”

The Prince of Mecklenburg was a connection of the Duke of Cumberland, which accounted for his persevering interest, which he still exerted to the persistent thwarting of the duke's plans. The latter, in January, had once more to reprove his Majesty in reference to this matter. “I do not complain of his personal hostility, but I complain that his is not fair political opposition. I complain of his reports of me personally at Windsor, and of his using your Majesty's name in communication with political characters in this country, as well as abroad. From frequent long interviews with your Majesty, he is supposed to speak your Majesty's language, even when he does not use your Majesty's name. It exposes your Majesty to be misunderstood; that you keep min-

isters to whom you do not give your confidence. I supplicate your Majesty's attention to this subject."

Perhaps the last instance of unjustifiable interference took place a few weeks before the King's demise, in April. A person named C——, in the county of Clare, of the rank of a gentleman, had been capitally convicted for setting fire to his house. A petition had been sent to Windsor, where it had been supported by high influence, and urged upon the Home Secretary. The Lord-Lieutenant, unaware of this interference, had refused to extend any mercy. Meanwhile the King, eager to gratify those who were interested, had addressed a letter to the Lord-Lieutenant.

#### THE KING TO THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

"Windsor Castle, 10th April, 1830.

"MY DEAR DUKE,

"Having received a petition from the respectable inhabitants of the county of Clare in favor of P—— C——, now under sentence of death for burning his house, and there being some favorable circumstances in his case, I am desirous of exercising the best prerogative of the Crown, that of mercy, in saving his life; leaving to your grace the commutation of punishment you may think fit.

"My eyes being indifferent, I make use of an amanuensis.

"Your sincere Friend,

"GEORGE R."

The excitement in the Cabinet on this interference was great, the Duke taking part with the Secretary. It was announced to be "quite intolerable." Letters were despatched down to Windsor of the usual reproving character. After all, the offence did not appear to be great. But the King at the time was on the eve of his last sickness, and languidly gave up the point, being found "ready to accept any suggestion about C——."

The strange idea of secluding himself, which had taken possession of him for some years, was in part owing to his consciousness of the alteration in his figure and appearance, which had, alas! grown bulky and bloated to a degree which no vanities or flatteries could blind him to. Even the well-known picture by Sir Thomas Lawrence, representing the King on a sofa, and in which this painter had no doubt softened these blemishes as much as possible, exhibits this corpulency to a remarkable degree.\* The singular life

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\*This well-known portrait was lately sold for seventy pounds.

he led at Windsor for some years seemed to give an idea of unsettled mind. All the rides at Windsor were strictly guarded, no one was admitted, while his outrider rode on before to see that no one was spying. A favorite spot of the King's was the sandpit, near which his "menagerie" was maintained, and here he was fond of partaking of his favorite cherry brandy, kept specially for his majesty. Here he devised those strange whims and "fads" of the hour: "a new dress for the Guards," a new mode of folding the envelope of a letter, in which form he required all papers to be sent to him. This system led him to adopt a lazy languid life, very prejudicial to his health. The picture of this closing scene of one who had devoted his life to pleasure is not an agreeable one. No doubt that life might have been prolonged, had he chosen to adopt a more active course, instead of sinking into a sort of languid state, as he so strangely did, shutting himself up at Windsor at his Lodge, and with eccentricity worthy of the proprietor of Fonthill Abbey.

In February, 1830, Mr. Greville, who had been at Windsor for a Council, noted that he was very blind, mistaking the Chancellor for Mr. Peel. At the same time Sir W. Knighton experienced his irritability, "expressed in his manner, as well as in his frame." The Duke of Cumberland, solicitous about a contribution to the enlargement of "our church" at Kew, which was at a standstill, was gratified by a "noble and kingly donation" from his royal brother, whom he found looking pale, and seeming to labor under an oppression of his chest. The fact was, he was known from the beginning to be suffering from dropsy, affection of the heart, and other dangerous maladies, and his condition was serious; but, as we have seen, both Halford and Knighton hoped that his good constitution would help him through.

Now the strange lists of delusions under which he labored received an addition. Talking enthusiastically of the performances of Fleur-de-Lys, who won the cup at Goodwood, he came at last to think "he had ridden the horse himself." His collection of clothes sold by auction after his death might have filled a green-room wardrobe. He hardly ever gave away anything, Mr. Greville heard from his page, except his linen, which was distributed every year. "These clothes are the perquisite of his pages, and will fetch a pretty sum. There are all the coats he has ever had for fifty years, three hundred whips, canes without number, every sort of uniform, the costumes of all the orders in Europe, splendid furs, pelisses,



hunting-coats and breeches, and among other things a dozen pair of corduroy breeches he had made to hunt in when Don Miguel was here. His profusion in these articles was unbounded, because he never paid for them, and his memory was so accurate that he recollected every article of dress, no matter how old, and that they were always liable to be called on to produce some particular coat or other article of apparel of years gone by."

The Duke of Clarence, who had a real affection for him, kept troubling the Duke of Wellington with strange letters. He says: "The critical situation of the sovereign must make me think seriously, and I consider it is a fortunate circumstance I see the true objects contained in the last letter as your grace does; and I trust during the continuance of his Majesty's illness our sentiments will agree, for I must look to your grace in that event, which would involve me in particular, and the empire at large, in grief for the loss of the best and most amiable of monarchs. But I am lamentably afraid of the worst, which God avert."

He was particularly sensitive as to the visits of his family, which he thought disturbed the King.

"I am afraid," he wrote on May 11th, "the King will not be found at all better, because this day he has appointed to see Princess Augusta and the Duchess of Gloucester. These interviews produce harm instead of good, and unfortunately my sisters have not the power to restrain their feelings."

It was now the beginning of May, and we find the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel interchanging views in a businesslike way as to the issue. "Pray consider," wrote the latter, "as to summoning the Council in case of the King's death." The duke feared that the result was certain. Yet it was strange to find the moribund King still planning his building improvements; a question of bringing the estimate for the Windsor buildings offered great difficulties, owing to the temper of the House; "difficulties aggravated by his tenacity on the subject of the passage from Carlton Gardens, which it is impossible to remove or soften at present." The duke saw him on the 5th, the day before he had a serious seizure which lasted for an hour, but he recovered by degrees and slept well. He eat with an appetite and talked of himself in good spirits, expressing a hope that "he should soon get out." He still preserved his looks. The duke had ventured on an ominous but salutary step—the sending Dr. Carr, the Bishop of Winchester, who was to remain at the Castle, and with whom the King had "two satisfactory conversations."

So the days dragged on, the King now rallying, now going back; so that Sir W. Knighton began to think that he would recover; but Halford and Tierney did not give him many days of life. Waller, another doctor, thought the danger was from a sudden attack on his chest. Yet he himself could not bear to think there was danger, but was full of plans, and talked cheerfully of the coming Ascot meeting. On the 23rd his symptoms became worse, and a few days later Knighton was writing that he was gradually breaking down. On that day he was persuaded to sign an appeal to Parliament for the use of a stamp to be affixed in the presence of persons he deputed for the purpose. Lord Farnborough was named, because his society was agreeable to him; and the King refused to name any one else as joint official, though pressed. Lord Farnborough, being about seventy years old, accepted reluctantly. Sir W. Knighton had placed on his Majesty's table "a quarto Bible of large size, an attention which the King appreciated, and it was remarked read in the volume a good deal." At the beginning of the next month a form of prayer was issued by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the usual form of such papers.

Dr. Carr afterwards related that he repeated this prayer on his knees by the King's bedside. At the close, his Majesty, having listened to it with his utmost attention, three times repeated "Amen" with the greatest fervor and devotion. He expressed himself highly gratified with it, and begged that his thanks should be conveyed to its author. On June the 8th the physicians told him of the probable result. To which he replied, exactly as his brother had done, "God's will be done." And on the 13th he received the sacrament and "talked a good deal."

Then came a rally. The disease, it was thought, was then arrested, and it was thought he might go on for a long time, as his appetite and digestion seemed to improve. But the weakness of the heart might kill him at any moment. The truth was he never could be got to submit to the treatment regularly or to take the medicines.

In the course of Friday evening, the 25th, before nine o'clock, the physicians intimated their inability to give him further relief, and their opinion that his last moments were rapidly approaching. To this communication his Majesty replied, "God's will be done;" and in a few moments after he asked, "Where is Chichester?" The Bishop of Chichester was instantly summoned to the royal chamber, and at his hands the dying sovereign received the sacrament.

During the administration of this rite his Majesty was much less troubled by the cough than he had previously been.

A simple and not undramatic account of the last scene was sent to the Duke of Wellington by a correspondent who withheld his signature.

“At half-past eleven on Friday night, not finding himself worse than he had been for some days, he dismissed Sir H. Halford, who had attended him from seven in the morning. His Majesty composed himself for the night, and the pages retired to the outer room. The King soon fell asleep in the position to which he had accustomed himself; leaning on a table, his forehead resting on one hand, and the other in Sir Wathen Waller’s, who was sitting up with him. He slept very quietly till a quarter to two, when he awoke and asked for his medicine, and after it he had a little clove tea. He then resumed his former position and slept again for an hour, when he desired a page to be rung for, when he had a purgative motion. He returned to his own armchair and ordered the windows to be opened, according to his custom day and night. He said he was a little faint, and asked for some *sal volatile*. This he endeavored several times to drink, but could not. Sir H. Halford was then called by his command. His Majesty then pressed the hand of Sir Wathen Waller, which still remained in his, more strongly than usual, and looking full at him, exclaimed: “*My boy, this is death!*” and then closing his eyes, reclined back in his chair. At this instant Sir H. Halford entered the room. His Majesty gave him his hand, but never spoke afterwards; and with a very few short breathings, expired exactly as the clock struck a quarter after three o’clock, June 26th. Sir W. Knighton, Sir M. Tierney, Mr. Brodie—whose room was much more distant—and Sir H. Halford entered the room, and were present during his last moments. Sir W. Knighton had sat up all Thursday night.”\*

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\* His will was made in 1823 by Lord Eldon, and his executors were Lord Gifford and Sir W. Knighton. On searching his cabinets and drawers (the Duke of Wellington told Mr. Greville) when he died they found £10,000 in his boxes, and money scattered about everywhere, a great deal of gold. There were about 500 pocket-books, of different dates, and in every one money—guineas, one-pound notes, one, two, or three in each. He had never given away or parted with anything. There was a prodigious quantity of hair—women’s hair—of all colors and lengths, some locks with the powder and pomatum still sticking to them; heaps of women’s gloves, *gages d’amour* which he had got at balls, and with the perspiration still marked on the fingers; notes, and letters. The whole were destroyed. Mr. V. Fitzgerald



There is something touching in this spectacle, and that pressure of the hands of those he liked, at such a crisis, showed that his affectionate temper was of a genuine cast. But the "looking full" at his friend, with the strange expression: "My boy, this is death!" has an awful and original ghastliness.\*

told Mr. Greville "that the King had been annoying them as much as he could, that he took pleasure in making his Government weak, that the money matter (which the duke told me of before) had been settled by 'contrivances,' or that they must have gone to Parliament for the amount; that he has just ordered plate to the amount of £25,000." The royal plate at Windsor is said now to be worth £1,800,000. The gold service, ordered by George IV., dines 140 persons, and he also added to the collection one of the finest wine-coolers in the world, a shield formed of snuffboxes worth £9000, and thirty dozen plates worth £10,000. There are also a variety of pieces brought from abroad and from India; the latter include a peacock of precious stones of every kind, worth £30,000, and Tippoo's footstool, a tiger's head with crystal teeth, and a solid ingot of gold for his tongue. Whilst the Catholic Bill was passing, it was said that he ordered plate almost daily to annoy his ministers. His coronation cost £250,000. Indeed, during these last days, the reign of extravagance may be gathered from the state of things in the Lord Steward's department. One who in the succeeding reign had to reform this Augean disorder thus describes the state of things: "There was an allowance of £500 a year to the lower servants in lieu of small beer. The history is that, when allowed small beer in kind, they were all allowed access *ad libitum* to the cellar, and often would not take the trouble to turn the cock after having drawn their quantity, but let hogsheads run off from very wantonness. The then officers in power, instead of punishing them, thought it right to turn the beer into money (the servants having ale and porter besides fully sufficient); and hence this £500 a year compensation for not being permitted to continue this wasteful extravagance. Every person seems allowed to carry away as much provision as he can scramble for, after being himself satisfied. If a bottle of wine or porter is opened for a glass, the rest is carried off; the meat in a napkin, which seldom finds its way back again; and, in addition to this, scores of persons who have no connection with the domestic establishment appear to run riot upon the unlimited allowance for these tables."

\* There were several forms given out of this ejaculation. "O God! I am dying!" as if in despair. Mr. Raikes has it: "Watty! what is this? It is death. They have deceived me!" This last expression must have been uttered, and has often been repeated. In some admirable remarks, suggested by this scene, Sir Henry Hallford vindicates the course he pursued, and with such good sense and feeling, as shows that he was eminently suited to have been the confidential adviser of the royal family. "If, in cases attended with danger in private life, the physician has need of discretion and sound sense to direct his conduct, the difficulty must doubtless be increased when his patient is of so elevated a station that his safety becomes an object of anxiety to the nation. In such circumstances, the physician has a duty to perform, not only to the sick personage and his family, but also to the public,

During these painful scenes it is pleasant to find that the image of the woman to whom he had given his affections and plighted his troth, was not absent from his thoughts. A letter from Mrs. Fitzherbert was brought to him, in which that much-tried lady offered to come to him, and watch over and soothe his last moments. She was told afterwards that her remembrance was said to have given him much comfort. She cherished the belief that he always wore round his neck her miniature, and desired to have it buried with him.

In the early days of their affection the Prince had given her a jewel, which she had formed into two lockets, to hold their miniatures. On the first breach she returned his, but he did not hers, which was, as the true woman seemed to think, a proof of affection, reluctant to part with all. Lord Albemarle heard that he begged the Duke of Wellington that he might be buried as he lay, without his night-dress being disturbed; and he adds that the Duke could not resist looking to see the reason of this request, and found the jewel round his neck, and "attached to a dirty piece of black ribbon." This the Duke told to Mrs. Damer.

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who, in their extreme solicitude for his recovery, sometimes desire disclosures which are incompatible with it. These public documents may become known to the royal sufferer himself. Is the physician, then, whilst endeavoring to relieve the anxiety or satisfy the curiosity of the nation, to endanger the safety of the patient; or, at least, his comfort? Surely not. Meanwhile, the family of the monarch and the government have a claim to fuller information than can, with propriety or even common humanity, be imparted to the public at large. In the case of his late Majesty, the King's Government and the royal family were apprised as early as the 27th of April that his Majesty's disease was seated in his heart, and that an effusion of water into the chest was soon to be expected. It was not, however, until the latter end of May—when his Majesty was so discouraged by repeated attacks in the embarrassment in his breathing, as to desire me to explain to him the nature of his complaint, and to give him my candid opinion of its probable termination—that the opportunity occurred of acknowledging to his Majesty the extent of my fears for his safety. This communication was not necessary to suggest to the King the propriety of religious offices, for his Majesty had used them daily. But it determined him, perhaps, to appoint an early day to receive the sacrament. He did receive it with every appearance of the most fervent piety and devotion, and acknowledged to me repeatedly afterwards that it had given him great consolation—true comfort. After this, when 'he had set his house in order,' I thought myself at liberty to interpret every new symptom as it arose in as favorable a light as I could, for his Majesty's satisfaction; and we were enabled thereby to rally his spirits in the intervals of his frightful attacks, to maintain his confidence in his medical resources, and to spare him the pain of contemplating approaching death, until a few minutes before his Majesty expired."—"Essays and Orations," p. 89.

The bishop who attended the King, Dr. Carr, assured Mr. Bodenhams that he had noticed a portrait, but it had a silver chain.

When in 1825 Miss Seymour was married to Colonel Dawson Damer, the King sent her a present of £2000 with an affectionate letter, in which he begged of her "to be kind to her best friend, Mrs. Fitzherbert." This showed that the old affection still burned bright. After Mrs. Fitzherbert's death, her ward one day displayed to a visitor, Lady Morgan, a coffer containing all the relics of this famous attachment. She describes its contents:

"There were two lockets of very curious description, minutely small portraits of the Prince and the lady; they were each covered with a crystal, and this crystal was a diamond cut in two. They were less than the size of a halfpenny, set in small brilliants. On the death of George IV. she sent to William IV. to request back some of her pictures, gems, and letters, left in the late King's hands. He sent her everything that he could find in the cabinet of his brother, and a beautiful picture in oil of Mrs. Fitzherbert; but the diamond-enshrined miniature was not forthcoming. After some time, however, she received a letter from the Duke of Wellington, who wrote to say, having heard that such a locket had been inquired for, he would be happy to place it in her hands, as it was in his possession. He added, that in his quality of the King's executor, he had gone into his room immediately after his decease, and perceiving a red cord round his neck, under his shirt, discovered the locket containing the miniature." \*

We may hope it was so, though not much turns upon it. After his death the good-natured Sailor-King made her all amends.

"Soon after his death," as she told Lord Stourton, "she left town for Brighton. There she a second time received the kindest messages from William the Fourth; but upon his inquiry why she did not come to see him, she stated the peculiar difficulties of her situation, and a wish, if it was not asking too much from his condescension, that he would graciously honor her with a personal communication at her own house, previously to her visit to the Pavilion. The King kindly complied with her request without delay, and she told him that she could not, in her present circumstances, avail herself of the honor of waiting upon his Majesty, without asking his permission to place her papers before him, and requesting his advice upon them. Upon her placing in his hands the documents which have been preserved in justification of her character, and especially

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\* Lady Morgan, "Memoirs," ii. 425.



the certificate of her marriage, and another interesting and most affecting paper, this amiable sovereign was moved to tears by their perusal, and expressed his surprise at so much forbearance with such documents in her possession, and under the pressure of such long and severe trials. He asked her what amends he could make her, and offered to make her a duchess. She replied that she did not wish for any rank; that she had borne through life the name of Mrs. Fitzherbert; that she had never disgraced it, and did not wish to change it; that, therefore, she hoped his Majesty would accept her unfeigned gratitude for his gracious proposal, but that he would permit her to retain her present name.

"Well, then," said he, 'I shall insist upon you wearing my livery,' and ended by authorizing her to put on weeds for his royal brother. He added: 'I must, however, soon see you at the Pavilion;' and I believe he proposed the following Sunday, a day on which his family were more retired, for seeing her at dinner, and spending the evening at the Pavilion. 'I shall introduce you myself to my family,' said he, 'but you must send me word of your arrival.'

"At the appointed hour, upon her reaching the Pavilion, the condescending monarch came himself and handed her out of her carriage, and introduced her to his family, one after the other, as one of themselves. He ever after treated her in the same gracious manner."

Mr. Raikes corroborates this, her own story.

On her death, which took place in 1837, she enjoyed an annuity of £6000, procured for her from the Prince, through the agency of the late Queen, strange to say, and her best friend the Duke of York. She was buried at Brighton, the scene of all joys and troubles, living to be nearly eighty years old.

By arrangement between her friends and those of the royal family, it was determined to destroy all papers, save such as were necessary for the vindication of her character.\*

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\* Those that fell under this category were:

"1. The Mortgage on the Palace at Brighton.

"2. The Certificate of the Marriage, dated Dec. 21st, 1785.

"3. Letter from the late King, relating to the Marriage, signed [George the Fourth].

"4. Will written by the late King [George the Fourth].

"5. Memorandum written by Mrs. Fitzherbert, attached to a letter written by the clergyman who performed the Marriage Ceremony."

It will be seen that these papers, seen and sanctioned by men of such character as the Duke of Wellington and Lord Albemarle, were convincing. They lie now at Coutts's Bank sealed up.

## L'ENVOI.

AFTER recounting the course of the long life of George IV., it is hardly necessary to make a formal estimate of his character. Many instances could be given of his kindly feeling and good heart. His charities were often magnificent: as in 1825, during the Spitalfields distress, when he gave three donations of £1000 each; and when a case of private suffering was reported to him, he sent £500, and procured by subscription £1500. His name, too, is pleasingly associated with that of Beethoven, for whose wants he contributed £200. But the recorded instances of this sort would fill many pages. At the dismal conferences with the Recorder of London, when the fates of prisoners were finally determined, the King was invariably on the side of mercy, and would conscientiously and for hours investigate every case that seemed to have a claim to mercy. This was an indulgence of his feelings, but a troublesome duty which he always adhered to. He had, for a certain sort, a deep religious, or rather devotional feeling: and even in his early days, Lady Harcourt used to declare he was the only one of the royal brothers "that had any religion."\*

It is also evidence of his sound taste, that he should have begun a collection of the Dutch and Flemish masters at a time when the merits of the school were not acknowledged. But what gives him a high claim to the title of a true patron, was the really splendid project of having the portraits of the sovereigns, ministers, and ambassadors painted for the Great Banqueting-room at Windsor.

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\* There is a well-known story of his having discharged a servant in a passion one Sunday morning, and of his being respectfully told by the Bishop of Winchester, that he was not in a proper frame of mind to receive the sacrament. He thanked his monitor, and restored the man to his place. On another occasion he wept and went down on his knees to a bishop when reproved for desecrating the Sabbath.

The scheme involved the painting of thirty-eight full-length pictures, of which no less than thirty-five are the work of Sir Thomas Lawrence. This work was completed between the years 1815 and 1821, and the artist has recorded the interesting progress of his travels abroad as he attended on his royal sitters. One of these portraits is justly considered the finest of modern times, and will bear just comparison with the finest of ancient days, namely, that of Pope Pius VII. His encouragement of the arts, and of projects of all intellectual character, was also truly splendid. The best instance is his patronage of Wilkie, from whom on his return from Spain he secured his six works for £2800.

One good instance of his cleverness at repartee, or readiness in conversation, is worth recording. The Rev. Sydney Smith was beside him at a dinner, when an odd subject of discussion was started: "Who was the most wicked man that ever lived?" Mr. Smith said, awkwardly enough, "The Regent Orleans—and he was a Prince!" On which the English Regent said, "I should give the preference to his tutor, the Abbé Dubois, and he was a priest, Mr. Sydney."

His patronage of the Royal Society of Literature, to which he contributed £1000 a year; his many pensioners; his love of music and of the stage—all this showed an instinct truly royal. Actors he also patronized, and the more jovial sort—"Jack" Johnstone, Matthews, and others, were often bidden to Carlton House. Reports of his conversations with these performers show a rational spirit, with a wish for gathering such information and entertainment as they could furnish, and without any sacrifice of dignity.

A good specimen of his love of fun and frolic is furnished by the story of his present of the cream-colored Hanoverian horse to Admiral Nagle, at Brighton; who, delighted at the gift, mounted the animal in presence of the whole Court to "try him." Some heavy showers washed off the paint which the Prince had had applied in the stable, and the admiral, to his astonishment, presently found himself with a dark-bay horse. His royal master, after due enjoyment of the joke, took care to present him with an animal of the true color and breed.

But it was in his relations with certain remarkable men of mark and judgment that he really shone, and such he always impressed in the most favorable manner.

It was thus that Walter Scott, when he came to town, became, as it were, quite fascinated by his advances, and it must be confessed



that his treatment of this new friend justified to some extent that charm of manner which obtained for him the well-known *sobriquet*. "Let me know," said the Regent in 1815, "when he comes, and I'll get up a snug little dinner that will suit him. And the more Scotch the better," he added. Such a little dinner was got up, the Duke of York, Lord Yarmouth, Lord Melville, and others, being of the company. "The Prince and Scott," said Mr. Croker, "were the two most brilliant story-tellers, in their several ways, I have ever happened to meet. Both exerted themselves, and he could not say which had shone the most. The Regent was enchanted with Scott, and Scott with him. Afterward Scott told stories of Scotch judges, which the Regent capped with some of his own judges." The description of the evening, it must be said, gives a very good idea of the Prince's powers of pleasing and readiness. At midnight he called for a bumper to the author of "Waverley." Scott declared the author should hear of the compliment; on which the Prince drank to the author of "Marmion," quoting happily: "Now, Walter, my man, I have checkmated you for apace." The Prince sang many songs in good style, and presented his friend with a magnificent snuffbox. And on his merits in society the poet passes this judicious opinion, in which we may allow a little for partiality: "He was the first gentleman he had seen, certainly the first English gentleman of his day. As to his abilities, as distinct from his charming manners, how could any one form a fair judgment of that man who introduced what subject he chose, discussed it just as long as he chose, and dismissed it when he chose?"

He was particularly anxious to impress and attract men of worth and character, whose good word would, of course, be valuable. It has been shown how eager he was to secure Romilly; but more characteristic was his attempt to win that "good man eminent" and "saint," Wilberforce. There is something almost amusing in his account of the struggle between conscience and the bait of the Court. "The Prince and Duke of Clarence very civil. Prince showed he had read Cobbett. Spoke strongly of the blasphemy of his late papers, and most justly. I was asked again last night, and to-night; but declined, not being well." This excuse, however, would not long serve, and three days afterwards he was again at the Pavilion. "The Prince came up to me and reminded me of my singing at the Duchess of Devonshire's ball in 1782, of the particular song, and of our then first knowing each other. 'We are both, I trust, much altered since, sir,' was his answer. 'Yes, the time

which has gone by must have made a great alteration in us.' 'Something better than that too, I trust, sir.'"

Jovial, epicurean, shifty, clever, and good-natured, he offers one more disastrous spectacle of a life wrecked by self-indulgence and an unbounded love of pleasure.

THE END.

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